

## Wandering Wounds: The Urban Body in *Imitatio Christi*

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A dramatic scene unfolds on a late fifteenth-century German woodcut printed in Ulm: a devout tonsured Christian, stripped down to a loincloth, proffers his heart to the bleeding Jesus bound to the cross and the Flagellation column (Figure 15.1).<sup>1</sup> In exchange, Christ holds out a scourge, while simultaneously tugging at the rope tied around the tonsured figure's waist. Between them stands a small demon who seems to mock Christ's gestures: he, too, holds a scourge in his left hand, but in lieu of the cross, he is tethered to a money bag, and another such bag is held in his extended right hand. A small angel in the upper right corner carries a scroll inscribed with a warning: "Gedenck der / lestē zyt so / sündest du / nÿmmer" [Think of the last days; then you will never sin]. Xylographic texts in two other speech scrolls read: "Sun gib mir din hercz / den ich lieb hab · Dem läß ich sträff nit ab ·" and "O herr das will ich · das / beger ich darumbe / so soltu ziehē mich" ["Son, give me your heart. I do not remit the punishment of the one that I hold dear" and "Oh Lord, this I want, I desire it, for this reason thus you pull me"]. The iconography of the print, explicated by two other speech scrolls, seems fairly straightforward: this is a version of "Christ and the Loving Soul," an espèce of an *imitatio Christi* in which the pious Christian soul shares in Jesus's suffering while trouncing all manner of temptation.

<sup>1</sup> Schr. 1838; Theodor Oswald Weigel and August Christian Adolf Zestermann, *Die anfänge der druckerkunst in bild und schrift. An deren frühesten erzeugnissen in der Weigel'schen sammlung*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1866), 1:350, no. 217/2; *Holzschnitte im Königl. Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, second series, ed. Paul Kristeller (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1915), 19, no. 86, pl. 40; *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-century Woodcuts and their Public*, ed. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, with David S. Areford, Richard S. Field, and Peter Schmidt (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, in association with Yale University Press, 2005), 282–4, no. 88. On this general theme, see: Romuald Banz, *Christus und die minnende Seele. Zwei spätmittelhochdeutsche mystische Gedichte. Im Anhang ein Prosadisput verwandten Inhaltes. Untersuchungen und Texte* (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1908); Frank Olaf Büttner, *Imitatio pietatis. Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung* (Berlin: Mann 1983).



FIGURE 15.1 *Jesus Claims the Heart of the Faithful*, Ulm, 1490s, colored woodcut, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection 1943.3.853. COURTESY NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON.

Yet, a series of mirror inversions and displacements troubles this print, the most important of which is the dislocation of Christ's wounds from his bleeding body to the rocky outcropping on the far left, which bears a dry tree prominently hung with the Ulm coat of arms. Other telltale details – the money bags held by the demon, the unusual figuration of the soul as a male and a cleric, and the visual echoing between the design of the coat of arms and the form of the heart held forth by the tonsured figure – shed light on the meanings of this dislocation, suggesting the wounded outcropping as the social body of the city in the wake of Jewish expulsions and clerical transgressions, the city that, contrite and repentant, collectively shares in Christ's Passion.

The transposition of Christ's wounds on this urban body, which predicates both devotional and political arguments made in the woodcut, sharply differentiates the Ulm print from other, contemporary representations of Christ and the Living Soul. This theme was a popular one, especially in the fifteenth century, and is commonly seen as illustrative of late medieval bridal mysticism inspired by the *Song of Songs*. Its most complete set is in the famous Munich series of twenty vignettes, which allegorize the Soul's encounters with Christ, from a playful game of hide-and-seek to the gruesome imitation of his

