

Copyright

by

Alisa Louise McCusker Carlson

2015

**The Dissertation Committee for Alisa Louise McCusker Carlson Certifies that this
is the approved version of the following dissertation:**

**Draftsmanship, Social Networking, and Cultural History:
The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1465-1524)**

Committee:

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Supervisor

Peter Hess

Joan A. Holladay

Andrew Morrall

Louis A. Waldman

**Draftsmanship, Social Networking, and Cultural History:
The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1465-1524)**

by

Alisa Louise McCusker Carlson, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2015

Dedication

To Mom and Dad and J.J. for so very much

Acknowledgements

I owe many thanks to several thoughtful and brilliant people, who assisted me in various ways during the researching and writing of this dissertation.

Foremost, I am grateful to my advisor, Dr. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, for his continuous encouragement, helpful suggestions, and trustworthy advice. It has truly been a pleasure learning from him and working with him, not only on this project but also on papers and articles throughout my doctoral coursework at the University of Texas at Austin. His support of several grant and fellowship applications along the way made it possible for me to pursue firsthand study of the portrait drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder.

I appreciate the time and energy each member of dissertation committee gave to my project. Dr. Peter Hess offered his extensive knowledge of early modern German culture, history, literature, and – not least of all – language. In addition to reminding me of the critical importance of objects as primary sources of history, Dr. Joan A. Holladay shared her zeal and thorough understanding of codicology. Dr. Andrew Morrall's close familiarity with the distinct milieu of sixteenth-century Augsburg has benefited me greatly in comprehending my subject. Through his careful reading of my text, Dr. Louis A. Waldman led me to consider a broader, cross-cultural perspective on portraiture across early modern Europe. All of my committee members asked probing questions and contributed significantly to our stimulating discussion at my defense, and for that I am thankful.

In order to conduct research for this dissertation, a full-year Fulbright Research Grant was paramount. The financial support of the Fulbright-Kommission enabled me to

examine firsthand of all of the drawings attributed to Holbein and his sons, Ambrosius and Hans the Younger, in Berlin, Basel, Chantilly, and Paris. During this year of object research, the staff members of the collections I visited were enormously gracious and helpful. At the Studiensaal of the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, my almost daily visits and requests to see more and more drawings were always met with the utmost professionalism and friendliness. At the end of my research year, Dr. Michael Roth, Curator at the Kupferstichkabinett, kindly met with me to discuss my ideas, shared his expertise on early modern German drawings and the provenances of Holbein's drawings in Berlin, and allowed me to study a recent acquisition, the so-called "Kleiner Klebeband," which contains the earliest datable portrait drawing by Holbein.

During the several days I spent at the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunstmuseum Basel, Annika Baer and Christine Schön-Ramseyer, supervisors of the study room, generously gave their time and demonstrated their commitment to conservation by helping me handle Holbein's fragile drawings. I also appreciate the time Dr. Christian Müller, Curator of the Kupferstichkabinett, was able to speak with me during his busy schedule.

I am grateful as well to the study room supervisors who assisted me at the Musée Condé in Chantilly, where I was fortunate to be able to spend a whole day examining Holbein's only self-portrait drawing. The staff members of the Département des Arts Graphiques at the Musée du Louvre in Paris were helpful and patient with my English- and German-accented French. An important one-day research trip to the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg in June 2014 was made possible with the support of the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Texas at Austin. I am grateful to Dr. Stefan Knoch and Dr. Anna Scherbaum at the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg for their interest in my work.

Before my primary research abroad I needed to develop German skills. With a Kress Fellowship for Middlebury Language School during the summer of 2010, I went from being a novice to achieving advanced facility in an astonishingly short time. For that, I appreciate my professors and peers in the immersion program of the Middlebury Deutsche Schule.

Several professors and peers have also supported me throughout my time in the doctoral program at the University of Texas at Austin. In particular, friendships with my incomparable colleagues, Dr. Jessica Weiss and Dr. Catharine Ingersoll, have been consequential to my successes. I am forever indebted to them for their caring and compassion, ever intelligent company, and constructive criticism. They have been outstanding role models. I have enjoyed learning from them and look forward to our future endeavors together. I am also grateful to Dr. Ann C. Johns for helping me with many questions – both professional and personal. I will never forget that she and her family so warmly welcomed me into their home for Thanksgiving in 2009, and this is a kindness I will pay forward.

To Erin Becker, Sarah Cavner, Mary Richardson, Rebecca Risher, and Dr. Mary Vance, your lessons in mindfulness, patience, and self-care enabled me to build confidence and meet my potential. The highest in me bows to the highest in you, namasté.

To my parents, LeRoy and Martha McCusker, whose boundless, unconditional love has carried me through everything, this is the first of many projects I hope to dedicate to you. You have taught me what is truly important in life. Your steadfast commitment to family has fostered in me a consummate understanding of compassion, selflessness, and real love. To my whole family (Amy, Doug, Cooper, Carter, Abbey, Jerrod, Morgan, Peyton, Avery, Tyler, Aurora, Nolan, Jeff, Alison, MaryAnn, and

Lillian), who have followed my parents' lead, thank you for making my life so rich. To my second family, the Carlsons, it truly means a great deal to me that you are curious about my work and have encouraged me these past four years.

I would not have made it to this point without the love, care, optimism, and reassurance of my best friend and partner, J.J. Carlson. Because you have cheered me on, propped me up, and contentedly served as all-around "support staff" during the past five years both at home and abroad, I struggle to find the right words to express my gratitude. By dedicating this to you, I express, however humbly, my thankfulness for you. J.J., you make my life full and give it meaning.

**Draftsmanship, Social Networking, and Cultural History:
The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1465-1524)**

Alisa Louise McCusker Carlson, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

Supervisor: Jeffrey Chipps Smith

Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1465-1524) was a successful and prolific painter and draftsman, who lived and worked mainly in the southern German city of Augsburg. In addition to being master of a workshop that produced large-scale religious works, Holbein produced numerous drawings, of which over two hundred have been preserved from throughout his career. The vast majority of Holbein's surviving drawings – about one hundred sixty – are portraits or head studies, originally made in silverpoint in small, portable sketchbooks. The quantity and medium of his drawings indicate that taking portraits was a habitual part of Holbein's practice, if not a preoccupation for him. His portrait drawings depict a range of Augsburg's populace, including men, women, and children, representing a variety of social classes and professions. On several drawings he even identified his sitters clearly with inscriptions of their names, ages, occupations, or other claims to fame. Collectively, they offer the artist's perspective on the bustling urban center in which he lived and worked as well as suggest his place within that milieu. This dissertation examines Holbein's portrait drawings in terms of their material and technical production as well as their potential historical, social, and cultural significance. This

study describes the characteristics that typify Holbein's portrait drawings and establishes standards for attributing works to him, his workshop, and others, as well as offers paleographical analysis of his drawings' inscriptions. Because his portraits present so much textual information that has otherwise been overlooked, questions of who the people of Holbein's portraits are and what their portrayals reveal about themselves and about the artist can be considered. Applying sociological theories of social capital and networking, this study proposes that Holbein's portrait drawings survive as important records of his social network and reveal insights into his social experiences and practices. Holbein's portrait drawings also offer numerous social and cultural cues through his depictions of the clothes and adornments of his sitters. Finally, this project considers Holbein's legacy in European portraiture, especially as inherited by his more famous son, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98-1543).

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 The Materials and Techniques of Holbein’s Portrait Drawings	9
Provenances	11
Sketchbooks and Paper	15
Grounds.....	20
Silverpoint.....	24
Ink and Wash	37
White Highlights	42
Red Chalk.....	46
Other Media	48
Conclusion: Integrated Media.....	50
Chapter 2 Beyond Holbein’s Materials and Techniques: Attributions, Inscriptions, Identities, and Purposes of His Portrait Drawings.....	51
Attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder?.....	52
Multiple Versions – Multiple Hands	59
Holbein’s Inscriptions	68
Individual Identities and Mistaken Identities.....	79
Purposes of Holbein’s Portrait Drawings	87
Chapter 3 Who’s Who in Holbein’s Portrait Drawings: Early Modern Social Capital and Networking	95
Theories of Social Capital and Networking.....	96
An Overview of Holbein’s Social Network.....	101
Two Case Studies: Building a Social Network.....	111
<i>The Benedictine Scribe, Leonhard Wagner</i>	113
<i>The Kaiser’s ‘Fool,’ Kunz von der Rosen</i>	127
Conclusion: Learning from Unwritten and Unspoken Rules?.....	137

Chapter 4 Keeping up Appearances: Fashion and Cultural History in Holbein’s Portrait Drawings	140
Fashions and Fashioned Identities	150
Men’s Clothing	155
<i>Excess Fabric</i>	156
<i>Close-Fitting Collars</i>	159
<i>Decorative Borders</i>	162
Men’s Headwear	165
<i>Embellishments</i>	170
<i>Fur, Silk, and Gold</i>	177
Women’s Clothing and Headwear	183
Conclusion: Fascinations with Fashions	192
Conclusion: Holbein as Father and Teacher	196
Appendix: Catalogue of the Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder	210
Figures.....	233
Bibliography	311

List of Figures

All works are by Hans Holbein the Elder unless otherwise indicated.

- Figure 1: *Seven studies of hands*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.195)
- Figure 2: *Four studies of roses*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. U II 42)
- Figure 3: *Studies of two violins, two bows, and a chicken*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.202)
- Figure 4: *Sketch of a rabbit, with a few lines of faded text, and a later copy of the rabbit*, silverpoint, later drawing in pencil (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.188 verso)
- Figure 5: *Studies of two calves and a standing figure*, silverpoint (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 9 verso)
- Figure 6: *Virgin and Child*, silverpoint, pen and ink, white highlights (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.204)
- Figure 7: *Compositional sketch of the Fourteen Holy Helpers*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197 verso)
- Figure 8: *Sketches of a nude man falling from a horse (perhaps the Fall of Phaeton), a falling horse, a spilled cup (?), part of a capital, and part of a bird's wing (?), silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2554 verso)*
- Figure 9: *Sketches of a woman in armor with a sword (Justice?), a man in armor with a shield, an ornament with a putto, and a profile with a woman's bonnet*, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2545 verso)
- Figure 10: *Sketches of an ornamental garland with a putto and grotesque ornaments*, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561 verso)
- Figure 11: *Sketches of Saint Florian with a banner and a bucket, an ornamental garland, a putto, and a capital*, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565 verso)
- Figure 12: *Sketches of architectural ornaments*, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2577 verso)
- Figure 13: *Sketches of three women with children and a mourning Saint John the Evangelist*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol.15v)
- Figure 14: *Sketches and notes* (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 8 verso)
- Figure 15: *Notes* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194 verso)
- Figure 16: *Notes and script* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2578 verso)
- Figure 17: Detail of Figure 149

