THE INSPIRATION OF EUROPEAN ART IN FRANZ JÜTTNER'S ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE GRIMM BROTHERS' FAIRY TALE SCHNEEWITCHEN

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Abstract

The paper discusses the iconographic sources of a series of eight illustrations to the fairy tale Schneewittchen painted by Franz Albert Jüttner (1905–10). So far, the paintings themselves have not been the subject of further analysis. In this paper concerning the Schneewittchen series, I have focused on showing the different prototypes in the history of art—from the Romanesque, through the Italian, German, and Dutch Renaissance, the Baroque painting of H. Han, the roccoco style of F. Boucher, the Romanticism of Delacroix, Courbet’s Realism, to illustrations inspired by Art Nouveau. I have also taken into account the impact of selected works of architecture and contemporary illustrations of fairy tales (W. C. Drupsteen), and the likely impact of photography. Based on this, I have attempted to recreate Franz Jüttner’s individual and erudite manner of working, which involved the use of compositional references, and the transforming of elements of individual works of art.

Key words: Franz Jüttner, painting, inspiration, composition, prototype

INTRODUCTION

The article discusses the iconographic sources of a series of eight illustration to the fairy tale Schneewittchen, painted by Franz Albert Jüttner in the years 1905–10, which were used in a publication printed in Mainz in Josef Scholz’s publishing house.1 The inspiration for these illustrations was the contemporary interest in one of the most famous fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm. They also embellished many of the illustrated editions published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in various European countries.

Franz Jüttner (born 23/04/1865 in Lindenstadt – died 01/05/1926 in Wolfenbüttel)—a German graphic artist, illustrator of books, poster artist and the author of socio-political caricatures—was active in a period known as Wilhelmine Germany. He was originally employed as a draftsman in the Office of the District Court in Birnbaum (now Międzychód, Poland) in the Regierungsbezirk of Posen (now Poznań, Poland). In 1880 he moved to Berlin where he continued his studies as a self-taught illustrator, and under the painter and illustrator Ludwig Burger.2 After 1887, he mostly drew political caricatures. He was one of the main creators of cartoons for the satirical German weekly Lustige Blätter [Fun Pages].3 He also made a series of anti-Catholic and anti-Polish satirical drawings for Kladderadatsch [Crash].

Between 1905 and 1910 he made the illustrations which are of interest to us here,4 and before 1910, the illustrations for a large decorative children’s book translated into English under the tile: Bake Cakes!” Children love rhymes with drawings by Franz Jüttner. In 1912, he illustrated Er, Sie, Es. Franz Jüttner Album [He, She, It. The Franz Jüttner Album], published in Berlin by Dr. Eysler. For the publishing house of Ludwig Bate and Kurt Meyer-Rotermund, Jüttner illustrated Das Nachtwächterbäcchlein [Little Book of the Nightwatchman] which appeared in 1923, and Der kleine Jäger [The Little Hunter] in collaboration with Julius Schlattmann. In 1917 his creative work stopped

3 I posted the list of websites with information about Jüttner and books illustrated by him, in my first article: K. Bogacka (2014), pp. 333–53.
4 Brüder Grimm, Schneewittchen, Bilder von Franz Jüttner, Josef Scholz Verlag, Mainz 1910.
for a while due to suffering a nervous breakdown, after which Jüttner moved to Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony, where he died nine years later.  

His best known works include his wash drawings illustrating Schneewittchen—thanks also to the reprints. The heroine of the fairy tale’s countenance, known in contemporary popular culture primarily from the Walt Disney film, seems to have been modelled on Jüttner’s illustrations. However, to date, they have not been the subject of in-depth academic research.  

In 2012, at a conference devoted to the subject of fairy tales in contemporary culture, I presented an iconographic and psychoanalytical analysis of these illustrations. I drew attention to the expression and minuteness of detail in them, which is rooted in the art of the late nineteenth century, and also the fact that the artist drew on compositional models and ideas borrowed from European (not only German) art of different periods: from the Romanesque to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially from well-known works, both of a religious and secular nature. Because Jüttner transformed these models—although his illustrations are full of references—they constitute an authorship set. The wash drawing technique, the linearity of the forms, and interest in the natural world, characteristic of Jüttner’s illustrations, were inspired by Japanese art which was fashionable at the turn of the nineteenth/twentieth century. These reminiscences are, however, not as highly stylized as in Art Nouveau, or its German version, Jugendstil.  

Here, I shall attempt to more accurately recreate Jüttner’s individual and erudite manner of working, which involved the use of compositional references, and transforming the elements of individual works of art. To achieve this it is necessary to carry out a formal analysis of the illustrations, indicating their compositional prototypes and the models used for specific details, as well as to show whether and how they have been transformed. It is also important to reference the methods and results of Jüttner’s work to the European tradition of making copies and imitations.  


The first illustration in the text, which opens the series, shows the Queen staring at her reflection in the magic mirror hanging on the wall of a castle. (Fig. 1.5) The treatment of the composition and its individual components, reflect an illustration made a few years earlier of this same episode in fairy tale. The author, a contemporary of Jüttner, was the Dutch graphic artist, illustrator and painter, Wilhelmina Cornelia Drupsteen. The original illustration dating from 1906, the standing figure of the queen, in a magnificent dress with a train, marks the diagonal sloping line of the composition which stands out against the dominant vertical lines of the background. Drupsteen, alluding to her recent experiences as a fashion cartoonist, depicted a dress inspired by the Japanese kimono and a “Japanese” coiffure—hair framing the cheeks and pinned up in a knot at the back of her head. The likeness was clearly made under the influence of Charles Rennie Mackintosh’s design for the wall decoration for the house of...