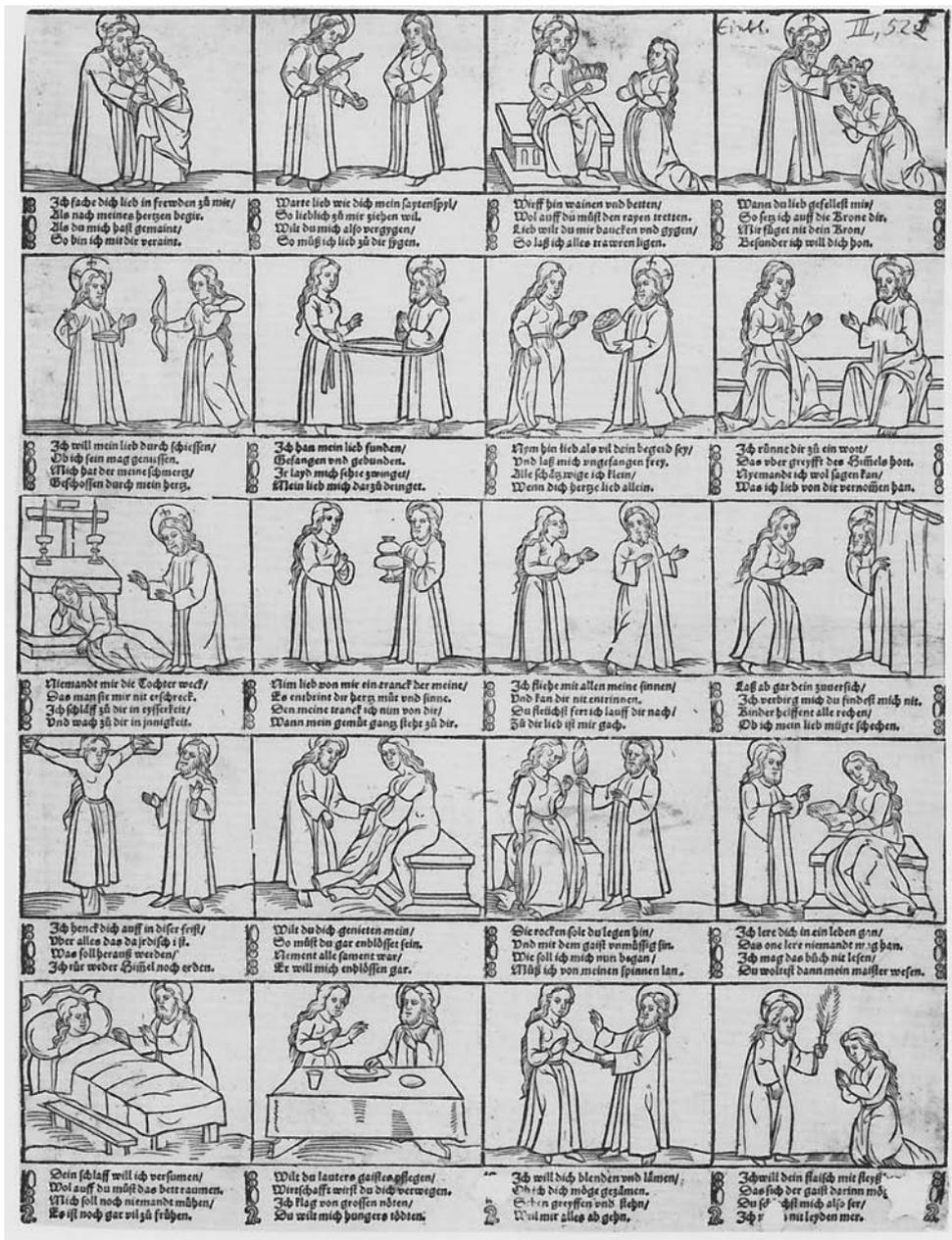


FIGURE 15.2 Christ and the Loving Soul. BSM Einbl. m, 52f, early – mid 1500s.

crucifixion (Figure 15.2).<sup>2</sup> The set is accompanied by rhyming couplets, some uttered by Christ, some by the Soul, figured here as a young woman. In one of the vignettes, the Soul holds in her right hand a rope tied around Christ's waist. This kind of image stands alone in another woodcut, dated from the second part of the fifteenth century, which similarly features Christ bound to the Soul: here the trope of imitation comes to the fore as the Soul, represented as a nun, is led by Christ and bears a cross identical to the one that Christ is holding (Figure 15.3). This image, too, is accompanied by a conversation between Christ and the Soul, although here the courtly delicacy of brief couplets is replaced by a compassionate and humorous dialogue.<sup>3</sup> The configurations of the two woodcuts, although markedly different, share important features: they are explicated by a fairly lengthy text; they represent the Soul as a woman; and they isolate Christ and his bride in a non-site-specific setting.

These similarities foreground the differences between the Ulm woodcut and the two other prints: it is neither a simple devotional interpretation of amorous dialogues of the *Canticle*, nor a straightforward representation of the Christ and the Loving Soul theme. For one, the Soul is here figured as a disrobed, tonsured man, whose imitation of Christ seems to be limited to his state of undress. Conversely, a small devil who preens before the cleric, physically blocking his way to salvation, is a much better doppelgänger of Christ. He stands in a similar pose: right leg forward, left to the side; left hand carrying the scourge, the right extended. This, however, is a mocking rather than a pious imitation, an inversion of sorts that ridicules the very idea of *imitatio Christi*. Instead of the rope that Christ grasps in his right hand, the devil holds a money bag; instead of the cross tied to Christ's torso, the devil sports another money bag secured around his neck, in a contemptuous echo of the position of the *patibulum*. In place of the cruciform halo are horns; in place of the loincloth wrapped around Christ's hips and billowing behind him – tufts of fur on the thighs and a thick billowing tail; in place of crimson drops of blood – two crimson pools that mark the money bags. Not precisely *the* Antichrist, this devil is

2 For bibliography on this and related fragmentary print, see: *Origins of European Printmaking*, 277–80, no. 86

3 Schr. 929. Most recently, see: Sabine Griese, "Gebrauchsformen und Gebrauchsräume von Einblattgedichten des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Einblattgedichte des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*, ed. Volker Honemann, et. al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 185–6, no. 22; Volker Honemann, "Die Kreuztragende Minne': zur Dialogizität eines spätmittelhochdeutschen geistlichen Gedichts," in *Sprachspiel und Bedeutung. Festschrift für Franz Hundsnurscher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Susanne Beckmann, et. al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 473–75; *Origins of European Printmaking*, 280–82, no. 87 with further bibliography.



FIGURE 15.3 *Love Bearing the Cross, Bavaria, second half of the 15th c., GNM H6i.*

mostly certainly an anti-Christ who interferes with the Soul's quest for salvation. The bleeding Christ, the Soul, and the devil are bound together in the inverted triangle that comprehends the gestures and the objects: the demon's scourge is raised towards the Soul; the Soul's arms extend the meaty heart towards Christ, and the rope tied around his waist is grasped in Christ's right hand; finally, another rope that binds Christ's waist to the *patibulum* draws attention to the heavy crossbeam whose diagonal sweep returns the viewer's gaze to the little devil. And while the tonsured man gazes longingly at Christ, the heavy-lidded Christ looks down at the equally heavy-lidded devil, who stares directly at the cleric's nether parts, his left arm raised as if making to tickle him there with the scourge.

The presence of this little devil, so out of place in the encounter between Christ and the Christian Soul, is striking. His anthropomorphic form is very different from that of an animalistic, furry demon climbing on the Soul's cross and poised to whisper its poisonous words into the young woman's ear in another image of Christ and the Loving Soul, which prefaces a manuscript copy of Henry Suso's *Schriften* (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 710 [322], fol. 1r, Figure 15.4).<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the telltale money bags the Ulm creature holds, his distorted physiognomy, and his mocking inversion of Christ's marks of the Passion – his wounds – suggest he is none other than a figure of the Jew, an avaricious satanic surrogate found frequently in later medieval imagery. Sara Lipton has identified the late twelfth century as a starting point for the significant development of anti-Jewish iconography that both demonized the Jews and drew binding connections between money lending and the Jewish population. Indeed, along with many scholars, Lipton demonstrates that the two terms, “the Jew” and “the usurer,” became synonymous in both theological and secular writings.<sup>5</sup> The money bags have, thus, been used as indices for

4 On the manuscript, see especially exhibition catalogues published in Einsiedeln by Odo Lang: *Miniaturen aus acht Jahrhunderten in Einsiedler Handschriften* (Einsiedeln: Stiftsbibliothek, 1990), 13; *Zimelien des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Einsiedeln: Stiftsbibliothek, 1999), 26f; and *Im Kreuz ist Heil! Das Kreuz als Zeichen des Heils in Handschriften unbd Drucken der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln* (Einsiedeln: Stiftsbibliothek, 2000), 12f.