- Figure 18: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2572)
- Figure 19: *Death of the Virgin*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-brown tinted ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.215)
- Figure 20: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Boy with long hair, probably a young David*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white chalk, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)
- Figure 21: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Saints Sebastian, Lucy, and Catherine*, copied from the inner left wing of the *Hohenburger Altarpiece*, pen and ink and white highlights on a red-tinted ground (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. nr. Graph. A E 386)
- Figure 22: *Saints Sebastian, Lucy, and Catherine*, from the inner left wing of the *Hohenburger Altarpiece* (Prague, Národní Museum, inv. nrs. 271, 272)
- Figure 23: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Saint Thecla seated in a chair and viewed from behind*, copied from the center panel of *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)
- Figure 24: Detail, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura*, 1504 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nrs. 5332, 5333, 5334)
- Figure 25: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Pattern drawings of character types*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)
- Figure 26: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Pattern drawings of character types*, pen and ink, brush and wash, body color, on a red-tinted ground (University College London Museum, inv. nr. 1223)
- Figure 27: Detail of underdrawing in metalpoint for a manuscript illumination, *Book of Hours*, Provence, ca. 1440-1450 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M 358, fol. 17r)
- Figure 28: Illustrations of metalpoints, from Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, trans. Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), vol. 2, 61, fig. 7
- Figure 29: Modern example of a silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett)
- Figure 30: Detail, Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. nr. 93.153)
- Figure 31: Hans Baldung Grien’s silverpoint sketchbook (“Karlsruher Skizzenbuch”) (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle)
- Figure 32: Detail of Figure 211
- Figure 33: Detail of Figure 181

- Figure 34: Detail of Figure 49
- Figure 35: Detail, *Portrait of a Benedictine monk named Hans*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, incised for transfer (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2537)
- Figure 36: Detail of Figure 155
- Figure 37: Detail of Figure 207
- Figure 38: Detail of Figure 172
- Figure 39: Detail of Figure 251
- Figure 40: *Portrait of Hans Pfleger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2543)
- Figure 41: Detail of Figure 40
- Figure 42: Detail of Figure 40
- Figure 43: Detail of Figure 40
- Figure 44: Detail of Figure 174
- Figure 45: Detail of Figure 105
- Figure 46: *Portrait of Clemens Sender*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and two tonal values of grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2536)
- Figure 47: Detail of Figure 46
- Figure 48: Detail of Figure 109
- Figure 49: *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2525)
- Figure 50: Detail of Figure 49
- Figure 51: Detail of Figure 208
- Figure 52: Detail of Figure 158
- Figure 53: Detail of Figure 268
- Figure 54: Detail of Figure 247
- Figure 55: Detail of Figure 186
- Figure 56: Detail of Figure 183
- Figure 57: Detail of Figure 219
- Figure 58: Detail, *Portrait of Hans Griefherr*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2532)
- Figure 59: Detail, *Portrait of Hans Griefherr*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2539)
- Figure 60: Detail of Figure 271
- Figure 61: Detail of Figure 209
- Figure 62: Detail of Figure 184
- Figure 63: Detail of Figure 160

- Figure 64: Detail, *Portrait of Jörg Bock (?)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2574)
- Figure 65: Detail, *Portrait of Hans Berting*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2550)
- Figure 66: *Portrait of Jörg Bomheckel (?)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2579)
- Figure 67: *Saint Sebastian Altarpiece*, 1516 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 5352, 668, 669)
- Figure 68: Detail of Figure 67: Self-portrait of Hans Holbein the Elder
- Figure 69: *Self-portrait*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. nr. DE 897)
- Figure 70: *Portraits of Ambrosius Holbein and Hans Holbein the Younger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2507)
- Figure 71: *Epitaph of the Vetter Sisters*, 1499 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 4669)
- Figure 72: Detail of Figure 71: Portraits of Walpurga, Veronika, and Christina Vetter
- Figure 73: *Portrait of a nun from the Vetter family, probably Walpurga Vetter*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband,” fol. 32)
- Figure 74: *Adoration of the Magi and Circumcision, Kaisheim Altarpiece*, 1502 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 721-736)
- Figure 75: *Portrait of a monk*, silverpoint, overdrawing in brush and wash possibly by another hand (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 1v)
- Figure 76: *Portrait of a monk*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 3r)
- Figure 77: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 6v)
- Figure 78: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX fol. 7r / 1662.183)
- Figure 79: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol.14v)
- Figure 80: *Schwarz Family Votive Portrait*, ca: 1508 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 1057)
- Figure 81: Detail of Figure 80: Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz
- Figure 82: *Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18898)

- Figure 83: *Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz* (?), silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk, with overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2578)
- Figure 84: Detail of Figure 80: God the Father
- Figure 85: Figure 83 flipped vertically
- Figure 86: Detail of Figure 80: Sons of Ulrich Schwarz
- Figure 87: *Portrait of Zimprecht Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.190)
- Figure 88: Details of Figure 80 and 87: Drawing of Zimprecht Schwarz superimposed on his image in the *Schwarz Family Votive Portrait*
- Figure 89: *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524)
- Figure 90: Detail of Figure 91
- Figure 91: *Fish Miracle of Saint Ulrich, Saint Katharine Altarpiece*, 1512 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5296)
- Figure 92: *Martyrdom of Saint Peter, Saint Katharine Altarpiece*, 1512 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5364)
- Figure 93: Detail of Figure 92 flipped horizontally
- Figure 94: *Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2511)
- Figure 95: *Three portraits of Kunz von der Rosen*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2512)
- Figure 96: Detail of Figure 95
- Figure 97: Detail of Figure 95
- Figure 98: *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2528)
- Figure 99: *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2529)
- Figure 100: *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2527)
- Figure 101: *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner, with sketches and notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201)

- Figure 102: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Annunciation*, copied from the *Kaisheim Altarpiece*, pen and ink, brush and wash (formerly Vienna, Albertina [present location unknown])
- Figure 103: Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Circumcision*, copied from the *Kaisheim Altarpiece*, pen and ink, brush and wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2065)
- Figure 104: *Annunciation, Kaisheim Altarpiece*, 1502 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 721-736)
- Figure 105: *Portrait of Jörg(?) Hierlinger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2541)
- Figure 106: Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Jörg(?) Hierlinger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2542)
- Figure 107: *Portrait of Paul Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2545)
- Figure 108: Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Paul Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2546)
- Figure 109: *Portrait of Hans Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2553)
- Figure 110: Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Hans Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2554)
- Figure 111: Detail of Figure 105
- Figure 112: Detail of Figure 106
- Figure 113: Detail of Figure 107
- Figure 114: Detail of Figure 108
- Figure 115: Detail of Figure 107
- Figure 116: Detail of Figure 108
- Figure 117: Detail of Figure 110
- Figure 118: Detail of Figure 69: Inscriptions under normal lighting and ultraviolet light
- Figure 119: Detail of Figure 70: Inscription “holbain”
- Figure 120: Detail of Figure 214: Inscription “holbain”
- Figure 121: Detail of Figure 213: Inscription “holbain”
- Figure 122: Detail of Figure 70: Inscription “1511”
- Figure 123: Detail of Figure 70: Inscriptions ‘1511,’ ‘prosy,’ ‘holbain,’ ‘hanns’ and ‘14’
- Figure 124: Detail of Figure 162: Inscription “maler”
- Figure 125: Detail of Figure 214: Inscription “maler”

- Figure 126: Detail of Figure 213: Inscription “maler”
- Figure 127: Detail of Figure 70: Inscription “hanns”
- Figure 128: Examples of inscriptions “han(n)s”
- Figure 129: Examples of inscriptions “U/ulrich”
- Figure 130: Examples of inscriptions “A/ab(b)t” or “A/apt”
- Figure 131: Examples of inscriptions “augspurg(h)”
- Figure 132: Examples of inscriptions “fuckher” or “fugker”
- Figure 133: Examples of inscriptions “jor(i)g” or “jerg”
- Figure 134: Detail of Figure 222
- Figure 135: Detail of Figure 100
- Figure 136: Detail of Figure 98
- Figure 137: Detail of Figure 99
- Figure 138: Detail of Figure 99
- Figure 139: Detail, *Portrait of Abbot Peter Wagner*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2540)
- Figure 140: Detail, Inscription: “[A]bt zu dierhaupt[n?],” pen and ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2540 verso)
- Figure 141: *Notes and sketches*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201 verso)
- Figure 142: *Notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196 verso)
- Figure 143: *Notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.193 verso)
- Figure 144: *Verses from a poem (?)*, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2512 verso)
- Figure 145: *Notes*, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524 verso)
- Figure 146: *Notes*, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2542 verso)
- Figure 147: *Notes*, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562 verso)
- Figure 148: *Notes*, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2571 verso)
- Figure 149: *Portrait of a girl*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561)
- Figure 150: Detail of Figure 149
- Figure 151: Detail of Figure 160
- Figure 152: *Portrait of Maximilian I*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509)

- Figure 153: *Figure study of Maximilian I from behind, or a horseman in the emperor's entourage*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509 verso)
- Figure 154: *Copy of Charles II, Duke of Burgundy (later Charles V), after a Netherlandish portrait*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, with later pencil additions (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510)
- Figure 155: *Copy of a falcon on a left hand, after a Netherlandish portrait of Charles II, Duke of Burgundy (later Charles V)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510 verso)
- Figure 156: *Portrait of Ulrich Artzt*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2513)
- Figure 157: *Portrait of Ulrich Artzt*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 1)
- Figure 158: *Portrait of Burkhard Engelberg*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2569)
- Figure 159: *Portrait of Hans Nell*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2548)
- Figure 160: *Portrait of Matthäus Roritzer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground; overdrawing in pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, and watercolor by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 5008)
- Figure 161: *Portrait of Jörg Seld*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. nr. 1532)
- Figure 162: *Portrait of Hans Schlegel*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.193)
- Figure 163: Detail of Figure 162
- Figure 164: *Portrait of Hans Herwart*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198)
- Figure 165: Detail of Figure 164
- Figure 166: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2566)
- Figure 167: Detail of Figure 166
- Figure 168: Friedrich Hagenauer, *Portrait medal of Wolfgang Breischuch II, 1527* (Herzogenburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift)
- Figure 169: Detail of Figure 166
- Figure 170: *Portrait of Jörg Saur*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2544)
- Figure 171: *Portrait of Jörg Saur* (Zürich, Kunsthaus, on loan from a private collection)

- Figure 172: *Portrait of Jörg Fischer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2564)
- Figure 173: Peter Decker (1823-76), *Drawing after a lost portrait of Jörg Fischer by Hans Holbein the Elder* (Cologne, private collection)
- Figure 174: *Portrait of Frau Fischer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2558)
- Figure 175: *Portrait of Frau Fischer at Age 34*, dated 1512 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1958.7)
- Figure 176: *Portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 17660)
- Figure 177: *Portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family* (Norfolk, VA, Chrysler Museum, inv. nr. 71.485)
- Figure 178: *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2517)
- Figure 179: *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2518)
- Figure 180: *Portrait of Raymund Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2519)
- Figure 181: *Portrait of Ulrich Fugger the Younger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2521)
- Figure 182: *Portrait of Anton Fugger*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2520)
- Figure 183: *Portrait of Anna Thurzo-Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, scratched highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2516)
- Figure 184: *Portrait of Veronika Fugger-Gassner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and brown wash, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2522)
- Figure 185: *Portrait of Georg Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2514)
- Figure 186: *Portrait of Georg Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white highlights, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2515)
- Figure 187: *Portrait of Christoph Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 2)