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7 K. Bogacka, Analiza ikonograficzno-psychoanalityczna ilustracji Franza Jüttnera do baśni Schneewittchen braci Grimm, lecture given at the International Academic Conference Baśni we współczesnej kulturze [Fairytales in contemporary culture], A. Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts in Kalisz, Kalisz, 24–25/05/2012 and an article under the same title: K. Bogacka (2014), pp. 333–53.  
8 Wilhelmina Cornelia Drupsteen (1880–1966), graphic designer, illustrator, and painter. Her painting (still lifes, portraits, genre scenes and landscapes) are in the most part realistic; however her prints and illustrations of fairy tales are modern, and stylized in the spirit of Art Nouveau. Drupsteen introduced geometrical decoration and soft colours, Art Nouveau ornamentation, and updated clothes.
Mrs. Cranston in Glasgow. The Castle interior, with light coloured tones was simplified in the spirit of the Arts and Crafts Movement.9

In accordance with his manner, Jüttner copied the main features of the composition and specific details, but gave them a more conservative treatment. Although the queen’s gown brings out the charms of the female silhouette in accordance with ladies fashion in the Art Nouveau period, it also contains archaic elements, such as a long train and very wide sleeves,10 and only the pinned veil imitates the shape of the fashionable coiffure.

Moreover, fragments of the chamber in Drupsteen’s version have been recreated—only this time in a mirror image—like the arch with a curtain, and the three branched candelabrum set against the pillar. The outlines of the furniture in front of the queen were repeated, including the motifs of the arches and the lion’s head, but a washstand replaced the “gothic” bench with backrest and armrests, built into the wall and upholstered with trimmed fabric with patterned cushions on the seat. The entire composition has been freed up to make room for an abundance of decorative elements. The open coffer with jewels, which stands on a console table which has legs shaped like paired columns (reminiscent of the lower part of a Spanish Vargüeño writing cabinet) alludes to the shape of the rectangular washbasin. The small round mirror—in which the queen looks at herself—was transformed into a square one in a carved frame. Jüttner’s version of the chandelier and sconce behind her head became a mediaeval “crown of light” (German: Lichtskrone) hung on chains, and a candelabrum.

This interior’s magnificent architecture and rich furnishings were undoubtedly inspired by historicism, and in particular the (recently built) residences of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, of the House of Wittelsbach.11 The main source of inspiration was probably the neo-Romanesque vestibule at Neuschwanstein castle. Reference was also made to the magic table on which the best food appeared when the words “Little table, cover yourself!” (Tischlein deck dich!) were uttered. This table was made real in one of the rooms at Herrenchiemsee, where a mechanism hidden in the floor could lower the table to the floor below, where it was set, the food placed on it, and then was raised to the room in the palace above, appearing to have magically set itself. The peacock on the terrace’s balustrade alludes to the splendid sculptures and paintings of this royal bird at Linderhof palace and the adjoining buildings, such as the Moorish Kiosk.

Fig. 1.1. Vestibule at Neuschwanstein castle

Fig. 1.2. View of the vestibule performed using displacement, mirror image and duplication (archs)

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9 G. van der Hoeven, J. Grimm, W. Grimm (1906), Sneeuwwitje [Snow White], [12 coloured] illustrations W. C. Drupsteen, Amsterdam.
The common motif of the curtain—in Drupsteen’s illustration it is drawn back, and in Jüttner’s hangs freely—separates the room from the outside world. The church tower visible in the background is reminiscent of the architecture of St. Michael’s church in Hildesheim. Jüttner used old patterns, while Drupsteen’s only shows a hall with a staircase visible in the distance.

The scene with the magic mirror is therefore a compilation of Drupsteen’s illustration and reminiscences of Ottonian architecture and the neo-mediaeval residence of King Ludwig II of Bavaria.
II. SNOW WHITE FLEEING THROUGH THE FOREST. INSPIRATION DERIVED FROM NORTHERN RENAISSANCE ART AND THE PAINTING OF GUSTAVE COURBET

The next illustration in the fairy tale introduces the viewer to the world of wild nature (Fig. 2.1). The tree trunks define the vertical lines, creating the backdrop for Snow White’s flight. Her white, distinctly outlined silhouette contrasts sharply with her surroundings which are painted in subdued tones, but full of life thanks to the creatures inhabiting it. By presenting a forest landscape and locating in it the main character, Jüttner was probably drawing attention to the work of two periods in which the subject was particularly relevant. Gustave Courbet’s work, which belonged to the previous generation, contained two much commented-upon paintings: *Bathers* dating from 1853 and *The Shelter of the Roe Deer at the Stream of Plaisir-Fontaine* (in the French department of Doubs), exhibited at the Salon in 1866 and received enthusiastically (P. Courthion 1963, pp. 40 and 133). The natural light and unpretentious manner of depicting the animals in undisturbed surroundings was undoubtedly the inspiration for depicting the animals blending into their environment.