5 Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 2, 17–22, 147 n. 9. See also: Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Eric Zafran, “The Iconography of Anti-Semitism: A Study Of The Representation Of The Jews In The Visual Arts Of Europe 1400–1600” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, rpt. Ann Arbor, 1973); and Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 140–43.



FIGURE 15.4 *Christ and the Loving Soul, Constance, ca. 1490, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 710 [322], fol. 1r.*

identifying Jews in late medieval visual culture, from the twelfth-century French *Bibles moralisées* replete with images of Jews carrying the bags to the sixteenth-century Scottish Fetternear banner that includes – among the instruments of Christ's Passion, no less – busts of two Jews, one of whom has a money bag hanging around his neck. This, of course, is Judas, whose act of betrayal in exchange for money, as Debra Strickland points out, “tied in neatly to the issue of usury, an ugly point of comparison that supposedly proved the malicious intentions of Jewish moneylenders, who loved money more than anything, as demonstrated by the one who sold out Christ.”<sup>6</sup> Another Jew embroidered on the banner is shown spitting: his physiognomy, with its grotesquely upturned bulbous nose, heavy eyes, and parted lips serves as a striking visual counterpart of the facial features of the Ulm devil (Figure 15.5). This same type, indeed, appears among Christ's Jewish tormentors in the Wurzach Altar Panels completed by the Hans Multscher workshop in Ulm in 1437: the monstrous man looks particularly demonic, his mad gaze upturned, his shaven chin jutting forward (Figure 15.6).<sup>7</sup>

Devils and Jews were so frequently conflated in medieval visual and theological discourses that it was commonly presumed that Jews themselves had horns.<sup>8</sup> The elision of the Jew and the Devil is found as early as patristic literature: according to John Chrysostom, not only synagogues, but also the very souls of the Jews, were the places where demons dwelled.<sup>9</sup> The devil was often represented with perceived Semitic characteristics: an exaggerated hooked

6 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 142.

7 On the late medieval Ulmer art, see: Maris Margaret Doris Armfield, “Art and Society in Ulm 1377–1530” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2012), on the altarpiece in particular, 123–4; Ulrich Söding, “Hans Multschers Wurzach Altar,” *MJBK* 42 (1991): 69–116; and Manfred Tripps, *Hans Multscher: Seine Ulmer Schaffenszeit 1427–1467* (Weißhorn: Verlag, 1969), 86–125. Not many primary documents remain from late medieval Ulm; one of the most valuable extant first-hand descriptions of the city comes from the Dominican monk Felix Fabri, *Tractatus de civitate ulmensi: de eius origine, ordine, regimine, de civibus eius et statu*, ed. Gustav Veessenmeyer (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1889).

8 Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1983), 44–52, and Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 135–36.

9 John Chrysostom, *Homiliae Adversus Judaeos* 1.4, PG 48, cols. 846–49, trans. in *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era*, ed. Wayne A. Meeks and Robert L. Wilken (Missoula, MN: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1978), 92; see further on the iconographic connection between the two in Petra Schöner, *Judenbilder im deutschen Einblattdruck der Renaissance: ein Beitrag zur Imagologie* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 2002), 249–58.



FIGURE 15.5  
*The Fetternear Banner, detail,*  
 ca. 1520, Scotland. PHOTO  
 COURTESY MATS LARSSON.



FIGURE 15.6  
*Hans Multscher and workshop,*  
*the Carryng of the Cross from*  
*the Wurzach Altar (detail), Ulm,*  
 1437, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche  
 Museen, Berlin

nose, for instance, such as that found on the image of the Fallen Angel in the Besserer Chapel of the Ulm Münster, executed by Hans Acker and workshop in 1430–31.<sup>10</sup> Just as the Devil turned into the Jew, so the Jew turned into the Devil, and the demonic protagonist of the Ulm woodcut is nothing but an early manifestation of what became common currency in German art of the sixteenth century: for example, “Der Jüden Ehrbarkeit,” a loathsome anti-Semitic cartoon, features Jews – identifiable by their circular badges, or *rouelles* – as sow-riding, bagpipe-playing, horned and hooved devils (Figure 15.7).<sup>11</sup> The mockery and semantic inversion of Christ’s gestures by the demon in the Ulm woodcut, moreover, suggest his implicit connection to – albeit not direct figuration of – the Antichrist, a creature to be born, according to one tradition, of the incestuous union between the Jews from the tribe of Dan, and, according to another, from intercourse between a Jewish woman and the devil himself.<sup>12</sup> One of the defining traits of the Antichrist is his methodical impersonation of Christ and the perversion of his deeds; he is often pictured in his iteration as the horned Beast.<sup>13</sup>

The place of the Jewish devil in the Ulmer woodcut is, thus, rife with connotations. As elsewhere in Europe, a wave of anti-Semitic sentiment washed over Ulm in the wake of the plague. The Jews, accused of poisoning wells, were attacked by Christian inhabitants of Ulm, and the city council did nothing to stop them. When the property of victims of the pogroms was appropriated by

10 Armfield, “Art and Society,” 150–152, who compares the Wurzach panels with Besserer windows, and provides a substantial bibliography on the latter, reproducing the Fallen Angel window in Figure 222.

11 Published in 1571, BSB Res/4 Polem. 2290 h; see: Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1921), 176.

12 See: Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); and Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), esp. Chapter 5, 101–103 and 112–20.

13 The literature on the Antichrist in medieval culture is broad. See especially the work of Emmerson, who has been unraveling the complex and multivalent meanings of the images of the Antichrist for three decades, from the foundational *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* to his latest work, which discusses the Berry Apocalypse in terms of papal schism, “On the Threshold of the Last Days: Negotiating Image and Word in the Apocalypse of Jean de Berry,” in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012); see also: Rosemary Muir Wright, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); on the connection, see: Debra Strickland “Antichrist and the Jews in Medieval Christian Art and Protestant Propaganda,” *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 1–50, and Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 38–43 and 113–22.