- Figure 188: *Epitaph of the Walther Sisters*, dated 1502 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nrs. 4680, 4681, and 4682)
- Figure 189: Giovanni Bellini, *Portrait of Jörg Fugger*, 1474 (Pasadena, Norton Simon Art Foundation, inv. nr. M.1969.13)
- Figure 190: Thoman Burgkmair (and Hans Burgkmair the Elder?), *Double Portrait of Jakob Fugger and Sibylla Artzt*, ca. 1498 (London, Schroder Collection)
- Figure 191: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, chiaroscuro woodcut
- Figure 192: Albrecht Dürer and workshop, *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, ca. 1520 (Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 717)
- Figure 193: Hans Schwarz, *Portrait medal of Jakob Fugger*, bronze, 1518 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nr. Med6291)
- Figure 194: Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Děčín Castle, Czech Republic)
- Figure 195: Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Allentown, PA, Allentown Museum of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. nr. 1961.46)
- Figure 196: Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. nr. Bx E 533)
- Figure 197: Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (location unknown)
- Figure 198: Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Ulrich Fugger the Younger* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 14.40.630)
- Figure 199: Hans Tirol, *Investiture of the Elector of Saxony by Emperor Maximilian II on the Weinmarkt, Augsburg*, hand-colored woodcut, 1566
- Figure 200: Fugger residence, 36-38 Maximilianstraße, Augsburg, 1892
- Figure 201: Fugger residence, postwar reconstruction, 36-38 Maximilianstraße, Augsburg, 2007
- Figure 202: *Hans Fugger with his two wives, Klara Widolf and Elisabeth Gfattermann, with their family crests*, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 18)
- Figure 203: *Jakob Fugger and Sibylla Fugger-Artzt with their family crests*, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 46)
- Figure 204: *Family crest of the lineage of Fugger von der Lilie*, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 11)
- Figure 205: Text page from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 341)
- Figure 206: *Portrait of Hans Aytelhe*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.199)
- Figure 207: *Portrait of a man named Hans*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2563)

- Figure 208: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and three values of grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2571)
- Figure 209: *Portrait of Adolf Dischmacher*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196)
- Figure 210: *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2575)
- Figure 211: *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2573)
- Figure 212: *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint, brush and black and brown ink, point of the brush and black ink, grey wash, heightened with white on brown prepared paper (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. nr. 1991:182:18:a)
- Figure 213: *Portrait of Sigmund Holbein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2508)
- Figure 214: *Portrait of Sigmund Holbein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915:987)
- Figure 215: Diagram of the social integration of the Augsburg oligarchy, from Katarina Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Zur sozialen Verflechtung der Augsburger Bürgermeister und Stadtpfleger, 1518-1618*, Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg (Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1986), 131
- Figure 216: *Portrait of Johannes Faber*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.189)
- Figure 217: *Portrait of Philipp Adler*, dated 1513 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1981.1)
- Figure 218: *Portrait of Hans Griebherr*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2538)
- Figure 219: *Portrait of Heinrich Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2534)
- Figure 220: *Portrait of Matthias Umhofer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.188)
- Figure 221: *Portrait of Jörg Winter*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, later overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2535)

- Figure 222: *Portrait of Abbot Konrad Mörlin*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2526)
- Figure 223: Diagram of a portion of Hans Holbein the Elder's social and professional network (© Jonathan J. Carlson)
- Figure 224: Leonhard Wagner, *Fractura germanica*, page from *Proba Centum Scripturarum* (Augsburg, Bischöfliche Ordinariatsbibliothek, fol. 16v)
- Figure 225: Leonhard Wagner (calligrapher), Jost de Negkar (woodcutter), Johann Schonsperger (printer), Jörg Breu the Elder (draftsman), Page from the *Prayerbook of Maximilian I*, ink on vellum, printed 1513 (Besancon, Bibliothque Municipale, fol. 75v)
- Figure 226: Leonhard Wagner (calligrapher), Page from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 3r)
- Figure 227: *Saint Simpertus*, from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 1v)
- Figure 228: *Saint Simpertus with a child attacked by a wolf*, from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 39v)
- Figure 229: Detail of Figure 67
- Figure 230: Daniel Hopfer, *Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 24.68.1)
- Figure 231: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Kunz von der Rosen*, details from the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, woodcut
- Figure 232: Hans Schwarz, *Portrait medal of Kunz von der Rosen*, bronze (Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. nr. 1957.14.1179)
- Figure 233: Hans Schwarz, *Model for portrait medal of Kunz von der Rosen*, boxwood (Berlin, Münzkabinett)
- Figure 234: Matthäus Schwarz, *Matthäus Schwarz at seven years old accompanies Kunz von der Rosen during Carnival*, from the *Trachtenbuch*, 18th-century copy (original folio lost) (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek)
- Figure 235: Detail of Figure 95 rotated and juxtaposed with a detail of Figure 230
- Figure 236: *Portraits of Hans Holbein the Younger and Ambrosius Holbein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2560)
- Figure 237: Table of a quantification of European sumptuary laws, 12th-18th centuries, from Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996), 29, table 2.1
- Figure 238: Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: January-March*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.1)
- Figure 239: Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: April-June*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.2)
- Figure 240: Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: July-September*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.3)

- Figure 241: Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: October-December*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.4)
- Figure 242: Anonymous, *Augsburger Geschlechtertanz*, ca. 1500 (Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximilianmuseum, inv. nr. 3821)
- Figure 243: *Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194)
- Figure 244: *Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2549)
- Figure 245: *Portrait of a young man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2568)
- Figure 246: *Portrait of a man named Hans Schm[...]*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197)
- Figure 247: *Portrait of Jörg Saur*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, scratched highlights (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph.I A 4)
- Figure 248: *Portrait of Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2547)
- Figure 249: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562)
- Figure 250: Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait*, dated 1498 (Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. nr. P02179)
- Figure 251: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2567)
- Figure 252: *Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2552)
- Figure 253: *Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551)
- Figure 254: *Portrait of Martin Höfler*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2523)
- Figure 255: Daniel Hopfer, *Three Landsknechte (German Soldiers)*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 51.501.394)
- Figure 256: Daniel Hopfer, *Five Landsknechte (German Soldiers)*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 51.501.395)

- Figure 257: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198 verso)
- Figure 258: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565)
- Figure 259: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 9)
- Figure 260: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground with traces of a red-tinted ground underneath (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph.I A 3)
- Figure 261: *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2570)
- Figure 262: *Portrait bust of Jakob Fugger*, bronze, based a marble bust of 1807-47 at Walhalla (Augsburg, Fuggerei)
- Figure 263: Deutsche Bundespost, Postage stamp honoring Jakob Fugger, 1959
- Figure 264: Attributed to the Master of the Monogram TK, *Portrait of a man* (*Georg Thurzo?*), 1518 (Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. nr. 213 [1930.44])
- Figure 265: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Portrait of Barbara Schellenberger* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richart Museum, inv. nr. 0850)
- Figure 266: Detail, *Study of man's woven haircap*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 17660 verso)
- Figure 267: *Portrait of a woman named Mechtilta*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. nr. Cod: F: 274 inf: n: 15)
- Figure 268: *Portrait of Anna Laminit*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2559)
- Figure 269: *Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2555)
- Figure 270: *Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2556)
- Figure 271: *Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2557)
- Figure 272: Hans Schwarz, *Portrait medal of Anna Pfinzing*, bronze, 1519 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nr. Med610)
- Figure 273: Detail of Figure 238: View inside a patrician or merchant household
- Figure 274: Matthäus Schwarz, Frontispiece of the *Trachtenbuch* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen)
- Figure 275: Hans Holbein the Younger, Marginalia from Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, pen and black ink, 1515 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett)

- Figure 276: Detail of Figure 24: Baptism of Saul (Paul) with portraits of Hans Holbein the Elder and his sons, Ambrosius and Hans
- Figure 277: Matthias Grünewald, *Crucifixion*, from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden)
- Figure 278: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Double Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and Dorothea Kannengießer*, 1516 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. 312)
- Figure 279: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen*, silverpoint on a white ground, red chalk, traces of black chalk, 1516 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1823.137)
- Figure 280: Detail of Figure 279
- Figure 281: Detail of Figure 166
- Figure 282: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Mary Wooten, Lady Guildford*, chalk, 1527 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.35)
- Figure 283: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford*, 1527 (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection)
- Figure 284: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Mary Wooten, Lady Guildford*, 1527 (Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. nr. 1:1943)
- Figure 285: Detail of Figure 174
- Figure 286: Detail of Figure 282

Introduction

“Here, of course, the set of problems related to Holbein as a draftsman becomes apparent; the research, as it never isolated this important part of his work [for particular study], has thus far carefully avoided [these issues]. Holbein’s drawn oeuvre is indeed significant in artistic merit and scope, but it stands outside the main current of German drawing.” ~ Hanspeter Landolt¹

Over two hundred extant drawings are attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1465-1524), the Augsburg painter and draftsman. This is a substantial figure for a northern European artist of his generation. Among early modern German artists, only more drawings have been preserved by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), a consciously self-aware curator of his own legacy.² And yet Holbein’s graphic oeuvre has been explored rather minimally in the history of art.

Most studies of Hans Holbein the Elder focus on his work as a painter of religious imagery. His portraits, both drawn and painted, are implicitly presented as a subsidiary category of his oeuvre. Indeed, much of the analysis of his portrait drawings has sought to answer the question of which individuals were models for which figures in which of his paintings. While commissions for religious paintings certainly formed the mainstay of his career, his drawings reflect a keen lifelong interest in the human form and the diversity of individual appearances.

The last concerted effort to publish all of Holbein’s drawings was part of a catalogue raisonné of his entire artistic output compiled by Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange in 1960.³ The only scholarship to focus exclusively on his drawings remains an unpublished manuscript by Hanspeter Landolt, who had then already commented on the insufficiency of scholarship on

¹ Hanspeter Landolt, “Die Zeichnungen Hans Holbein des Älteren: Versuch einer Standortbestimmung,” (unpublished manuscript, Bibliothek Kunstmuseum Basel, 1961), 2. “Hier wird allerdings die Problematik des Zeichners Holbein sichtbar, der die Forschung, indem sie diesen bedeutenden Werkteil niemals isolierte, bisher sorgfältig aus dem Wege gegangen ist. Das zeichnerische Oeuvre Holbeins ist zwar nach künstlerischem Rang und nach Umfang bedeutend, aber es steht ausserhalb des grossen Stromes der deutschen Zeichnung.” All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. I wish to thank the InterLibrary Services staff at the University of Texas at Austin for obtaining a scan of this unpublished manuscript preserved in the Bibliothek Kunstmuseum Basel; Landolt’s text has been invaluable to my research.