Courbet’s earlier painting may also have interested Jüttner because of the controversy it excited. Joseph-Benoît-Marie Guichard criticized the figure of the “fat bourgeoise” appreciating the “beautiful landscape” (P. Courthion 1963, p. 59). The most shocking motif in Courbet’s painting—the realistically rendered white female body against a natural background—has here been transformed into an ethereal girlish figure. The importance of this picture for the illustration made by Jüttner can also be seen in his use of colour: warm greens and browns.

![Fig. 2.1. F. Jüttner, Snow White fleeing through the forest, Fig. II of the fairy tale](image1)

![Fig. 2.2. G. Courbet, The Shelter of the Roe Deer at the Stream of Plaisir-Fontaine, 1866, a mirror image, fragment](image2)

![Fig. 2.3. A. Dürer, Adam and Eve, 1504, a mirror image](image3)

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12 Gustave Courbet, *Bathers*, 1853, oil on canvas, the Musée Fabre, Montpellier.
In addition, the illustration under discussion includes a number of reminiscences and quotations from the works of the Northern Renaissance; a prominent place is occupied by Albrecht Dürer’s copperplate engraving of *Adam and Eve*, which, in the sixteenth century, had already become the model for portraying a nude in natural surroundings. Jüttner, hypothetically, also based on Adam’s pose.

The second human figure visible in this illustration—the hunter, in the distance, who at the queen’s behest was to have killed Snow White—was probably modelled on details from paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Elder. His pose, the hill, and the architecture which rises up behind him on a diagonal line, as well as the forking tree trunks, are reminiscent of the characteristic silhouettes and their surroundings in *Hunters in the Snow*, seen in mirror image, while the use of a subdued palette makes this motif close to the painting *Autumn*.

Most of the likenesses of the animals enlivening the forest were derived from Albrecht Dürer’s studies of animals—separate or forming (sometimes very important) supplements to his larger compositions. What draws our attention are the similar poses and the simplified manner of presentation compared to Dürer. This applies to the stag beetle in the foreground, probably modelled on Dürer’s drawing dating from 1505, a twice shown squirrel, after a study from 1512, the owl (an original dating from 1508), and small birds, one of which resembles the robin (Erithacus rubecula). The raspberry bushes, the noble boletus mushrooms and poisonous toadstools, were also realistically shown with an accuracy “reminiscent” of the work of Dürer.

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14 Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, copperplate, 1504. In Jüttner’s day “Dürer became a symbol of the classical form, he showed the masterful command by a man of the North over the classical world of art”. W. Hütt (1985), p. 9.

15 Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *Hunters in the Snow*, oil on panel and *Return of the Flock (Autumn)*, oil on oak panel; Both paintings belong to the series *The Seasons* dating from 1565, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

16 Hütt drew attention to the popularity of Albrecht Dürer’s animal studies at the turn of the century, W. Hütt (1985), p. 9.
Fig. 2.8. A. Dürer: studies of birds and animals

Other origins can be found for the bird with the blue plumage. It brings to mind the title page of the German translation of Madame d’Aulnoy’s fairy tale, Der Blaue Vogel.17 Contemporaneously with Jüttner’s illustrations—in 1908—Maurice Maeterlinck also wrote his famous Symbolist play L’Oiseau Bleu [The Blue Bird].18 The fox and the wolf—of no identified provenance—are a popular theme in illustrations of fairy tales; the wolf was also widespread in nineteenth century painting. The fox’s white “tie” is here shown in the same place of composition, where Courbet painted the one of roe deer’s white rear. Perhaps Jüttner’s intention was to willfully transform the meanings of the copied subjects: the mild herbivore into a beast of prey, and the sexual image of a woman, without seeking to aestheticize it—into a young girl dressed in white.

III. SNOW WHITE SLEEPING AT THE DWARFS’ HOUSE. INSPIRED BY THE BAROQUE PAINTER HERMAN HAN

The most important illustration in Jüttner’s cycle, presenting the sleeping Snow White surrounded by dwarfs, was repeated twice—on the front cover, and it was the third in the text. (Fig. 3.2)

The scene showing the dwarfs’ delight over the sleeping girl has its origins in sacral art—in paintings depicting the adoration of the Child Jesus. A detailed comparative analysis shows conclusively that the direct, and only, model for this illustration is the main scene on the predella of the altar of St. Mary’s Cathedral in Pelplin in Pomerania (which then belonged to Germany). The scene depicted the Adoration of the Shepherds and was painted by Herman Han (1610–20). Jüttner must have known the nocturnal scene in Pelplin, which in the nineteenth century sparked the interest of art scholars.19 He recreated large fragments of the main scene, also rotating them at an angle or in mirror image, sometimes caricaturing them, thus giving the illustration an anti-religious tone.

The illustrator was apparently fascinated by the “Rembrandtesque” use (if it can be called that as it was before Rembrandt’s time) of chiaroscuro as well as the traditional depiction of the shepherds as peasants, which he highlighted by caricaturing the facial features and expressions of the dwarfs.20 The differences in the lighting of individual parts of the face in relation to the original painting, stem from the fact that Jüttner’s composition is illuminated by four oil lamps, placed either above or in front of the faces of the group gathered around Snow White, whereas in Han’s painting, the light derives from the divine source—the Child Jesus—which illuminates the faces of the viewers from below or from the front. Jüttner’s expressive lighting, emphasizing the caricatured details of the physiognomies contrasts with the gentle glow depicted by Han, which softens the features.