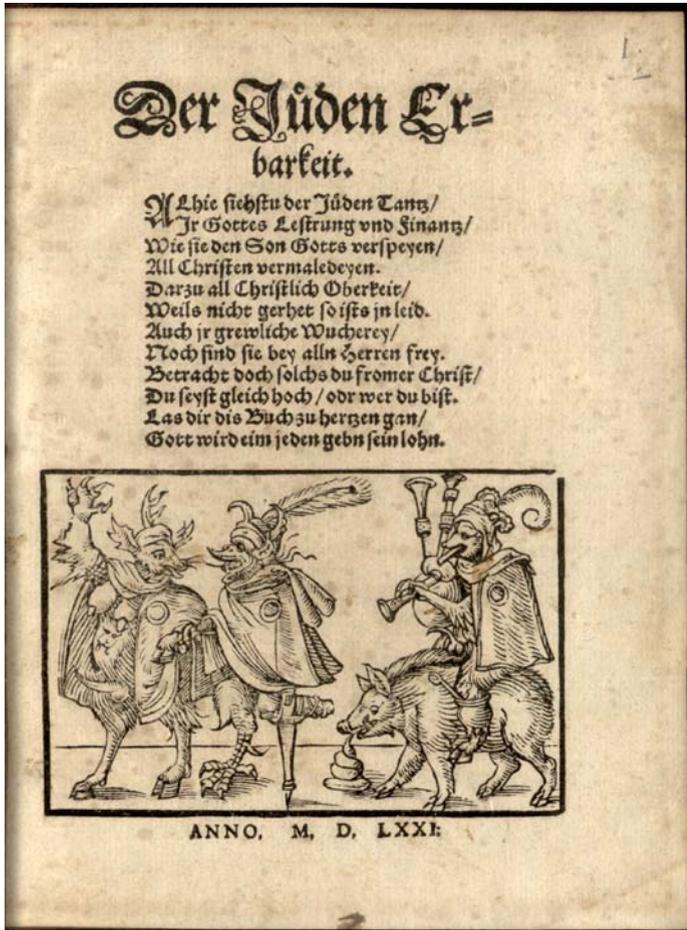


FIGURE 15.7 "Der Jüden Ehrbarkeit," 1571, BSM Res/4 Polem. 2290 h#Beibd.1.  
PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION OF THE BAVARIAN STATE  
LIBRARY, MUNICH.

the city, the authorities claimed to have discovered a letter written by Jerusalem Jews to their Ulm brethren, notifying them that Christ's crucifixion had successfully taken place (the earliest evidence of Jewish population in Ulm dates from the thirteenth century).<sup>14</sup> Tensions mounted: in 1361, the council decreed the legal status of the city's Jews to be entirely dependent on its whim; in 1428, the Ulm Jews were accused of blood libel in the murder of a small boy, Ludwig

14 See the palpably anti-Semitic publication: Eugen Nübling, *Die Judengemeinden des Mittelalters: insbesondere die Judengemeinde der Reichsstadt Ulm: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Städte- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Ulm: Gebr. Nübling, 1896), 300.

of Bruck; and in 1499, following years of discussions with Emperor Maximilian I, the city succeeded in receiving a *Freiheitsbrief* securing permission to throw the Jews out of the city.<sup>15</sup> Their privileges annulled, the Jews were given a devastatingly brief time to sell or otherwise get rid of their movable property; and because their real estate went directly to the prefect of Geislingen, one Wolf of Asch, the expulsion cost the city of Ulm 5,000 gulden as they had to consequently purchase from the emperor the city synagogue, the Jewish hospital and cemetery, bath, and eleven houses belonging to Jewish families.<sup>16</sup> Yet, expropriation and expulsion did not end contact between the Jewish population and Ulm's citizens: because the outcasts were allowed to stay in the small towns around Ulm, Ulmers continued – in an age-old venerable tradition – both borrowing money from the Jews and throwing rocks through their windows. By 1530, Ulm decided it would be best for the Jews to leave the Empire en masse, and charged its envoys to the Diet of Augsburg to bring this possibility to the table.<sup>17</sup>

That the devil in the Ulm woodcut interferes with the salvation of the penitent Christian Soul marked by tonsure is significant. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Ulm clergy were implicated in a series of scandals. When Johannes Capistrano, the Observant Franciscan and a fiery preacher, visited the city in 1454, he was compelled to preach against “vanities” and to point out that the clergy was not setting the best moral example for their parishioners.<sup>18</sup> The texts of his Ulm sermons are no longer extant, but their main themes may be extrapolated from other surviving homilies.<sup>19</sup> Famous for inciting Jewish persecutions in southern Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, especially in the years 1453–54, Capistrano likely elaborated on the explicit connection between clerical transgressions and the perceived wrongdoings of the Jews; indeed, one of his special missions as a papal legate to Germany was to bring to

15 Alte Einungs Ordnung 1448–1641 (SU), Bl. 12ff, in Theodor Victor Brodek, “Society and Politics of Late Medieval Ulm: 1250–1550” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1972), 195. See also: Hassler, Friedrich Pressel, *Geschichte der Juden in Ulm* (Ulm: Gebr. Nübling, 1873); and “Ulm” in the Jewish Encyclopedia, 1906, now available at <<http://www.jewish-encyclopedia.com/articles/14572-ulm>> (accessed 28 May 2014)

16 Herman Dicker, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Ulm; ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Rottweil: M. Rothschild, 1937), 70ff.

17 Brodek, “Society and Politics,” 195–97.

18 Brodek, “Society and Politics,” 457 n. 3: Anon., “Ulmische Chronik” (SU), G1, 1650–2, Bl. 89. On Capistrano, see: Johannes Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran. Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1964–65).

19 For the text of sermons, see: Lucianus Luszczki, *De Sermonibus S. Ioannis a Capistrano*, SA16 (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1961).

justice “the unbelieving Jews,” as per the resolutions of the Council of Basel (1431–43).<sup>20</sup> The middle and the end of the fifteenth century marked notable declines in fortunes and in the population of several south German cities, including Ulm.<sup>21</sup> Preachers, Capistrano among them, attributed the decline to the sins of the social body and the attendant punishment by God. For example, in 1452, the legate preached before the Duke of Saxony, Wilhelm III, in Jena; the sermon, typical of Capistrano’s south German homilies, evidently focused on the need to reform the body of citizenry, and prompted the Duke to issue an ordinance that addressed the people’s morals:

It is apparent that our lands [...] long have been harshly plagued by God with rising prices, poor harvests, death, turmoil, and other burdens [that] have their chief cause in the breaking of God’s commandments, and in other misdeeds all too common in the world. [Capistrano] chastised us [...] telling us that it is our duty to reform ourselves, and everyone. Having been powerfully moved through this preaching, we have determined to act among our subjects [...] to see [...] that these weaknesses are corrected and transformed.<sup>22</sup>