² For Dürer’s self-collecting, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “The 2010 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: Albrecht Dürer as Collector,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2011): 1-49, esp. 38-43.

³ Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1960), 78-114.

Holbein's graphic works in the quotation at the opening of this introduction.⁴ Because the vast majority of Holbein's drawings – almost one hundred fifty – are portraits, Landolt necessarily devoted a large part of his discussion to these in particular.⁵ Scholars who have focused their attentions on Holbein's portrait drawings exclusively are Alfred Woltmann, with his 1884 publication including engraved reproductions of Holbein's silverpoint drawings in the then Königliches Museum zu Berlin, Édouard His, who covered Holbein's drawings in continental European collections, and Elisabeth Kodlin-Kern, whose dissertation considered the “artistic value” of the portrait drawings.⁶

The investigation that follows in many ways picks up where these authors left off years ago. For while the recent Holbein bibliography includes compelling exhibitions and publications spotlighting his works, none isolate either his drawings or his portrait drawings specifically.⁷ The fact that no one since Landolt over fifty years ago has taken up Holbein the Elder's drawings is somewhat puzzling. In the first place, the notion that a ‘German Renaissance’ even happened has

⁴ See note 1 on page 1.

⁵ Landolt, “Die Zeichnungen Hans Holbein des Älteren,” esp. 70-75, 79-83, 85-96.

⁶ Alfred Woltmann, *Hans Holbein's des Aelteren Silberstift-Zeichnungen im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin* (Nuremberg: Sigmund Soldan, 1884). Édouard His, *Feder- und Silberstift-Zeichnungen in den Kunstsammlungen zu Basel, Bamberg, Dessau, Donaueschingen, Erlangen, Frankfurt, Kopenhagen, Leipzig, Sigmaringen, Weimar, Wien* (Nuremberg: Soldan, n.d.). Elisabeth Kodlin-Kern, “Die Bildniszeichnungen Hans Holbeins d. Ä.: Ein Deutungsversuch ihres künstlerischen Gehaltes” (Dissertation, University of Basel, 1953). Edmund Schilling wrote about the drawings of Hans Holbein the Elder and his two sons in *Zeichnungen der Künstlerfamilie Holbein* (Frankfurt am Main: Prestel Verlag, 1937); *Drawings by the Holbein Family*, trans. Eveline Winkworth (New York, Basel: Macmillan, Holbein-Verlag, 1955). Noteworthy monographs on Holbein include: Curt Glaser, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1908); Bruno Bushart, *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik* (Augsburg: J.P. Himmer, 1965).

⁷ Katharina Krause, “Hans Holbein der Ältere: Studien nach dem Leben im Altar- und Motivbild,” *Städel-Jahrbuch* 16 (1997): 171-200; “Hans Holbein d. Ä. und Hans Burgkmair – Alternativen in der Augsburger Malerei um 1500,” in *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Matthais Senn (Basel: Schwabe, 1999), 111-122; *Hans Holbein der Ältere* (Munich, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002); Annette Kranz, “Zum ‘Herrn mit der Pelzmütze’ von Hans Holbein dem Älteren: Das Bildnis des Augsburger Kaufmanns Philipp Adler,” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (2006): 175-195; Elisabeth Wiemann, ed., *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die Graue Passion in ihrer Zeit* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010); Katharina Krause, “Hans Holbein der Ältere und die ‘Herren’ von Sankt Ulrich und Afra,” in *Benediktinerabtei St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1012-2012): Geschichte, Kunst, Wirtschaft und Kultur einer ehemaligen Reichsabtei*, ed. Manfred Weitlauff (Augsburg: Verlag des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, 2012), 843-855.

gained considerable currency in art history over the past few decades.⁸ In addition, even ‘lesser’ German artists who were roughly contemporaries with Holbein – such as Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Baldung Grien, Bartel and Sebald Beham, Jörg Breu the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Matthias Grünewald, Daniel Hopfer, and Hans Schwarz – have received noteworthy scholarly attention recently.⁹ Moreover, early modern portraiture has been the subject of prominent exhibitions of late.¹⁰ Finally, research on Holbein’s son and namesake, Hans Holbein the

⁸ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg, a Renaissance City, 1500-1618* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1985); Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); David Price, *Albrecht Dürer’s Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Peter Volz and Hans Christoph Jokisch, *Emblems of Eminence: German Renaissance Portrait Medals, the Age of Albrecht Dürer: The Collection of an Art Connoisseur*, trans. Andrew Jenkins (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008); Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Anne-Marie Bonnet, *Die Malerei der deutschen Renaissance* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2010); Gregory Jecmen and Freyda Spira, *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings 1475-1540* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2012).

⁹ Artists apparently considered ‘lesser’ are those outside the mainstream art historical knowledge, so not figures like Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Hans Holbein the Younger, who are usually foremost in surveys of early modern northern European and German art. Examples of recent studies of such ‘lesser’ artists include: Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (London: Reaktion Books, 1993); Jean Michel Massing, “Hans Burgkmair’s Depiction of Native Africans,” *RES* 27 (1995): 39-51; Pia N. Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, ca. 1475-1536*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998); Richard Kastenzholz, *Hans Schwarz: Ein Augsburger Bildhauer und Medailleur der Renaissance* (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001); Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture, and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2001); Mark P. McDonald, “Burgkmair’s Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India,” *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2003): 227-244; Annette Kranz, *Christoph Amberger, Bildnismaler zu Augsburg: Städtische Eliten im Spiegel ihrer Porträts*, Bildnismaler zu Augsburg (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2004); Michael Roth, *Matthias Grünewald: Zeichnungen und Gemälde* (Ostfildern, Berlin: Hatje Cantz, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008); Alison G. Stewart, *Before Bruegel: Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2008); Stephanie Leitch, “Burgkmair’s Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print,” *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 2 (2009): 134-159; Reiner Marquard, *Matthias Grünewald und die Reformation* (Berlin: Frank and Timme, 2009); Christof Metzger, *Daniel Hopfer, ein Augsburger Meister der Renaissance: Eisenradierungen, Holzschnitte, Zeichnungen, Waffenätzungen* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009); Sabine Söll-Tauchert, *Hans Baldung Grien (1484/85-1545): Selbstbildnis und Selbstinszenierung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2010); Larry Silver, “The ‘Papier-Kaiser’: Burgkmair, Augsburg, and the Image of the Emperor,” in *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath (Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012), 91-99; Jessica Buskirk, “Portraiture and Arithmetic in Sixteenth-Century Bavaria: Deciphering Bartel Beham’s Calculator,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2013): 35-80.

¹⁰ I am thinking especially of the exhibitions with which the following catalogues were published: Lorne Campbell et al., eds., *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian* (London: National Gallery, 2008); Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann, eds., *Gesichter der Renaissance: Meisterwerke italienischer Portrait-Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011); *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011);

Younger, began to expand, exponentially it seems, about ten to fifteen years ago.¹¹ But even now, as when Landolt wrote his manuscript on Holbein's drawings in 1961, these currents have generally not swept up Hans Holbein the Elder with them.

With this lacuna in scholarship on Holbein, as well as the burgeoning interest in the German 'Renaissance,' the field is well disposed for a reconsideration of his substantial group of portrait drawings. This dissertation proposes to do that by thoroughly examining Holbein's draftsmanship and investigating the social, cultural, and historical significance of his portrait drawings. These works are extraordinary in the context of early sixteenth-century German art and warrant further consideration than they have hitherto received. A comparable group of drawn portraits from an early modern German artist does not exist, with the exception of his own son, Hans Holbein the Younger, a singular portraitist of the early modern period. Moreover, Holbein the Elder's portrait drawings represent a range of Augsburg's populace, including men, women, and children, from a variety of social classes and professions. On several drawings he even identified his sitters clearly with inscriptions of their names, ages, occupations, or other claims to fame. Collectively, they offer the artist's perspective on the bustling urban center in which he lived and worked as well as suggest his place within that milieu.

Sabine Haag et al., eds., *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein: Die Entdeckung des Menschen; Die deutsche Porträt um 1500* (Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011).

¹¹ Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); Matthias Senn, ed. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997, Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* (Basel: Schwabe, 1999); Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand, *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception*, Studies in the History of Art (Washington, New Haven, and London: National Gallery of Art, Yale University Press, 2001); Susan Foister, *Holbein and England*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Jochen Sander, *Hans Holbein d. J.: Tafelmaler in Basel, 1515-1532* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2005); Susan Foister, *Holbein in England* (London: Tate, 2006); Christian Müller, ed. *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532* (Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006); Kim W. Woods, "Holbein and the Reform of Images," in *Viewing Renaissance Art*, ed. Kim W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson, and Angeliki Lymberopoulou (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, The Open University, 2007), 249-286, 301-302; Jeanne Neuchterlein, *Translating Nature into Art: Holbein, the Reformation, and Renaissance Rhetoric* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011); Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein*, rev. and expanded 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

Establishing a foundation for comprehending Holbein's draftsmanship, the first chapter of this study focuses on the materials he used and his handling of different media. I developed my analysis from firsthand examination of his drawings in the collections of the Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett, Basel's Kupferstichkabinett, the Louvre's Département des Arts Graphiques, the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, and his only existing self-portrait in the Musée Condé in Chantilly. I elucidate his typical methods of using silverpoint, pen and ink, brush and wash, and chalk, which have never been explained before, as well as report some discoveries I made that have been previously overlooked.

The next chapter continues to build on the foundations laid in chapter one. In the first section, I explain how this substantial body of portrait drawings can reasonably be attributed to Holbein, from whom only eleven portrait paintings are extant. I also suggest a set of characteristics to distinguish drawings by Holbein from drawings by his assistants and pupils. This chapter also considers the importance of his drawings' inscriptions. I provide a thorough paleographical analysis of his texts to characterize his handwriting and discern what he wrote on his drawings and what information has been subsequently added. The importance of reading his inscriptions correctly has a direct bearing on the accurate identification of his subjects, which this chapter also addresses. As many of his drawings are unrelated to any larger painting project or painted portrait, the last section of this chapter deals with the question of their purpose. I speculate on the possible functions of a set of portraits Holbein made of members of the Fugger family, prominent merchants and the wealthiest citizens of Augsburg.

The following chapter considers who the people of Holbein's portraits are and what their portrayals reveal about themselves and about the artist. His drawings represent individuals he met, knew, and even sought out in Augsburg and elsewhere. Applying sociological theories of

social capital and networking, I propose that Holbein's portrait drawings survive as important records of his social network and can reveal insights into his social experiences and practices. Fostering a reputation, cultivating connections, and garnering and leveraging social capital were all essential to Holbein's success as an artist competing with others in the cultural locus of imperial Augsburg. Two case studies in this chapter illustrate how in-depth investigations of historical context and biography of Holbein's sitters reveal how extensive and intricate their social connections and obligations could be.