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19 Around the mid-nineteenth century the painting underwent conservation work, the results of which were published by Offeres in Berlin in 1851 and in 1885 Haise attributed it to Han (see: J. S. Pasierb (1974), p. 278, cat. 32). The header “Hermann Hahn” was introduced into Nagler’s Dictionary in 1837 (G. K. Nagler, 1837, Vol. 5, p. 601), and in 1910 F. Schultz devoted his paper to Han (J. S. Pasierb, 1974, p. 7). For literature on the works of Herman Han from Jüttner’s times see: H. Basner (1935).
20 For a list of the features in Han’s paintings see: J. S. Pasierb (1968), pp. 68 and 65.
He also made use of individual elements of the central scene in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, partly turning them at an angle, or in mirror image. As a result of both these types of transformation, Mary’s face became Snow White’s, with a small mouth, straight nose, rosy cheeks and hair smoothly framing her face. The outline of her shoulders and the arrangement of her childishly plump hands on the coverlet recreate, in mirror image, and more loosely, parts of the figure of the Child Jesus.

Three of the dwarfs are modelled on three of the shepherds which form a group on the right in Han’s painting, but in Jüttner’s illustration the composition is reversed, and is more cramped. Furthermore, the profile of the dwarf on the right of the illustration is a caricature of the shepherd on the right of the group of shepherds.

The angel on the right of the *predella*, with upraised hands and head inclined in bashful worship, was the model for two of the figures. The dwarf in the lower left corner of the composition who has placed a finger on the bared teeth his smiling mouth is a caricature of his mirror image. The second dwarf visible above, who is leaning over with his protruding backside, was transformed by depicting the figure on which it was based in mirror image, and turning it at an angle.
Fig. 3.5. H. Han, the Child Jesus’s hands (a mirror image) and the face of Mary (a mirror image and rotation)  

Fig. 3.6. F. Jüttner, sleeping Snow White (Grimm 1910, fig. III, fragment)  

Fig. 3.7. H. Han, cramped heads of the three shepherds  

Fig. 3.8. F. Jüttner, three dwarfs (Grimm 1910, fig. III, fragment)  

Fig. 3.9. H. Han, Shepherd on the right side of the group of shepherds  

Fig. 3.10. F. Jüttner, dwarf on the right side – a caricature of the shepherd (Grimm 1910, fig. III, fragment)  

Fig. 3.12. H. Han, the angel on the right side, a mirror image and a turn  

Fig. 3.13. F. Jüttner, dwarf in the lower left corner and the second dwarf above (Grimm 1910, fig. III, fragment)  

Fig. 3.14. H. Han’s painting, a mirror image, fragment: blue cloth spread  

Fig. 3.15. F. Jüttner, red bedspread (Grimm 1910, fig. III, fragment)  

Also characteristic details of the composition have been recreated. The gesture of the middle dwarf alludes to the spread out hands of the middle shepherd. The form and arrangement of the folds of the blue cloth spread on the manger of the Child have been transferred into the red bedspread covering the sleeping Snow White.  

The individual elements put together by Jüttner, clearly indicates his interest, indeed fascination, with Han, who in his works combined the innovative effects of chiaroscuro, use of colour, compositional skills, and a wealth of religious subjects. Jüttner’s illustration does not show strong similarities to any other work with such spectacular lighting effects. Despite the meagre information available about
Jüttner, it can be assumed he knew works such as Correggio’s Adoration of the Child by Shepherds dating from 1530 (and thus painted before Han’s predella); both versions of the Adoration of the Shepherds by Rembrandt van Rijn from 1646 (the authorship version in the Old Pinakothek in Munich and the studio version at the National Gallery in London), as well as similar compositions made as etchings, and paintings of the same subject made by Guercino and George de la Tour. The choice of Han’s work as his direct model show the emphasis Jüttner placed on emotional response to a painting.

The fascination with the Baroque master, however, manifests itself in his effort to bring out that which is sublime, spiritual, and idealistic in a very blunt and literal manner, using a means of expression reserved for sacral art. In the illustration under discussion, Jüttner combined form inspired by Baroque religious painting with a palette unlike any of the above mentioned works. The prevalence of yellows and ochres contrasted with black is closest to Pieter Brueghel the Younger’s Egg Dance which has sexual symbolism and depicts a Dutch proverb. This game of meanings also occurs (although to varying degrees) in the other illustrations.

In relation to the illustration under analysis, another almost contemporary one (dating from 1907) should be mentioned; it depicts the same episode of the fairy tale and was made by Peter Newell, and it may have been a direct inspiration for Jüttner, who may have been interested in the grotesque physiognomy of the dwarfs contrasted with the sleeping girl’s motionless face. However, because of its simple composition, it would only have been a starting point for the transformation of Han’s painting described above.