One of Wilhelm’s new prohibitions concerned usury; guilty parties were to be executed and their goods confiscated. It is notable that German pamphlets (*Flugschriften*) published during the early years of the reformation, including those in Ulm, explicitly compared the clerics and the Jews, attacking both for “usury, sloth, seducing women, and for being demonic minions of the Antichrist.”<sup>23</sup> And while reformatory literature was still a couple of decades in

20 “John of Capistrano,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*: <<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4004-capistrano-john-of>> (accessed 28 May 2014); Heidemarie Petersen, “Die Predigtätigkeit des Giovanni di Capistrano in Breslau und Krakau 1453/54 und ihre Auswirkungen auf die dortigen Judengemeinden in Polen und Schlesien,” in *In Breslau zu Hause?: Juden in einer mitteleuropäischen Metropole der Neuzeit*, ed. Manfred Hettling, Andreas Reinke, and Norbert Conrads (Hamburg: Bölling und Galitz, 2003), 22–29; Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 120–26.

21 Brodek, “Society and Politics,” 170.

22 *Diplomataria et Scriptorum Historiae Germanicae Medii Aevii*, ed. Christian Schoettgen and Georg Kreysig, vol. 1 (Altenburg 1753), 527–8, trans. in Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, C. 1400–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 179.

23 Robert Po Chia-Hsia, “Anticlericalism in German Reformation Pamphlets: A Response,” in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko

the future, accusations leveled against local clergy in Ulm – which similarly ranged from moral corruption to financial abuse – pointed to the tensions already inherent in the very fabric of its late medieval social body. Analyzing late medieval German poetry in terms of anticlerical discourse, Albrecht Classen has pointed out that “the clerical estate as a whole received most criticism because of its official claim to moral and ethical superiority over the rest of the population.”<sup>24</sup> When they failed to model proper behavior, clerics came under fire from secular authorities; the Ulm woodcut is a visual witness to this failure. Several secular mandates issued in Ulm, which specifically concerned clerical concubinage and accusations of homosexuality, suggest that the demon’s inappropriate behavior – he stares directly at the tonsured man’s genitals, gesturing as if to touch them with his scourge – is far from coincidental.<sup>25</sup> Financial corruption was also at the heart of clerical misbehavior: when the city council turned to the Bishop of Constance for help in dealing with unruly clerics, it cited speculation as one of the clerical misdeeds.<sup>26</sup> The money bags around the demon’s neck point quite clearly to this particular accusation. But the Ulm clerics, it seems, did not heed the dire warnings or the city’s mandates: the 1460s and 1470s were marked by all manner of behavioral problems, so much so that in 1466 one of the priests, Leonhard Brunwart, resigned from his Fraternity, unable to handle the extreme corruption, while in 1470, a fight among members of the same Fraternity ended in bloodshed.<sup>27</sup>

Because parochial clergy took pastoral responsibility for laymen’s souls, their transgressions marked the rest of their parish, which fell under an interdict that excluded the pious from participating in all manner of rites, including the reception of sacraments. The tonsured man in the Ulm print stands not simply as a figuration of the individual soul who models private pious exercises for the viewer – as is clearly the case with, for example, the Munich broadsheet (Figure 15.2) – but as a representative of the civic body, whose heart

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Augustinus Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 496.

- 24 Albrecht Classen, “Anticlericalism in Late Medieval German Verse,” in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 102–103.
- 25 See: Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest’s Whore to Pastor’s Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 33 n. 94 for documents and bibliography.
- 26 *Regesta Episcoporum Constantiensium: Regesten zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Canstanz von Bubulcus bis Thomas Berlower, 517–1496*, ed. Badischen Historischen Commission (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1886–1931), no. 12725; discussed in Theodor Keim, *Die Reformation der Reichsstadt Ulm: ein Beitrag zur schwäbischen und deutschen Reformationsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: C. Belser, 1851), 111ff., and Brodek, “Society and Politics,” 458.
- 27 Brodek, “Society and Politics,” 457–59; Armfield, “Art and Society in Ulm,” 86–87.

he holds in his hands. This connection is made explicit in the visual echoing between the shapes of the heart and of the coat of arms of Ulm. Both, too, are half-shaded and half-clear, the comparison brought to the fore by the compositional placement of the coat of arms behind the cleric and directly across from the heart he holds. The heart is suspended from a dry tree that rises from a barren two-peaked outcropping whose formal features are doubled by the cleric's body: for example, the hatching on the side of the smaller hill echoes the hatching on the man's thighs, while the sloping hillsides nearly parallel the descending diagonal of his right leg.

The heart as a mobile, multivalent device was a supremely visible sign in later medieval culture; it appears in secular lyric, such as King Rene's *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amour Épris* – where the heart is plucked from the sleeping Lover's chest and subsequently personified by a valiant knight (Figure 15.8) – as well as in devotional literature that promulgated the cult of the Sacred Heart and shaped the heart as the dwelling place for Christ.<sup>28</sup> The latter concept, which stems ultimately from the Augustinian exhortation to carry Christ in one's heart, finds particularly clear resonance in the *imitatio Christi* literature: Thomas à Kempis, for instance, uses the heart metaphor liberally throughout his treatise, instructing the pious to “prepare [their] heart[s] with all diligence, and receive [their] Beloved unto [them],” and to withdraw the heart “from all created things [...] and give [their] heart[s] altogether unto God.”<sup>29</sup> The Ulm woodcut appears to literalize this act: the symbolic heart of the city, given by the contrite cleric to Christ despite the devil's advances, expresses hope that God is to be reborn in the heart of the repentant, remorseful urban body. That the coat of arms hangs from the dry tree, which, in turn, grows from a desolate ground, indexes the hope of rebirth most clearly: taking its inspiration from Ezekiel 17:24 (“The Lord [...] have caused the dry tree to flourish”) and the legend of the Holy Cross, the dry tree appears frequently in late medieval

28 René d'Anjou, *Le livre du cœur d'amour épris*, ed. and trans. Florence Bouchet (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2003); on the heart as a dwelling place, see: Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 137–75.