The fourth chapter focuses on a major aspect of Holbein's portrait drawings, his sitters' clothing. His drawings reflect a fascination with costume, not just his sitters' concern with how they presented themselves, but also Holbein's awareness and interest and understanding of the significance of costume. Clothing was a crucial component of communicating identity in Holbein's world. In considering the multifaceted topic of fashion, two apparently contradictory definitions of fashion were at play; I suggest, however, these definitions are two sides of the same coin. On the one side, fashion implies changeability in a nonstop cycle of styles that are new, *en vogue*, and then outmoded, in the modern sense of the term. On the other side, fashion can refer to tradition, consistency, and conformity, conveying one's adherence to a particular identity or group. I argue that fashion was not the purview of the elite only, but that different people of different classes were astutely aware of the significance of appearances and were engaged in the unending process of defining what it meant to be fashionable. This chapter ultimately encourages further exploration of clothing as material culture we can analyze to understand the complex issues of individuality, diversity, and uniformity in early modern cultures.

Finally, the conclusion considers Holbein's legacy through one particular trajectory, his son, Hans Holbein the Younger, inarguably the more famous of the two. By comparing the portrait drawings of the elder and younger Holbein, we can see the lessons the son learned from his father about how to represent an individual in a compelling way. Holbein the Elder played a foundational role in setting up his son to be an accomplished draftsman and painter, recognized as one of the greatest portraitists in the history of art.

Holbein was not just a man about town, as his varied social network indicates, but also an avid observer of people around him, as his careful depictions of physiognomies and fashions suggest. In short, Holbein was a sort of early modern *flâneur*. But why should we be interested in his pastime of taking likenesses of people he knew or met or merely saw in the street? Holbein's portraits tell us so much about the individuals he portrayed and about him, but they also reveal much about the portrait genre's formative years in Germany. Holbein's curiosity is situated at the forefront of an emerging enchantment with portraiture in manifold forms: drawings, paintings, prints, medals, coins, sculpted busts, book illustrations, and more.

Beyond minimal archival sources, scant information about Holbein's life has survived. He left behind no journals, correspondence, or other personal records. He wrote neither theoretical nor autobiographical texts. His close social ties did not include prolific humanist authors who were interested in singing his praises. No contemporary chroniclers wrote a biography for posterity. Hence, in the absence of written documentation, Holbein's portrait drawings serve as rare resources from which to learn more about his career, to evaluate his social world, to ponder his own sense of identity, and to appreciate his extraordinary contributions to the history of early modern drawing and portraiture. I hope that my work will initiate further

dialogue about Holbein's rich body of drawings and about his other works, life, and career in general.

As Hanspeter Landolt states in the quote that opens this text, "Holbein's drawn oeuvre is indeed significant in artistic merit and scope," but less clear is whether or not it "stands outside the main current of German drawing."¹² Holbein's portrait drawings are not unique in the history of early modern German art. His contemporaries – notably Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Albrecht Dürer – exploited the burgeoning interest in portraiture in early sixteenth-century German lands. They studied and depicted individuals from a multiplicity of social and cultural backgrounds and in a variety of media. However, Hans Holbein the Elder's corpus of portrait drawings is extraordinary for its sheer number, its representation of identifiable historical figures, and the potential information that can be inferred from his detailed portrayals of both known and anonymous sitters.

¹² See note 1 on page 1.

Chapter 1: *The Materials and Techniques of Holbein's Portrait Drawings*

“Drawing in brush and wash and pen and ink for Holbein is ‘abstraction,’ drawing in silverpoint ‘empathy.’...with pen and brush he draws the imagined form, the compositional framework and the figures, but with silverpoint he is effective, when necessary, to verify details from nature (hand and foot studies!) or to animate the figures physiognomically.” ~ Hanspeter Landolt¹

Materials and techniques are inextricably bound with the appearances, purposes, and meanings of drawings, like all works of art, and, therefore, are integral to comprehending the importance of Holbein's portrait drawings. The media Holbein employed and the means in which they were used can indicate a great deal about the significance of his subjects and functions of his works. One type of drawing was not exclusive to a certain social category of his sitters. More affluent patrons or subjects or those whose names were clearly recorded on Holbein's drawings were not necessarily treated differently in his drawings from anonymous subjects and individuals of clearly lower social standing. This chapter examines in detail his drawing media and processes of making portraits.

As Hanspeter Landolt thoroughly explained in his unpublished manuscript dealing with Holbein's drawings, the artist's graphic oeuvre can generally be divided into two distinct technical categories: drawings in pen and ink and brush and wash, and silverpoint drawings. The former served mainly the purposes of a painter's workshop, as preparatory, compositional, or pattern drawings, while the latter were primarily drawn

¹ Landolt, “Die Zeichnungen Hans Holbein des Älteren,” 97. “Die lavierte Federzeichnung ist für Holbein ‘Abstraktion,’ die Silberstiftzeichnung ‘Einfühlung.’... mit Feder und Lavispinsel zeichnet er die imaginierte Form, das Kompositionsgerüst und die Figuren, zum Silberstift aber greift er, wenn es gilt, die Form im Einzelnen vor der Natur nachzuprüfen (Hand- und Fuss-Studien!) oder die Figuren physiognomisch zu beleben.”

from life.² This division of his graphic works is valid, generally speaking; however, such a firm separation implies that Holbein thought or worked in disparate modes depending on which media he used, as the quotation at the opening of this chapter suggests. Rather than creating clearly delineated categories, Holbein's drawings, especially his portraits, reveal that he continuously employed various combinations of media and experimented with different techniques.

Describing Holbein the Elder's portrait drawings as silverpoints is an oversimplification. The media and techniques he employed go beyond this singular label. Although the silverpoint is the unifying element underlying all of his portraits, and was the first tool Holbein picked up when he began a portrait drawing, it is not the only medium that he used. He further developed most of his portraits with quill and ink, brush and ink or wash, and white and red chalk. He used different hues and tones of the prepared ground necessary for drawing with silverpoint. He employed the tonal value of the off-white or light grey ground itself as part of his compositions by purposefully leaving areas blank. He also experimented with different means of working with the prepared ground, either by scratching through areas of his drawings to reveal the lighter tonal value of the ground or by scratching through the ground to reveal the starker white of the paper underneath. The variety of technical means Holbein used to produce his portraits suggests that he may have revisited his initial silverpoint studies in the workshop, where he would have had different materials at his disposal. Returning to his

² Ibid., 41-44.

drawings implies that some of Holbein's drawings were partially done with the sitter present and revision and elaboration took place at another time.

Of the one hundred fifty-seven separate sheets with silverpoint drawings attributable to Holbein and his circle, most contain portraits or head studies, for a total of roughly one hundred fifty drawings. Some sheets also contain careful studies of objects natural and artificial (figs. 1-5), thematic or compositional ideas (figs. 6-12), and fleeting sketches and notes (figs. 13-16), in total about forty additional silverpoint drawings. Having roughly one hundred ninety drawings in silverpoint associated with Holbein – from highly finished portraits to summary sketches – allows us a thorough picture of his handling of this medium. Moreover, because his drawings can be linked to projects spanning about fifteen years of his career, we can get a strong sense of his draftsmanship over time in silverpoint as well as pen, brush, and chalk.

Provenances

Complicating an understanding of Holbein's portrait drawings is the fact that so little is known about the histories of these objects. Today, his drawings are dispersed throughout collections mainly in Europe, with two substantial groups in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Kupferstichkabinett of the Kunstmuseum Basel. In Berlin, the largest holding of Holbein the Elder's drawings, are seventy-five loose sheets with portraits. Basel has thirty-seven sheets by Holbein, some loose and some in a rebound sketchbook currently of twenty folios, the only still bound book of Holbein's drawings. Smaller groups of drawings that can be attributed to Holbein

or associated with his workshop or followers are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg (eleven sheets) and the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen (seven sheets). Other collections, where only a few or single drawings can be found, include the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne, Musée Condé in Chantilly (which has Holbein's only self-portrait drawing), Staatliche Galerie Dessau, Kupferstichkabinett of the Hamburg Kunsthalle, British Museum in London, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, Département des Arts Graphiques of the Musée du Louvre in Paris, Christ Church Picture Gallery in Oxford, Graphische Sammlung of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar, and three private collections. Only two sheets are outside Europe: one in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, and the other in the Cleveland Museum of Art.³

Concomitant with this dispersal of Holbein's drawings, the provenances of these works are varied and remain speculative. Even with the limited evidence, however, it is apparent that Holbein's drawings may have generally followed three trajectories. One is that, during his lifetime or soon after his death in 1524, several drawings ended up in Basel, probably with one or both of his sons, Ambrosius (ca. 1494-ca.1519) and Hans the Younger (1497/98-1543). Another possible trajectory is that the young sculptor Hans Schwarz (ca. 1492-after 1521), probably Holbein's pupil, may have taken another, much larger group of drawings with him when he moved to Nuremberg in 1519-20. Finally, the single or paired drawings scattered today throughout Europe and the United States might indicate cases when Holbein gave away portraits to sitters or others; otherwise, what we

³ Refer to the appendix beginning on page 206; this appendix, which catalogues all portrait drawings by or associated with Holbein, is organized alphabetically by the names of the cities of current collections.

can minimally assert about these isolated cases is that the works have descended to us on several divergent paths.

Regarding Holbein's drawings preserved today in Basel's Kupferstichkabinett, the tacit assumption seems to be that these came to Basel during his lifetime or soon after his death in 1524. Ambrosius and Hans the Younger may have brought some of their father's sketchbooks or sheets with them when they moved to Basel in 1515 or inherited these after his death in 1524. If the drawings came from Holbein the Elder after his death in 1524, then Hans the Younger likely would have inherited them, because Ambrosius ceases to be mentioned in archival sources in Basel after 1519.⁴ Holbein himself may have brought some drawings with him, when he travelled in 1517 to Lucerne. There he and Hans the Younger painted murals on the four-story house of Jakob von Hertenstein.⁵ Hans the Younger could plausibly have taken some of his father's drawings with him back to Basel at the end of the project.⁶ The elder Holbein was again in Augsburg by 1519, but between the Hertenstein commission and his return to Augsburg a trip of his own to Basel to visit his sons is possible.⁷ In any case, some of Holbein's drawings, along with several drawn and painted works by both Ambrosius and Hans the Younger, ended up in the collection of Basel citizen, Basilius Amerbach (1533-1591). The 1568 inventory

⁴ Ambrosius may have moved away, but it seems more likely that he died, as no archival sources or works of art can be associated with him after 1519. Jochen Sander, "The Artistic Development of Hans Holbein the Younger as Panel Painter during his Basel Years," in *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*, ed. Christian Müller (Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006), 14.

⁵ The house was destroyed in 1825. Bättschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (2014), 104.