IV. THE STEPMOTHER IN THE GUISE OF A PEDDLAR VISITS SNOW WHITE. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER’S PAINTING AND WILHELMINA C. DRUPSTEEN’S CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE FAIRY TALE

The next three illustrations (figs. 4.3, 5.3, 6.1; Grimm 1910, Figs. IV, V and VI) concern the three (consecutive, after the initial order to the forester to kill her) attempts by her stepmother to deprive Snow White of her life. They form a triptych which describes the queen’s felonious plan—from the first attempt (the stepmother in the guise of a pedlar), through the dwarfs’ warning, to the stepmother’s triumph over the lifeless body of the poisoned Snow White. In the first and third scenes, the positive and negative heroines are alone, face to face.

Jüttner probably associated the scene in which the stepmother visits Snow White in the guise of a pedlar with the milliner in the painting by François Boucher. He borrowed the arrangement of the two intersecting diagonals from this painting which he used for the two figures—the seated figure on the left, facing the viewer but leaning to the side, and the second, seen in profile view, inclining slightly towards the other. In Jüttner’s illustration, the first diagonal is indicated by the heads of the two figures, while the light falling obliquely from the left, highlights the second diagonal. Two other paintings by Boucher were constructed in a similar manner: The Interrupted Sleep dating from 1750, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Breakfast dating from 1739, in the Musée du Louvre.

21 Antonio Allegri called Correggio (1494–1534, born and died in Correggio), Adoration of the Child Jesus by Shepherds, in Italian called La Notte [The Holy Night]. This work was commissioned on 24 October 1522 by Alberto Pratonero for the family chapel in the Basilica of San Prospero in Reggio Emilia, and was completed in 1528–30 and since 1740 has been in the Dresden Gallery.
22 Giovanni Francesco Barbieri called Guercino (1591–1666) (ascribed to); Adoration of the Shepherds, pen and red chalk, and finished with a wash of bistre, 21 × 17.9 in, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Georges de la Tour (1593–1652), The New-born, 1640s, oil on canvas, 76 × 91 cm, Musée des beaux-arts, Rennes.
23 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, Egg Dance, c. 1620, private collection.
24 Peter Sheaf Newell Hersey (1862–1924) was an American illustrator and writer. D. Wepman (2000).
26 François Boucher, Milliner (The Morning), 1746. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
In addition, the motif of the two female figures also links the illustration to *Milliner* as do—in a manner characteristic of Jüttner—the borrowed details: on the left, the repetition of the latticed windows, and lower down, the leg of the rococo dressing-table was “transformed” into a bent tree trunk, the gesture when presenting the ribbon or belt is repeated, as well as placing the tabby cat in the same place in the composition. The animal is depicted in a similar manner to the cat in Pieter Brueghel the Elder’s *Netherlandish Proverbs*.

The second, no less important source of inspiration was an illustration for another episode in the fairy tales—*Snow White eats at the home of the dwarfs*—by the previously mentioned Wilhelmina Cornelia Drupsteen. (G. van der Hoeven et al., 1906, fig. V) Here, too, the Dutch artist used stylization alluding to the Art Nouveau period as well as the somewhat earlier Arts and Crafts Movement: geometrization, simplification of the forms and delicate colours, as well as the stylized form of the main character according to the reformed fashion. Jüttner moved the composition outside the cabin and cramped it up more by enlarging the central figure between the door and the window, one part of which is opened. The viewer has the impression that Jüttner’s Snow White is looking out of the window from an interior painted by Drupsteen.

![Fig. 4.1](image1.png)

![Fig. 4.2](image2.png)

![Fig. 4.3](image3.png)

![Fig. 4.4](image4.png)

![Fig. 4.5](image5.png)

**V. THE DWARFS INSTRUCTING SNOW WHITE. REMINISCENCES OF THE ART OF CRANACH AND DÜRER**

On the next illustration, the figures which are standing define the composition’s vertical rhythm, with Snow White’s dominant stature juxtaposed with the group of dwarfs. The diagonal lines of their long hats pointing towards the door and the girl’s bowed head evoke a feeling of anxiety. (Fig. 5.3)

I was unable to identify a single, direct compositional model for the scene. However, it has its roots in mediaeval religious paintings showing Christ or the saints, in scenes depiction the adoration of the Virgin Mary, in which the ideological importance of the composition’s main character is emphasized through size, exaltation and separation from the group, as in Lucas Cranach the Elder’s St. John the


Baptist Preaching.30 (NB. A painting depicting St. John the Baptist by Cranach was sold at an auction in Berlin in 1902). On Jüttner’s illustration, the importance of the figures was reversed, because here the central person—Snow White—is listening to the instructions and her pose expresses subordination.

The figures of the dwarfs with their grotesque features alludes to an innovative, due to the subject, engraving by Albrecht Dürer dating from the end of the fifteenth century, *Three Armed Peasants in Conversation.*31 Their likenesses had an influence on the rather later works of the German Renaissance.32

VI. DERISION OF THE DEAD SNOW WHITE. FROM THE QUATTROCENTO TO EUGÈNE DELACROIX

The final scene of this triptych shows the Stepmother triumphant over the poisoned Snow White who is lying lifeless33 (Fig. 6.1). The illustration repeats the main outlines of the composition of a classic work of French Romanticism painted by Eugène Delacroix.34 The personification of *Liberty Leading the People* to fight was transformed into a fairy-tale witch raising her hand in an affected gesture of triumph. In the original work, the compositional counterbalance for the main character are the bodies of the slain, whereas in Jüttner’s illustration it is Snow White who is lying in similar fashion. She