29 Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. and trans. Leo Sherley-Price, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2005), section 4 in chapter 12. For the original formulation, see: Augustine, Sermon 189:3, PL 38, col. 10006. For the general development of this theme, see: Alois Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria, die Einheit Marias und der Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1955), 196–206. On this and other patristic sources for the metaphor, see: Hugo Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche: die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 11–87. German mystical writings, such as those of Meister Eckhart, enrich and complicate this metaphor.



FIGURE 15.8 René d'Anjou, *Le Livre du Cœur d'Amour épris* (detail: *Heart Plucked from the Dreamer*), 1457-70, Vienna, ONB, Codex Vindobonensis 2597.



FIGURE 15.9  
 Michael Wolgemut and  
 Workshop, pub. by Anton  
 Koberger, *Christ on Mount  
 of Olives*, page 52 from the  
*Treasury (Schatzbehalter)*,  
 1491 Woodcut on cream laid  
 paper with letterpress on  
 verso 245 × 175 mm (image/  
 block/sheet). PHOTO: ART  
 INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO.

art, pointing to Christ's death and so also visualizing hope for redemption.<sup>30</sup> Although the contemporary *Liber Chronicarum* is replete with images of cities (Ulm being one of them) that include bare-branched trees in the townscapes, the pairing of the dry branches and Christ's emaciated body across the expanse of the woodcut is telling. Late medieval German examples of such pairing are plentiful. The dried up tree behind Christ in Michael Wolgemut's woodcut

30 Another famous example appears in Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, where the figure of Justice is placed between the dry and verdant trees, the latter holding Mary (BN Ms Fr. 823, fol. 133v); see: Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 145–218. On the dry tree as the symbol of renewal and redemption, see: Gerhart B. Ladner, "Vegetation symbolism and the concept of Renaissance," in *De artibus opuscula XI: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: University Press, 1961), rpt. in *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983), 1:726, 63, esp. 740ff.

(1491) has already begun to leaf (Figure 15.9); dry and verdant trees compete for space against a thundery sky in Lucas Cranach's 1503 *Crucifixion*; and the coat of arms of Ulm hangs heavily from a dry tree, whose verdancy is incipient, expected through the acts of penitence, contrition, and Christic imitation. This, precisely, is the kind of discipline that Christ offers when he says to the Soul: "I do not remit the punishment of the one that I hold dear." The reeds extended to the Soul indicate clearly what kind of penitence the city must perform: an imitative kind, the pain that Christ himself bore.

The heart-shaped coat of arms, the dry tree from which it hangs, and the stark outcropping from which the dry tree grows collectively stand for the urban body of Ulm – the body from which the cleric emerges, and toward which both Christ and the devil turn. It is indeed this body that carries the visual manifestation of *imitatio Christi* – the five wounds. The flesh of the bleeding Christ who turns towards the cleric is curiously devoid of wounds, nor does he wear a crown of thorns: sanguine drops appear nearly incongruous on his unblemished body. Instead, it is the Ulmer body that is wounded: the outcropping bears the tree as if a thorny crown, and, dotting the hill, are five black circular marks splashed in red – a common visual formula for depicting Christ's wounds in late medieval German woodcuts (see, e.g. Figure 15.10). Dislocated from Christ's body, the wounds become imprinted into the body of the city. The urban body thus transforms into a landscape of stigmata, a topographical map of Christ's pain. The body as the medium for wounding and the body as the image for the wounds, enacted two centuries prior by St. Francis, and performed henceforth by the numerous devout who used their flesh to re-embody Christ, are here refigured as the body of the city.<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, late medieval cities were often metaphorized as somatic entities, their spaces – seen as macrocosms of human bodies – frequently gendered and described in terms of the body "politic."<sup>32</sup> Bodies, in turn, became cities:

31 See: Hans Belting, "Saint Francis and the Body as Image: An Anthropological Approach," on St. Francis's stigmatization as an "iconization of the body as well as the incorporation of the image," in *Looking Beyond: Images, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2010), 3–14; Carolyn Muesig, "Performance of the Passion: The Enactment of Devotion in the Later Middle Ages," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 129–42.

32 On the urban body as a civic body, see: Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009); Elina Gertsman and Elina Räsänen, "Locating the Body in Medieval Reval," in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, King's College London, 2012), 137–58; Michael Camille, "Signs of the



FIGURE 15.10 *Christ's wounds, detail of The Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and Saint John (Schr. 996), German, 15th century, hand-colored Woodcut, Dimensions: sheet: 6 1/8 × 3 7/8 in. (15.5 × 9.8 cm).*

Henry of Lancaster, for example, compares a Christian body beleaguered by sin to a besieged town in his *Livre des saintes médecines*, while Henri de Mondeville's *Chirurgie* draws explicit parallels between urban and bodily structures.<sup>33</sup> The relationship and intersection of Christ's body with the body of the city is articulated as early as the late twelfth century by a monk named Lucian, who imposes, in his *De Laude Cestrie*, the crucified body onto the city of Chester, whose main streets are laid out (and adjusted by Lucian's imagination) so as to form a cross.<sup>34</sup> The language of Lucian's description is fraught: he has the streets "meeting and crossing themselves," and so, to borrow from Keith

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City," in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobiak (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1–36.

33 E.J. Arnould, *Étude sur le Livre des saintes médecines du duc Henri de Lancastre: accompagnée d'extraits du texte* (Paris : M. Didier, 1948), 51–54; Marie-Christine Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages*, trans. Rosemary Morris (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 125–59.

34 *Liber Luciani se Laude Cestrie*, ed. M.V. Taylor, *Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society* 64 (1912); excerpt cited in D.M. Palliser, *Chester: Contemporary Descriptions by Residents and Visitors* (Chester: Council of the City of Chester, 1980), 6–7, and cited and discussed in Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 24ff.