⁶ Supporting the possibility that Hans the Younger may have taken a sketchbook of his father's back with him to Basel is the fact that a compositional study of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a subject of the now destroyed Hertenstein murals, is preserved today in the Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. nr. 1662.197 verso).

⁷ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 330.

of the Amerbach Kabinett records “H Holbein senior. . .zwei buchlin mehrteil mit stefzen’ (“two sketchbooks with multiple silverpoint drawings”).”⁸ Hans Holbein the Younger painted a portrait of Basilius’ father, Bonifacius Amerbach (1495-1562), in 1519.⁹ The Amerbach Kabinett, which Bonifacius started and Basilius expanded, became the core of the civic art collection of Basel in 1661, when the city purchased the Amerbach collection and established the world’s first public art museum.¹⁰ In the interim between Ambrosius and Hans the Younger’s likely ownership of their father’s drawings and their acquisition by the Amerbachs, Holbein the Elder’s only still bound sketchbook was owned by an obscure late sixteenth-century artist, Hans Hug Kluber (ca. 1535/36-1578), who wrote – including his full name – and drew sketches on a few pages.¹¹

Presumably, a great number of Holbein’s drawings – more than three-quarters of those extant today – were not given to or inherited by his sons in Basel. This largest group of drawings, which includes most of the sheets that are today in Bamberg, Berlin, and Weimar, probably remained with someone in Augsburg on Holbein’s death in 1524.¹² Katarina Krause suggests that Melchior Pfinzing (1481-1535) of Nuremberg eventually came into possession of most of these drawings.¹³ A plausible link between

⁸ Quoted in Hanspeter Landolt, ed. *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren im Kupferstichkabinett Basel, im Auftrag der Kommission der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel beim Anlass des 500 Jährigen Bestehens der Universität* (Olten, Lausanne, Freiburg: Urs Graf, 1960), 7.

⁹ Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. 314.

¹⁰ “Geschichte,” *Kunstmuseum Basel*, <http://www.kunstmuseumbasel.ch/de/kunstmuseum-basel/geschichte> (accessed 12 February 2015).

¹¹ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch UXX. For a facsimile and history of this book, see Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*.

¹² Holbein’s location when he died is unknown. The extant Augsburg guild records simply list Holbein as dead in 1524. Johannes Wilhelm, *Augsburger Wandmalerei, 1368-1530: Künstler, Handwerker und Zunft, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg: Mühlberger, 1983), 508.

¹³ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 285, 389, n. 112.

Holbein's Augsburg workshop and the Pfinzing household is Hans Schwarz, a likely pupil of Holbein's who lived and worked in Nuremberg from 1519 to 1520. Melchior Pfinzing apparently invited Schwarz to Nuremberg and arranged living quarters for him in the parish house of Saint Sebald's.¹⁴ Schwarz depicted several members of the Pfinzing family in portrait medals, including Melchior, a group portrait of his five sons, and Anna (fig. 272). Many of Holbein's drawings today in Bamberg, Berlin, and Weimar share characteristically thick, black outlining of the edges of the sheets, perhaps a treatment from the time that drawings were together in the Pfinzing collection. The paths of the drawings to Bamberg and Weimar are untraced. Most of Holbein's drawings that are today in Berlin were accumulated by Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Naegler (1770-1846), whose collector's stamp can be seen on the versos of these works. All records of provenance for the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett were destroyed in World War II.¹⁵ These tentative histories of Holbein's drawings via collectors in Basel, Nuremberg, and Berlin are the extent of what we currently know about how his works have come down to us.

Sketchbooks and Paper

Along with their uncertain provenances, the original physical contexts for almost all of Holbein's portrait drawings are now lost, most of the sheets having been separated

¹⁴ John Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals, Volume Two: France, Germany, the Netherlands, and England* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 692, cat. nr. 85. For more on Schwarz's involvement with the Pfinzing family in Nuremberg, see Hermann Maué, "Schwarz, Hans," *Grove Art Online/Oxford Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007-2014), <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T076926> (accessed 4 November 2014).

¹⁵ Michael Roth, personal communication, 8 June 2012.

for years from any binding or portfolio. Holbein's diminutive portrait drawings measure about eight to ten by twelve to fifteen centimeters, on average 9.54 by 13.15 centimeters.¹⁶ These dimensions suggest that his drawings were once part of portable sketchbooks that would have fit comfortably in the artist's hands and pockets. The 1568 Amerbach Kabinett inventory, which records two small books ("*buchlin*," being a diminutive form of book) of drawings by Holbein, offers supporting evidence that Holbein's portrait drawings were made in bound books or booklets of folded sheets.¹⁷

Comparable silverpoint sketchbooks from Holbein's contemporaries also bolster this hypothesis that Holbein worked in small sketchbooks or booklets. Albrecht Dürer's sketchbook from his journey to the Netherlands in 1520-21 included several portraits; now separated throughout European collections, this book would have measured about thirteen to fourteen by nineteen to twenty centimeters. In addition, Hans Baldung Grien collected portrait and head studies over the course of several years in his Karlsruhe silverpoint sketchbook, which measures just over twenty by fifteen centimeters; this remarkable, still intact example retains its original cover and even its silverpoint that

¹⁶ Outliers from this consistent size of his portrait drawings are four works that have been ascribed sometimes to Holbein, sometimes to his sons or other followers: a portrait of a young man in Paris (Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18693), a colored portrait of a woman in Munich (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. nr. 50), and two portraits of a young woman and a girl in Basel (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.206 and 1662.207). The attributions of these sheets to Holbein are tentative propositions, and not only because of their inconsistent scale compared to Holbein's corpus of drawings in general. The stylistic and technical characteristics of these drawings also make them incompatible with Holbein's wider oeuvre. The oversized drawings in Paris and Basel, three works that I have had the opportunity to examine in person, feature handling of the silverpoint more akin to drawings attributed to Holbein's first son, Ambrosius.

¹⁷ Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 7.

slides into the clasp securing the book's closure (fig. 31).¹⁸ Dürer and Baldung's sketchbooks provide comparable examples for the possible format of Holbein's sketchbooks or booklets, as well as suggest how he may have carried, held, and used them.

This theory that Holbein drew his portraits mainly in sketchbooks is further supported by the only still bound pages containing drawings by Holbein, the so-called "First Sketchbook," stemming from the Amerbach Kabinett.¹⁹ The binding of this book is modern, having been redone in 1910 in order for at least seven sheets to be removed. Landolt's codicology of this book has revealed that the rebinding was not skillfully undertaken; the bookbinder was not careful to replicate the original seams, so that traces of an old layer of glue and six quires are visible in the 1910 rebinding.²⁰ Furthermore, the order of the remaining sheets was changed, and the "original extent of the [sketchbook] remains uncertain," because the total number of surviving sheets associated with this book – either still bound or removed in 1910 – is greater than its initial number of sheets from six quires.²¹ Landolt concludes that the sketchbook, in its condition before the 1910 rebinding, may have contained parts of an already reduced, in other words, incomplete sketchbook.

¹⁸ For a facsimile, see Kurt Martin, *Skizzenbuch des Hans Baldung Grien, "Karlsruher Skizzenbuch,"* 2 vols. (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1950). For technical investigation of the metal content of the drawings and silverpoint, see I. Reiche et al., "SY-XRF Study of Hans Baldung Grien Silverpoint Drawings and the Silver Stylus from the 'Karlsruhe Sketchbook'," *X-Ray Spectrometry* 36, no. 3 (2007): 173-177.

¹⁹ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX.

²⁰ Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 78. I wish to thank Dr. Joan A. Holladay and Daniel M. Hofmann for employing their expertise in codicology to assist me in accurately translating the terminology from Landolt's German.

²¹ Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 78-80.

Perhaps Landolt's most consequential discovery is that the parchment cover of Holbein's "First Sketchbook" is a fragment of a fourteenth-century manuscript recording names of donors to a monastery (*Stiftungsbuch*) or a necrology (*Jahrzeitenbuch*).²² This piece of parchment is rotated, so that the horizontal lines of text are oriented vertically on the cover.²³ Tracing the text's references to the Basel's Dominican cloisters of Steinenkloster and Klingental, Landolt concludes that the original binding of Holbein's sketchbook does not originate from Augsburg, but from Basel, and dates likely between 1529 and 1578.²⁴ This evidence, from the only still bound sketchbook attributable to Holbein, does allow for the possibility that Holbein's silverpoint drawings were not bound in sketchbooks during his lifetime, but were loose sheets, only a few of which were grouped together later in the mid-sixteenth century to form the "First Sketchbook." However, repetitions of studies of some individuals within this sketchbook, especially on facing pages – for example, the same man with thinning hair on folios 2v and 3r and the same portly man on folios 6v and 7r – imply the sheets' original situation facing each other, whether as a bound book of pages or simply prepared papers folded together as a makeshift sketchbook.

Further substantiating the inference that Holbein drew his portraits in sketchbooks is his so-called "Second Sketchbook," also from the Amerbach collection. Because this book was dismantled before 1833, an understanding of its contents is based entirely on

²² *Ibid.*, 81.

²³ *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 81. During this period, either Hans the Younger or Hans Hug Kluber could have had the booklet covered with the old sheet of parchment.

inventories and other documentation of the Amerbach Kabinett.²⁵ This book originally contained at least twelve sheets, of which eleven have been identified.²⁶ These leaves were separated and cut down and, hence, lack any evidence of their former binding. With the cropped sheets ranging from 13.5 to 14.1 centimeters high and 10.2 to 10.7 centimeters wide, the dimensions of this sketchbook would have certainly measured more than 14.1 by 10.7 centimeters, consistent with the average dimensions of Holbein's portrait drawings. Eight of the eleven sheets associated with this sketchbook contain drawings on both rectos and versos. The drawings on these eleven sheets are mostly portraits, although other subjects include a Virgin and Child, the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a sketch of gabled buildings with a tower, and notes in Holbein's own hand.

According to Landolt's analysis of the "First Sketchbook," the sheets are rag paper.²⁷ Watermarks, if present, are not discernible due to the opacity and thickness of the drawings' grounds, which were applied to both sides of each sheet to maximize the drawing space available to the artist.²⁸ Some pages of both the "First Sketchbook" and "Second Sketchbook" are blank, indicating that Holbein did not fill every empty space, whether in bound folios or on the versos of loose sheets. The qualities of the paper in these sketchbooks – in terms of weight and texture – are consistent with the corpus of Holbein's portrait drawings, all of which were prepared with a ground in order for

²⁵ Tilman Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert, Hans Holbein der Ältere und Jörg Schweiger, die Basler Goldschmiederrisse*, vol. 1 of *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Kupferstichkabinett Basel* (Basel: Schwabe, 1979), 82. See also Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 7.

²⁶ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 82-86, cat. nr. 175-85.

²⁷ Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

silverpoint to be used. Further technical analysis of his corpus of drawings is necessary to answer questions about the specific sources and characteristics of the papers he used.