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30 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist,* c. 1537–40, the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum.
31 As Hütt wrote, Dürer was the first to record and show the increase in confidence of the rural population involved in peasant rebellions and wars in the Reich. “He was also the first, as far as can be determined, to present the peasant as a man who deserves attention. This was an artistic undertaking of revolutionary significance.” W. Hütt (1985), p. 150, Fig. 65.
32 One example are the energetic peasants with rolled-up sleeves who operate the winch in Lucas Cranach the Elder’s woodcut *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* dating from 1506, (C. G. Boerner 1981, p. 10, Fig. 4), the figures in copperplate engravings by Sebald Beham dating from 1544 (op. cit., p. 22, Fig. 11), and Heinrich Aldegrever (op. cit., p. 22, Fig. 12).
33 In my previous article I pointed out that the subject matter of the illustrations could be related to the religious iconography of the Mocking of Christ and to scenes of the martyrdom of the saints. The tangential point is passivity and the heroine’s innocence as well as the symbolic contrast between her perfect beauty and the grotesque ugliness of the assassin. K. Bogacka (2014), p. 348.
34 Eugene Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People,* 1830, oil on canvas, 260 × 325 cm; The Louvre, Paris.
resembles the character on the right side of Delacroix’s paintings, but rotated at an angle and shown in mirror image; the triangular cut of the neckline of the white dress was also borrowed from Delacroix.

The French Romantic made his most famous painting as an idealization of the revolution, and several years later, he reiterated, this time in words, his faith in the validity of his message. In retrospect, during the Spring of Nations, Delacroix learned to hope that in the future changes would be made towards which the present and past generations have unsuccessfully striven: “…judging from the facts which have been conspicuous over the past year, it could be argued that progress must inevitably lead not to still more progress, but, on the contrary, to the negation of progress due to returning to the starting point. Evidence of this is the history of mankind. The blind faith of this and previous generation in ideas, in the advent of a new era, in mankind, which will be characterized by this total change (although in my opinion, in order to effect a change in mankind’s destiny, you need to change its nature), this particular faith, not justified by anything in previous eras, is the only guarantee of future victories, of the revolution, so coveted in man’s lot” (E. Delacroix 1849, p. 179). Meanwhile, in Jüttner’s “paraphrase” of his work one can see his scepticism and disappointment with revolutionary uprisings.

The direct model for the figure of the lying Snow White, however, seems to be Gustave Courbet’s Woman with a Parrot. Rejected by the Salon in 1864 “out of respect for Parisian customs”, it was successful two years later due to Courbet’s use of colour (P. Courthion ed., 1963, pp. 131 and 133–36). Jüttner undoubtedly knew the story behind this acclaimed work and copied the arrangement of the body of lying girl—awaiting her awakening—in characteristic foreshortening. In accordance with the purpose of illustration, he clothed the heroine and changed her bodily proportions to render her asexual.

Fig. 6.1. F. Jüttner, Derision of the dead Snow White (Grimm 1910, fig. VI)

Fig. 6.2. E. Delacroix, Liberty leading people; 1830, fragment: personification of Liberty

Fig. 6.3. G. Courbet, Woman with a Parrot, 1866

Fig. 6.4. E. Delacroix, the slain on the left, turned at an angle

Fig. 6.5. E. Delacroix, the slain on the right in mirror image, turned at an angle

Fig. 6.6. P. Brueghel the Elder, Netherlandish Proverbs, 1559, fragment: soldier with tabby cat

35 Gustave Courbet, Woman with parrot, 1866, 129.5 × 195.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

36 As Max Bouchon wrote: “Courbet painted from life a splendid sketch of a sleeping girl and gave it to one of his friends. When looking at the sleeping girl, someone said: Ah, but to wake her up! If this girl lay here, with her hand raised in the air holding a flower, bird, whatever you want, what a charming picture it would make!”, quoted after: P. Courthion ed. (1963), p. 136.
Fig. 6.7-9. F. Jüttner, the cat on figs. 4.3, 5.3, 6.1 (Grimm 1910, figs. IV, V, VI)

The body of a recumbent naked girl or woman, shown in foreshortening, was, indeed, at the turn of the century, the main subject of at least several famous paintings. These include paintings by the Catalans Ramon Casas and Carbó (1866–1932), including Leafless Flowers dating from 1894. Their fame was largely due to the (purported) sexual symbolism attributed to them. It would seem that Jüttner, by referring to formal schemes known to modern audiences, was inviting them to decipher their unspoken meanings.

VII. SNOW WHITE WAKES UP IN A GLASS COFFIN CARRIED BY THE SERVENTS OF THE PRINCE. THE IMPACT OF THE QUATTROCENTO

The following illustration can be read as being a continuation of the story inspired by hagiography. (Fig. 7.3) The composition’s ideological centre is the glass coffin, in which Snow White, who has just awoken, raises her head from the pillow. This motif is highlighted because it fills most of the top half of the illustration, and two of the figures in the foreground focus their gaze on Snow White’s face: the prince riding on horseback, and the courtier bearing the coffin. I could not find one model for this illustration, but hypothetical borrowings from several paintings.

The figure of the woman raising herself up on the bed and the figures in front of her, being her vertical counterpoint, derive from the sacred art of the Quattrocento (Domenico Ghirlandaio and Filippino Lippi) and mythological (Sandro Botticelli) paintings, except that all the possible models are shown in mirror image.