Lilley, suggests “the whole city [...] imitating the Christian act of marking the body with the sign of Christ’s passion, the cross, thus mapping his body onto the ‘body’ of the city as a whole, and the bodies of those of its inhabitants.”<sup>35</sup> This kind of relationship became especially palpable during Corpus Christi processions, which, as Lilley suggests, “connected the urban ‘body’ with the Body of Christ” and “had the ‘body’ of the city performing as a whole, as well as its individual parts, or members.”<sup>36</sup> The mapping of this sacred body on the urban insignia is visualized strikingly in another late fifteenth-century German image, this one produced by the workshop of Bernt Notke and imported to the Livonian city of Reval. There, the coat of arms of Reval, positioned directly below the Man of Sorrows, is nailed to the cross and pierced by *arma Christi* (Figure 15.11).<sup>37</sup> The body of the city not only elides with Christ’s own, but is also made to suffer the torments suffered by Christ: his betrayal, his flagellation, his humiliation, his crucifixion, and his denial by Peter. The crimson ground of the coat of arms takes on a macabre expiatory significance, as it seems drenched in blood, its red a visual echo of the bloody drops that cover the entirety of Christ’s flesh.<sup>38</sup>

The Ulm woodcut figures the city in the throes of *imitatio Christi* in a less complex but no less effective way. Indeed, its very topographic nudity – the stark hills, the black tree, and the small insignia that semantically identifies them – is visually linked to the nudity of the Soul. The cleric and his city stand naked before their God; this notion of the bared soul, which first appears in Jerome’s “Nudus nudum Christi sequi,” is one of the central tenets of Thomas à Kempis’s treatise that exhorts the pious to “be stripped clean of all selfishness,

35 Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 132

36 Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 158; on the feast, see first and foremost: Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist*, and Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

37 On *arma Christi* see: Rudolph Berliner, “Arma Christi,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–152 and Robert Suckale, “Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder,” *Städte-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 177–208. Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (London: Lund Humphries, 1971–72), 192, and Kathryn Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2003), 175–77 discuss the shield as Christ’s body in this and other illuminations. In this volume see: Salvador Ryan, “Scarce anyone survives a heart wound: The Wounded Christ in Irish Bardic Religious Poetry,” 291–312; Vibeke Olson, “Penetrating the Void: Picturing the Wound in Christ’s Side as a Performative Space,” 313–39; and Virginia Langum, “‘The Wounded Surgeon’: Devotion, Compassion and Metaphor in Medieval England,” 269–90.

38 For an in-depth discussion of this image in its original context, see: Gertsman and Räsänen, “Locating the Body,” 139–40.



FIGURE 15.11

*Workshop of Bernt Notke, Christ as the Man of Sorrows and St Elisabeth of Thuringia, first view of the Holy Spirit altarpiece, 1483. Church of the Holy Spirit, Tallinn, Estonia. PHOTO BY THE KIND PERMISSION OF GUSTAV PIIR, CHURCH OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, TALLINN.*

and naked follow the naked Jesus.”<sup>39</sup> On the empty hills, the wounds stand out all the more, their red echoed in the money bags the devil holds, the sides of the speech scrolls, Christ’s blood and the cruciform in his halo, and the angel’s wings. The color moves across the print, highlighting the key elements presented by the woodcut: corruption offered by the demon, contrition offered by the Soul, the Passion offered by Christ, and the stern advice offered by the angel. This advice bears repeating: “Think of the last days, then you will never sin.” Ostensibly a comment on the sins of Ulm, the angel’s counsel, of course, is directed at the viewers. The angel is alone in acknowledging beholders who are effectively barred from what appears to be an intensely intimate encounter between the Soul of the anthropomorphized city and its Savior as well as its demon. The woodcut is staged as a didactic tableau of sorts, an individual urban plight made public: particular to its time and place, it is nonetheless a spectacle to contemplate, and from which to learn. On the surface, its lesson is straightforward: the city is offered a choice between Christ who extends punishment as the promise of salvation, and the devil, whose promises are of a carnal, emphatically terrestrial nature. In turn, the heart that the Soul proffers, the wounds that the city assumes, and the severe discipline of Christic imitation that the Soul accepts on behalf of Ulm’s inhabitants, predicate the choice that Christ will make on Judgment Day when separating the saved from the damned.

But it is necessary to put some pressure on the meaning of this imitation, and particularly on the meaning of the wounds. On the one hand, if the Soul in the Ulm woodcut is meant to be a model for the viewer, it is a fraught model indeed, sinful through and through, corrupted by carnal and pecuniary transgressions, if ultimately contrite. On the other, the print clearly warns against *literal* imitation, which is here construed as a dangerous, mocking act. It is the devil who copies Christ precisely in his gestures, in his posture, even in the reeds he holds – while the cleric, who, along with Christ, provides a kind of parenthesis for the figure of the demon, embodies corrective difference: his stance is just sufficiently different from Christ’s, as is the position of his arms. Paradoxically, the print that literalizes the give-your-heart-unto-God trope seems to warn precisely against physical, direct imitation, suggesting that

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39 Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, Book 3, Chapter 37; discussed vis-à-vis Jan van Eyck’s Dresden Triptych in Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 148–49. On *Nudus nudum Christum sequi*, see: Matthäus Bernards, “Nudus nudum Christum sequi,” *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 14 (1951): 148–51, and Giles Constable, “*Nudus nudum Christum sequi* and Parallel Formulas in the Twelfth Century: A Supplementary Dossier,” in *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: Festschrift George Huntston Williams*, ed. F. Forrester Church and Timothy George (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 83–91.

*imitatio Christi* is a spiritual, metaphorical act that must always be figurative. Such a warning against the mindless aping of Christ's pain resonates throughout the late medieval literature written at a time when bodily imitations of the Passion became somewhat *de rigueur* in devotional cultures throughout Europe. After all, as Giles Constable has suggested, "If Christ was a real man who suffered real wounds, and if the object of Christians was to imitate him literally," then they could "bear his precise wounds."<sup>40</sup>

But such imitations, exemplified in the acts of the mystic Dorothy of Montau who stood against a wall for hours in the position of Christ crucified, to extend the duration of her behavior, erased the border between the allegorical and the literal forms of imitation.<sup>41</sup> The erasure was dangerous: in relating an exemplum about a Liège layman's attempt to crucify himself on a Good Friday – he was narrowly saved by the shepherds who happened to spot his tormented body hanging on the cross high up on a hill – Jacques of Vitry is quick to point out that the layman's suicidal act was done at the urging of the devil.<sup>42</sup> A narrative of a less lucky monk who succeeded in auto-crucifixion, also demonically instigated, is recorded in a Provençal miscellany (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale ms. Fr 25415), which, as Kathryn Smith has convincingly argued, cautions against the extremes of direct Christic imitation that in its literalness constitutes "the perversion of the ideal of *imitatio Christi*."<sup>43</sup> When Venturino de Bergamo sent scourges to Katharina von Gueberschwyr, the abbess of Unterlinden, to be used on the bodies of her nuns Augustina, Christina, and Anna in memory of Christ's wounds, he nonetheless advised that they should not go overboard and compete with Christ, as to do so would be vain.<sup>44</sup> As

40 Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," in *Three Studies in Medieval Religions and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, the Orders of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 194–5.