Grounds

In order to draw in silverpoint, Holbein had to prepare each of the pages of his sketchbooks with a ground. From examination of sheets that have been removed from his “First Sketchbook” with their margins at the binding still intact, it is apparent that he prepared his paper with a ground before folding the sheets into a booklet or binding them into a book. The fact that the pages were prepared before folding or binding speaks to the durability of the ground soon after its application. The properties of a freshly applied ground were apparently different than the current fragile conditions of Holbein’s drawings, on which some grounds exhibit craquelure and flaking.

The characteristics of the ground itself had considerable bearing on the drawing. The ground had to have enough granular or porous texture, or tooth, to retain the silver particulates rubbing off the point onto the ground. Concurrently, the ground also had to be sufficiently smooth enough so as not to inhibit the clarity of the artist’s mark making. The opaque grounds of Holbein’s drawings were probably created from a blend of pulverized bone and either lead white or white chalk. If Holbein was using similar methods described by Cennino Cennini, then he made a ground that consisted of lead white and animal bones, which were burned until turning to ash and then ground by hand

with lead white into a fine powder.²⁹ The process required considerable time and energy, as Cennini recommended two hours of grinding to make sufficient powder for grounds.³⁰ Instead of lead white, another possible ingredient for Holbein's grounds is white chalk, which was likewise manually pulverized.³¹ In any case, bone was surely employed, as an advanced level conservation thesis by Penley Knipe revealed that the grounds for only the metalpoint drawings in her study contained bone, suggesting "that artists were fully aware that bone was a necessary abrasive for allowing a metalpoint mark."³² In his *Treatise on Painting*, Leonardo exhorts artists always to carry a silverpoint and notebook with pages prepared with bone meal specifically, evidencing the continued use of bone into the sixteenth century.³³ More specific to Holbein, regional knowledge of the effectiveness of pulverized bone for at least writing with styluses is demonstrated in the *Liber illuministarum pro fundamentis auri et coloribus ac consimilibus*, an extensive anthology of artistic recipes compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century at the

²⁹ Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook (Il Libro dell'Arte)*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New York: Dover, 1933), 5. Cennini recommends specifically the joint and wing bones of birds or the thigh or shoulder bones of "a gelded lamb."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

³¹ Some of Holbein's drawings in the catalogue of the Basel Kupferstichkabinett are reportedly on "chalk grounding." Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 80, cat. nr. 167; 81, cat. nr. 71. Until technical analysis is undertaken on all of Holbein's portrait drawings, the specific media employed in his grounds remains undetermined. Generally speaking, white chalk was a prevailing ingredient in ground preparations for wooden panels and sculptures in the North. Jilleen Nadolny, "European Documentary Sources before c. 1550 Relating to Painting Grounds Applied to Wooden Supports: Translation and Terminology," in *Preparation for Painting: The Artist's Choice and Its Consequences*, ed. Joyce H. Townsend, et al. (London: Archetype, 2008), 8.

³² Edward Saywell, "Behind the Line: The Materials and Techniques of Old Master Drawings," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (1998): 24, n. 12. See also Penley Knipe, "Grounds on Paper: An Examination of Eight Early Drawings" (Conservation Certificate thesis, Harvard University Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, 1998), 18.

³³ Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270)*, trans. A. Philip McMahon, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), vol. 1, 105.

Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee in Bavaria.³⁴ Of course, Holbein doubtfully studied this text, but its compilation reveals the wider technical wisdom in southern Germany of the usefulness of bone-based grounds.

Whatever Holbein's specific recipe, bone powder with either lead white or chalk was combined with a mixture of animal-skin glue and water and applied to paper in several thin coats with a brush.³⁵ Meder observed that earlier drawings from the medieval and early modern periods tend to have thicker grounds than later drawings, and he noted, "The layer of grounding in the elder Holbein's sketchbook, for instance, is far more solid than that in the sketchbook Dürer used on his journey to the Netherlands."³⁶ Indeed, in several of Holbein's drawings the texture of the brushstrokes for the ground application are readily apparent, even with the naked eye, and often stray hairs from the brush can be seen embedded in the drawings' grounds. For example, in the Berlin drawing of a young girl (fig. 17), close inspection reveals the subtle brushstrokes at a slight angle from upper left to lower right as evidence of the application of the ground material.³⁷ The remnant of a hair from the brush is fixed in an L-shape in the ground about one-third up the sheet near the center, where the figure's garment is fastened at the front of her chest. This

³⁴ This manuscript is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 821. This specific reference is found on fol. 33r. For the reference in the critical translated edition, see Anna Bartl et al., *Der "Liber illuministarum" aus Kloster Tegernsee: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar der kunsttechnologischen Rezepte*, Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Kunsttechnik und Konservierung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, Stuttgart: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 102-103, nr. 81.

³⁵ Several recipes for hide or skin glue are also listed in the *Liber illuministarum*. Ibid., 238-239, nr. 363-367.

³⁶ Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, trans. Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), vol. 2, 67.

³⁷ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561.

drawing serves as one example of many of Holbein's grounds that reveal the process of the ground's application to the paper.

It is important to realize that the ground in Holbein's practice is not a passive background upon which he drew, but rather often had an integral role in the design of his portraits. Much like the medium tone of a chiaroscuro woodcut, the ground provided a middle point on the tonal scale for Holbein's drawings. Holbein worked on primarily on off-white or light grey grounds, although he occasionally also used grey grounds, as in the Berlin drawing of a man (fig. 18).³⁸ This darker tone served as a useful medium value for his composition, which he later darkened in areas with silverpoint and pen and ink. He lightened areas of the face extensively with white chalk highlights, which he used much more here than in his other drawings on light grounds. This example of greater chiaroscuro modeling is evidence of just one way Holbein experimented with variations in materials to achieve different graphic effects.

Another color that Holbein and his workshop explored in drawing grounds is a light terra cotta. Only a dozen portraits affiliated with Holbein have such light reddish-brown grounds, probably created by the addition of sinoper or cinnabar to tint the ground mixture.³⁹ Several other sheets with red-tinted grounds associated with Holbein or his workshop present other subjects, including a Death of the Virgin (fig. 19); a boy with long hair, likely a young King David (fig. 20); the figures of Saints Sebastian, Lucia, and

³⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2572.

³⁹ This method is consistent with what Cennino Cennini advises his readers to do to make red- or peach-tinted grounds for paper. Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, 12. Sinoper, from which sinopia gets its name, is the mineral hematite. Cinnabar, also known as vermilion or Chinese red, is mercury sulphide. See also Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 69.

Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 21) copied from the inner left wing of Holbein's Hohenburger Altarpiece (fig. 22); a seated woman taken from the figure of Saint Thecla (fig. 23) at the center of Holbein's Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Saint Paul's outside the Walls) (fig. 24); as well as several sheets containing pattern drawings of character 'types' (figs. 25-26).⁴⁰ Tilman Falk ascribes the Basel drawing of the Death of the Virgin to the master himself, believing it to be a design for a grisaille wing of an altarpiece, which was never made.⁴¹ All the other drawings are believed to have been created by and for Holbein's workshop, because they contain elements copied from Holbein's paintings or standardized figures that appear in Holbein's works. Several of these portrait drawings on red-tinted grounds exhibit a caricatured quality of the figures and faces, unlike the highly specific portraits and head studies that Holbein otherwise drew. The formulaic and overstated quality of many of the portraits on red-tinted grounds also suggests that they could have been created for the purposes of the workshop (more about attributing the drawings on red-tinted grounds later).

Silverpoint

Already the discussion of the grounds Holbein used has alluded to his silverpoint draftsmanship. Indeed, the ground and silverpoint tool go hand in hand. The dried layers

⁴⁰ The drawing of the *Death of the Virgin* is Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.215. The drawing of Saints Sebastian, Lucia, and Catherine of Alexandria is Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. nr. Graph. A E 386. The drawings of the boy (probably a young David) and of the seated figure of Saint Thecla and the group of pattern drawings are preserved in a remarkable bound collection of early German drawings, known as the "Kleine Klebeband." This book was formerly in the Fürstlich Waldburg-Wolfeggische Graphische Sammlung in Wolfegg, but since 2011, it is cooperatively owned by Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett and Augsburg's civic museums. Lisa Zeitz, "Grosser Kleiner Klebeband," *Arsprototo*, nr. 4 (2011): 25.

⁴¹ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 79, cat. nr. 165.

of glue water resulted in a powdery ground that created a textured and porous surface, which was necessary for the silverpoint stylus to create visible marks as it made contact with the ground. Unlike most other graphic media, the silverpoint mark is not created by saturation of one material with another, as for example with pen and ink, brush and wash, or watercolor, and it is not a mere process of adhesion as with lead or graphite pencil, chalk, crayon, or pastel. Rather, the silverpoint mark is just as much a physical reaction as it is chemical. The contact of the point with the granular surface of the ground has a subtle abrading effect on the point, so that silver particles are left behind creating the marks. With time these silver particles react chemically with the ground and atmospheric conditions, oxidizing from grey into dark brown marks so distinctive of the medium.⁴² Silverpoint has something of a magical aura, due to its transformative properties.⁴³ The contact of the tool with the surface does not immediately produce its final results. A faint silver mark will appear upon contact of the point with the ground; however, Holbein's drawings as they appear today were not the same as they would have appeared to him at the time of drawing or hours or even days afterward.⁴⁴ Moreover, as James Watrous's

⁴² This summary relies on explanations in Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 63-68; James Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings* (Madison, Milwaukee, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 3-33. For oxidation of silver from grey to brown, see Saywell, "Behind the Line," 34.

⁴³ In part, the mysteriousness of metalpoint is a historiographical construction, because the dissemination of knowledge of materials and techniques associated with the method experienced a lapse after the sixteenth century. As Meder opened his chapter on metalpoint drawings, "Among the graphic techniques, the use of the metal point, like many old artistic traditions, has become a sort of secret." Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 58.

⁴⁴ As Saywell reports, "The rapidity and extent of a metalpoint line's color change can vary tremendously. Susan Schwalb, an artist who has worked in metalpoint since 1975, discussed with me how in some of her works a distinct color change can occur in as little as a few months, whereas in others the process can take much longer, or be hardly discernible. The metalpoint tool itself, the nature of the ground preparation, pollutants in the atmosphere, even the time of year and the weather all appear to affect the nature of the

experimentation suggests, Holbein's drawings may even have changed noticeably during his own lifetime, initially darkening with exposure to air as the silver oxidized into silver sulphide, but after prolonged exposure (four years or more), turning brown and lightening in value.⁴⁵

Because of the delayed process of silverpoint, mastering this technique involves a considerable amount of practice and experimentation. It produces delicate lines and relatively light tonal values, and its effects are suited for linear, lightly modeled, subtle, and even highly detailed renderings. Metalpoint originated in the Middle Ages, when a lead stylus was the preferred tool for lightly ruling the pages of manuscripts and providing faint compositional guides for illuminations (fig. 27).⁴⁶ The parchment and vellum pages of manuscripts were dusted with a chalk ground, a precursor to later bone and animal glue grounds for silverpoint. The dark value of ink dominated the field of text pages, detracting from the ruled lines, and ink and pigment illuminations obscured the faint, thin marks of compositional plans. Extant evidence indicates that metalpoints were rarely used independently of manuscript production for the purposes of drawing until the late fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Origins of silverpoint could also be said to go back to the use of metal styluses on reusable wooden tablets in workshop training, a method Cennino

change." Saywell, "Behind the Line," 25, n. 19. This corroborates the experiments with various metalpoints reported in Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 18-22.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 20-21.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 3. See also Robert G. Calkins, "Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours," *Gesta* 17, no. 1 (1978): 61-70.