Filippino Lippi provided the model for the effects of perspective. The staging of the scene in a landscape was taken from Botticelli, while Snow White’s passivity is reminiscent of Venus resting after making love with Mars. The turn of the protagonist’s head, and the slightly inclined body of the figure opposite her were probably borrowed from the figures of Elisabeth and the servant in the scene painted by Ghirlandaio depicting the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

Individual motifs were probably inspired not only by the art of the Italian and Northern Renaissance, but also by the work of nineteenth-century historicism. A few of them come from a fresco depicting the Procession of the Magi – the Patriarch of Constantinople (?), by Benozzo Gozzoli. The head and trappings on the Prince’s black horse in Jüttner’s illustration appears to be a mirror image of the chestnut horse in Gozzoli’s fresco. Jüttner also used the motif of mounted courtiers (?) and formed a group of footmen in the distance, thus adding depth and perspective to the entire composition. The rider turning his back to the viewer seems to allude to other fifteenth-century models, such as the fresco by Pisanello. But above all, this figure seems to allude to a knight on horseback fighting a dragon in a painting in Neuschwanstein Castle, which had its source in fifteenth-century Florentine prints depicting St. George.

37 Domenico Ghirlandaio, The Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1486–90, fresco, Tornabuoni Chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence; Filippino Lippi, Resurrection of Drusiana by St. John the Evangelist, completed in 1502, fresco on the north wall of the Strozzi Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.
38 Sandro Botticelli, Venus and Mars, 1485, tempera on panel, National Gallery, London.
39 Benozzo Gozzoli Procession of the Magi, consisting of three frescoes: The procession of the youngest king: Lorenzo de’Medici and Piero and Cosma, the Procession of John VII Paleologus (?), The procession of the oldest king, the Patriarch of Constantinople (?), 1459–62, Cappella dei Magi, Palazzo Medici, Florence.
40 Pisanello, correctly Antonio Pisano (c. 1395–1450/5), St. George and the Princess, preserved fragment of the frescoes from Santa Anastasia in Verona, 1436–38.
41 W. Kolmsberger, St. George killing the dragon, wall painting, 1883–84, Neuschwanstein Castle, the singers’ hall; under the influence of the Florentine graphics in the great manner like St. George and Dragon by A. Mantegna, Andrea Mantegna (1914), Fig. XXXIII.
Fig. 7.1. S. Botticelli, *Venus and Mars*, 1485, a mirror image

Fig. 7.2. Filippino Lippi, *Resurrection of Drusiana by St. John the Evangelist*, completed in 1502, a mirror image, fragment

Fig. 7.3. F. Jüttner, *Snow White wakes up in a glass coffin* (Grimm 1910, fig. VII)

Fig. 7.4. D. Ghirlandaio, *The Nativity of St. John the Baptist*, 1486–90, a mirror image

Fig. 7.5. Body of St. Rita in a glass coffin, Basilica of St. Rita in Cascia (church of St. Augustine in Cascia)

Fig. 7.6. D. Ghirlandaio, *Resurrection of the Boy*, fresco, S.S. Trinita, Florence, 1482–5, fragment: *Self portrait*

Fig. 7.7. Pisanello, *St. George and the Princess*, 1436–38: the rider

Fig. 7.8. B. Gozzoli, *Procession of the Magi*, a mirror image, fragment: the chestnut horse

Fig. 7.9. F. Jüttner, the Prince riding on horseback (Grimm 1910, fig. VII, fragment)

Fig. 7.10. W. Kolmsberger, *St. George killing the dragon*, wall paintings in Neuschwanstein Castle, 1883–84
By depicting dogs in the foreground of the illustration, Jüttner, following Gozzoli’s lead, introduced a dynamic element: the touching of a footman’s stockinged legs and an animal was inspired by a scene with a cheetah in the foreground in the *Procession of the Magi*. It should be noted that the motif of riders and footmen accompanied by dogs often appeared in Renaissance painting, both South and North of the Alps. An example are the greyhounds standing sideways to the viewer in Albrecht Dürer’s *Vision of St. Eustace*, which Jüttner replaced with a heavier breed of dog.\(^42\)

The most striking fragment of the illustration—the deep yellow sky—seems to be analogous to the colour of the nimbus of the resurrected Christ from the *Isenheim Altar* by Grünewald.\(^43\) It is also reminiscent of the golden backgrounds of the International Gothic style, which infiltrated into some works of the sacred art of the Quattrocento.

In my previous article, I pointed out that the motif of a body, not subject to decomposition, placed in a glass coffin, and the procession with the body—was derived from the veneration of relics in the Catholic Church.\(^44\) The most likely model for the illustration under discussion was the reliquary of the body of St. Rita (1381?–1457) in the Basilica in Cascia (Basilica di Santa Rita da Cascia). Saint Rita was canonized in 1900 by Pope Leo XIII, so her likeness was more alive in public consciousness in Jüttner’s times than that of the other saints exhibited in glass coffins. The impression of a procession in the illustration is intensified by the late mediaeval and Renaissance costumes.

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\(^{42}\) Albrecht Dürer, *Vision of St. Eustace*, 1500/1, engraving, 355 × 259 mm, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge.