41 For more on the imitative wounds of Dorothea von Montau, see: Albrecht Classen, "Wounding the Body and Freeing the Spirit: Dorothea von Montau's Bloody Quest for Christ, a Late-Medieval Phenomenon of the Extraordinary Kind," in this volume, 417–47.

42 Jacques de Vitry, Exemplum 44, in *Die exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry*, ed. Joseph Greven (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1914), 31–2.

43 Kathryn Smith, "The Monk Who Crucified Himself," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 44–72, at 52.

44 See: Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Liber Miraculorum of Unterlinden: An Icon in Its Convent Setting," in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 279–316, at 303; and Hamburger, "Overkill, Or History That Hurts," *Common Knowledge* 13. 2–3 (Spring 2007): 404–28, at 416.

Jeffrey Hamburger has argued, one of the clearest examples of the renunciation of literal imitation in favor of the spiritual is found in Henry Suso's *Exemplar*, which "describes all manner of self-inflicted suffering" and in due course "constructs a spiritual pattern, in following which the protagonist ultimately abandons the most literal understanding of the *imitatio Christi* in favor of an inward, spiritualized likeness."<sup>45</sup>

Visual vocabulary for suggesting the rejection of direct Christic imitation must, per force, operate by disjunction from established imagery, and the Ulm woodcut achieves just that. In addition to the figures of the devil (who literally, and therefore inappropriately, imitates Christ) and the figure of the cleric (whose imitation is suggested but not absolutely embodied), it is the wounds – their shape and their displacement – that forcefully and explicitly articulate the necessity to imitate, rather than ape, Christ's suffering. All five wounds imprinted on Ulm's body are rendered identical: instead of one elongated perforation and four round ones, all the wounds conform to the same shape. Like the Soul that imitates Christ (but not quite) so the wounds sustained by the city are like Christ's wounds (but not quite). Literalness slips here, refusing and resisting pure, absolute imitation. That the side wound – the one that formed the focus of such sustained devotion in the Middle Ages – is the one to be transformed is hardly an accident: its potential for devotional and imaginative ingress, which characterizes later medieval piety, would have been out of place in the rhetoric of the penitent, disciplinary imitation offered by the city.<sup>46</sup> The very placement of the wounds upon the body of Ulm, moreover, contravenes one of the most commonly leveled charges against improper *imitatio Christi*: that it is solitary, and as such both prone to error and socially useless. In discussing the Provençal drawing, Smith points out that the monk attempting auto-crucifixion is alone in his cell, in direct contrast to those mystics "whose spiritual practices and performances were, like the Crucifixion of Jesus itself, disseminated by biographers and witnessed by many."<sup>47</sup> It is significant that the wounds that slip from Christ's body do not find themselves imprinted on

45 Hamburger, "Overkill," 416.

46 For the extensive bibliography on different approaches to side wound, see: Martha Easton, "The Wound of Christ, the Mouth of Hell: Appropriations and Inversions of Female Anatomy in the Later Middle Ages," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), 395–414, and Silke Tammen, "Blick und Wunde – Blick und Form: zur Deutungsproblematik der Seitenwunde Christi in der Spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter* in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek et al. (Munich: Fink, 2006), 85–114.

47 Smith, "The Monk," 68.

the heart that the cleric offers. Although the imagery of the bleeding, wounded heart was common currency in late medieval imagery – the kind that, for example, reveled in depicting St. Catherine with the bloody, dripping organ ripped right out of her chest – here the heart held by the Soul remains unblemished, and it is the collective body of the city that suffers the wounding. The importance of constructing the imitation of Christ as a communal event with a direct social objective is nowhere more clearly articulated than in the words of Walter Hilton, a late fourteenth-century Augustinian mystic, who rejected the practice of Passion devotion if it was self-serving rather than shared. As Smith reminds us, in voicing this condemnation, Hilton “utilized the long-established metaphor of Christ’s body as the Christian community in order to make his point.”<sup>48</sup> The body of Ulm is figured in the woodcut as just such a Christian community, which opens its admission of sin, as well as its contrition and corrective imitation, to the beholding body at large, as an example to follow but not to replicate.

The image of the wounds, then, functions as a nexus of meanings articulated in the print, predicating visual and semantic inversions and echoes that converge on the wounded hillside. The wounds identify the city of Ulm as a body in need of collective and imitative contrition for transgressions; they serve as expiatory marks, offered by this contrite body; and they point to the necessity of the metaphorical, rather than literal, Christic behavior. In doing so, they guide the viewer’s gaze from one protagonist of the woodcut to another, from Christ as a model for proper imitation, to the Soul that properly submits itself to this imitation, to the quasi-Jewish demon whose physical aping of Christ’s body not only indexes him as an anti-Christ but also implies the dangers in the profound misunderstanding of proper *imitatio Christi* and the seductive ease with which such misunderstanding can lead one astray. Grounded as it is in specific events that took place in Ulm at the close of the fifteenth century – clerical scandals, anti-Semitic acts, fiery sermons preached to the anxious populace – the woodcut nonetheless aspires to a universal message that goes beyond the *Nudus nudum Christi sequi* precept. Despite the host of worldly dangers articulated in the print, dangers that surround a good Christian citizen in the form of satanic unbelievers, corrupt Church officials, and the seductions of easy and thus erroneous theology, this message is one of hope. After all, unlike later accusations leveled against the clergy for being “as

48 Smith, “The Monk,” 69; and R.N. Swanson, “Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages,” in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A.A. MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 1–30, at 14–15.

blind as the Jews” – this particular one published in *Ein Gespräch mit einem frommen Altmütterlein*, and penned by Heinrich von Kettenbach, who preached in Ulm’s Franciscan cloister in the 1520s – the woodcut ultimately implies divine forgiveness, at least to those who, not only individually but also communally, follow the angel’s admonition to “think of the last days.”<sup>49</sup>

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49 In *Flugschriften gegen die Reformation (1525–1530)*, ed. Adolf Laube, 2 vols (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 1:211.



SECTION 5

*Passionate Wounds*