\(^{43}\) Matthias Grünewald, *Resurrection* – right wing, second wing of the *Isenheim Altar*, approx. 1506 to 1515, tempera on oak panel, now in the Musée d’Unterlinden in Colmar, France.

VIII. THE STEPMOTHER AT THE WEDDING OF SNOW WHITE AND THE PRINCE.
MASTER OF NAUMBURG AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COURTLY FASHION

The final illustration, closing the series (Fig. 8.2) takes the viewer back to the castle, now taken over by the young couple. Again, there are analogies to Neuschwanstein, this time to the throne room. The poses of the two main figures in the scene, and the herald with the coat of arms on his chest, were inspired by the statues of the Margraves and Margravines of Wettin—who lived in the eleventh century—in the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral (c. 1249–55). This reference indicates that Snow White and the Prince are to also to become the founders of a dynasty. Snow White and the young king are posed like the founders of the cathedral, Eckhard and Uta looking toward the people arriving. In addition, Snow White’s gesture is a mirror image of Uta’s famous gesture. Jüttner did not maintain historical sequence when presenting the other figures. The wedding guests visible in the background are dressed according to fifteenth-century French courtly fashion. The most spectacular are the women’s headgear—fashionable at different times in that century—pointed hennins and toques with a veil. The Stepmother’s long veil falls in the broken folds which were the fashion at the end of the century.

Fig. 8.1. Statues in the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, c. 1249–55: Eckhard and the mirror image of Uta

Fig. 8.2. F. Jüttner, The Stepmother at the wedding of Snow White and the Prince (Grimm 1910, fig. VIII)

Fig. 8.3. Neuschwanstein, the Throne room

Fig. 8.2. F. Jüttner, the ball-room of the castle of Snow White and the Prince (Grimm 1910, fig. VIII, fragment)
SUMMARY

Based on the identified models for Jüttner’s illustrations, it is possible to more closely define the sources of his artistic inspiration, and recreate the manner in which he worked by imaginatively often creatively, transforming these models.

A comparative analysis of the series illustrating Schneewittchen and earlier works of art which I consider to have been its inspiration, revealed a diversity of pictorial prototypes—from the Romanesque, through the Italian (D. Ghirlandaio, B. Gozzoli), German (A. Dürer) and Dutch (P. Bruegel the Elder and P. Bruegel the Younger) Renaissance, the Baroque painting of H. Han, the rococo style of F. Boucher, the Romanticism of E. Delacroix, G. Courbet’s Realism, to W. C. Drupsteen’s illustrations inspired by Art Nouveau. Jüttner uses this material in an erudite way, expressing his fascination of the individuality of Hermann Han, and the emotional experiences which accompany his perception of particular works of art (Liberty Leading the People, Leafless Flowers).

His manner of working involved the use of compositional references, and processing elements taken from individual works of art. Compared to the artists who preceded him, he used more quotes, and more methods of transforming the original such as cramping up or loosening up the composition, the use of mirror images combining it with normal views of the scene, rotating the images and arranging the original fragments differently, by moving them around. At the same time he maintained the character of the prototype thus allowing the viewer to identify the original. On the other hand, some of the models for his compositions were treated in a literal way, and the individual motifs were carefully recreated. What contributed to this was undoubtedly making use of photographs and the ability to frame and geometrically transform the fragments.45

Although it was not possible to confirm the theses presented herein with the data available in the artist’s biography, the connection is probable because of the socio-cultural context in which the cycle was executed.

The paintings to which Jüttner refers are standard works in an artistic education, supplemented by a keen interest in contemporary phenomena and artistic events. So the paintings illustrating the fairy tale were analysed in two ways, while endeavouring to maintain caution when making an interpretation because of the absence of any detailed biographical information about the author. In creating the series, Jüttner used his powers of observation, his ability to accurately combine seemingly unrelated information and motifs, using well-known works as models and for inspiration, often disregarding the subject and message of the original, as a result of which it could be regarded as intentional provocations. From the controversial Gustave Courbet, he adopted the subtlety of creating a wooded landscape, embellishing it with meticulous realism using fauna and flora derived from Dürer’s studies. He transformed Delacroix’s apotheosis of the revolution, a painting full of drama and pathos, into the illusive victory of a fairy-tale witch, externalized by an affected gesture. The fairy tale world of Ludwig II of Bavaria became, for Jüttner, a ready “ideological model” with which to open and add point to the cycle. However, he did give some of the elements—such as the peacock motif in Linderhof and the Neuschwanstein knight—a new meaning. He also introduced new themes and content, like the characters inspired by the ideological scheme for Naumburg Cathedral.

Jüttner was able use the atmosphere inherent within a given work to spark similar interest in the viewer, such as the scene with the pedlar, the composition of which was taken from François Boucher. He was able to successfully recreate the emotions invoked in the prototype, despite the different, incomparably more trivial message, as shown in the scene depicting the dwarfs’ delight over the sleeping Snow White which alluded to Herman Han’s Adoration of the Shepherds. Jüttner’s play with the ideological content and religious motifs constantly reminds us of his cartoonist tendencies and his anti-clerical views, which he expressed in satirical drawings. However, there is insufficient evidence to more closely link the interpretation of the Schneewittench illustrations with the individuality of its creator.

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