⁴⁷ Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 4.

Cennini advised beginning students of art to use to practice drawing.⁴⁸ The *Liber illuministarum* provides instructions for making a panel out of parchment stretched over a frame and cites silverpoint specifically as an optional implement, although the text emphasizes silverpoint's use for writing not drawing.⁴⁹ Holbein may have chosen silver over lead point partially due to silver's durability compared to lead, which requires more frequent sharpening than silver.⁵⁰ Moreover, he may simply have been more familiar with silverpoint from his training as a draftsman.⁵¹

Scholars of drawing tend to emphasize the perceived intractability of silverpoint compared to other graphic media. Watrous summarized the properties of metalpoints as follows:

“[Metalpoints] are among those media which possess limited value range, relative inflexibility of line, and scant textural substance in such degrees

⁴⁸ Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, 4-5. Saywell further explains, “Although use of such tablets is often thought to have been restricted to the early Renaissance, there is considerable evidence that artists, particularly during workshop training, continued to use them as late as the eighteenth century.” Saywell, “Behind the Line,” 23, n. 4. The practice of training with drawing tablets in seventeenth-century Dutch artists' workshops is thoroughly explored in Ernst van de Wetering, “Lost Drawings and the Use of Erasable Drawing Boards and ‘Tafeletten’,” in *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 46-73.

⁴⁹ See note 34 on page 22. Bartl et al., *Der “Liber illuministarum” aus Kloster Tegernsee*, 102-103, nr. 81.

⁵⁰ Shirley Millidge, “Metalpoint,” *Grove Art Online/Oxford Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007-2014), <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T057444> (accessed 28 November 2009).

⁵¹ Essentially nothing about Holbein's training is known, including such basic information as where he trained, with whom he trained, if he had a journeyman's *Wanderjahre*, and if so, to where he may have travelled. However, the literature contains considerable speculation, especially about the possibility of a sojourn to the Netherlands. Scholars have cited affinities between his and Gerard David's handling of silverpoint, although Holbein's firsthand experience of the Low Countries is not necessary to explain his predilection for silverpoint. The fact that this medium was familiar enough among southern German artists ca. 1500 is evidenced by its use by not just Holbein, but others, including Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Lucas Cranach the Elder. For theories regarding Gerard David's influence on Holbein, see Walter Hugelshofer, “Hans Holbein the Elder (c. 1465-1524), Portrait of an Ecclesiastic,” *Old Master Drawings* 4 (1930): 30-31; Erwin Pokorný and Eva Michel, “‘Conterfēt auff papir.’ Bildniszeichnungen der Dürerzeit,” in *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die Deutsche Porträt um 1500*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011), 166.

that they serve best for the creation of drawings of small scale – drawings which invite examination at close range and are enjoyed for the delicacy of their minute details.”⁵²

To compare this with his discussions of other media, Watrous alluded to the versatility of different types of pen, explaining that the “popularity of pens was due to their adaptability in creating forms which met the varied stylistic requirements of every art epoch and of almost every master.”⁵³ In discussing charcoal, Watrous emphasized the greater scale the medium allowed: “Because the artists of the sixteenth century preferred to produce many of their drawings on a larger scale than was common to their predecessors, charcoal was adopted with more and more frequency.”⁵⁴ The interpretation of silverpoint that Watrous presents, stressing its inflexibility, has had staying power in the literature. In 1998, Edward Saywell explained,

“[A]lthough used for rendering drawings of great delicacy and refinement, metalpoint is traditionally perceived as a very restrictive and limiting medium. That a metalpoint line could not be erased unless the ground layer was scraped away encouraged caution in drawing rather than spontaneity and experimentation.”⁵⁵

Descriptions of the properties of silverpoint as “inflexible,” “limited,” “restrictive,” implying its difficulty as a medium, do not square with the likelihood that a stylus of some form or another was an elementary training tool in most medieval and early modern

⁵² Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁵⁵ Saywell, “Behind the Line,” 12.

workshops.⁵⁶ Indeed, metalpoint was the precursor to the pencil, a standard implement in the practice of drawing at all levels of competence since the seventeenth century.⁵⁷

In addition, contrary to the characterization of silverpoint as producing relatively inflexible lines and little textural effects, Holbein's drawings display a remarkable variety of line weights and qualities. He was capable of nuanced modeling of forms with hatching and crosshatching as well as suggesting a range of textures. He fully exploited the potential of silverpoint's distinct graphic qualities in his silverpoint drawings from life. Because no other group of silverpoint drawings comparable in size and quality to Holbein's corpus has survived from around 1500, it may seem that Holbein had a particular penchant for the medium. Indeed, as infrared reflectography has revealed, Holbein even used silverpoint for the underdrawings of his panel paintings, a material "very rarely" confirmed by technical analysis.⁵⁸ Considering the unknowable losses in

⁵⁶ According to Cennini, students of art should begin learning the trade by drawing with a stylus. Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, 4, n. 1.

⁵⁷ Paul Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours: A Guide to Technical Terms*, rev. ed. (London, Los Angeles: British Museum, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 49. I eagerly await the forthcoming exhibition on metalpoint being organized by the British Museum and National Gallery of Art for 2015, "Drawing in Silver and Gold: From Leonardo to Jasper Johns." The brief description of the exhibition states, "Often regarded as a limited and unforgiving medium, metalpoint is actually capable of a surprising range of effects." National Gallery of Art, "Drawing in Silver and Gold: From Leonardo to Jasper Johns," www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/exhibitions/2015/leonardo-to-jasper-johns.html (accessed 19 September 2014).

⁵⁸ The only technical analysis of Holbein's underdrawings with infrared reflectography has been performed on his panels of the so-called *Grey Passion* (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. nr. 3753-3762, L 1425, and GVL 179). Examination of the underdrawings with electron microscopy and X-ray spectroscopy revealed the clear presence of silver. Stephanie Dietz et al., "Die Graue Passion von Hans Holbein d. Ä. – Material und Technik," in *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die Graue Passion in ihrer Zeit*, ed. Elsbeth Wiemann (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010), 109-110. Further technical investigations of Holbein's works are necessary to get a fuller understanding of his and his workshop's materials and working processes.

drawings from the era, however, Holbein's exclusivity as a frequent practitioner of silverpoint remains somewhat speculative.⁵⁹

What is clear from Holbein's drawings is that he developed varied techniques for exploiting the seemingly elusive and subtle qualities of silverpoint. He used sophisticated techniques in handling the tool, beyond the mere assumed use of the sharpened point. In order to vary the weight of his lines and marks, he employed different parts of the silverpoint. Illustrations and models (figs. 28-29) suggest what Holbein's implement may have looked like, inferences based on the visual evidence of Rogier van der Weyden's Saint Luke executing the Virgin Mary's portrait in silverpoint (fig. 30) and the surviving original implement from Hans Baldung Grien's silverpoint sketchbook (fig. 31). He employed the sharp point for fine lines, the wider part of the point for thicker lines, and the broad side of the tool for general areas of shading (fig. 32). For example, in the ruffled edge of Ulrich Fugger the Younger's undershirt (fig. 33), it is evident how marks could be rendered with different parts of the point. The upward stroke of the zigzag was made with the sharp point, while the downward stroke was made with a broader part of the point, which indicates perhaps that it was beginning to dull.

Holbein's varied marks can be demonstrated within just one drawing, his portrait of Leonhard Wagner (fig. 34).⁶⁰ In the thin, wispy strokes representing the hairs around Wagner's tonsure, we see Holbein's use of the finely sharpened point of the tool. In the

⁵⁹ As mentioned in note 51 on page 27, Dürer, Baldung, and Cranach all used silverpoint. In fact, some of Dürer's earliest drawings, such as his self-portrait at the age of thirteen, were executed in silverpoint, a technique he surely learned from his father, an accomplished goldsmith. The young Dürer's use of this medium, although he is certainly a precocious example, speaks to the silverpoint as a common draftsman's tool, even for beginners.

⁶⁰ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2525.

thicker lines indicating the darker recesses of his eyelids and the shadow around his ear lobe, we see thicker and heavier lines made singly not by repetitive strokes. Finally, in the modeling of the folds of Wagner's cowl at the back of his neck, we see comparatively wide swaths of shading done with a broad part of the implement. It is possible that Holbein had a tool that was "cast to have a fine point at one end and a blunter point at the opposite end in order to change the width of line."⁶¹ Indeed, it seems plausible that Holbein could have commissioned a specially designed silverpoint, considering that he lived and worked just a short walk from most of the gold- and silversmiths' shops in Augsburg.⁶²

In addition to using different parts of the silverpoint, Holbein varied the amount of pressure to achieve a still greater diversity of line weights and qualities. Saywell argues that "increased pressure on the stylus will not have any dramatic effect on the thickness or intensity of the line produced;" nonetheless, from my investigation of Holbein's works, it is evident that Holbein did vary his pressure on the tool to produce differences in line qualities, even if they are not "dramatic" per se.⁶³ A signature characteristic of his silverpoint lines is their tapering ends, an indication of the lessening of pressure as Holbein gradually lightened his force and lifted the point off the page, seen

⁶¹ Saywell, "Behind the Line," 34.

⁶² Holbein resided from 1496 to 1516 at Vorderer Lech 20. Gode Krämer, "Holbeinhaus," in *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, ed. Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013), www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de, n.p. Unlike most early modern German towns, Augsburg did not have a goldsmith 'district' per se; goldsmiths' workshops were scattered across the city. However, their residences and businesses were generally concentrated on the Weinmarkt, a major thoroughfare (today's Maximilianstraße), and the Brotmarkt, near the main city square and Perlach tower (today's Karolinenstraße). August Weiss, *Das Handwerk der Goldschmiede in Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1681* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1897), 50.

⁶³ Saywell, "Behind the Line," 34.

for example in his depiction of the fine hair of a monk named Hans (fig. 35).⁶⁴ Holbein's fine lines with the sharp point were not all necessarily light and delicate, but could also be made darker by adjusting the intensity with which the tool was pressed down. The use of fine, yet dark lines is apparent in his remarkable study of a falcon (fig. 36), copied from a painted portrait of Charles II, Duke of Burgundy (the later Holy Roman Emperor Charles V).⁶⁵ In the clearly delineated feathers of the falcon's wing, we can see an example of Holbein applying greater pressure to attain sharp, dark lines, which even engraved the paper lightly. The noticeably lighter lines of the drawing's quick sketch of the falconer's arm provide a comparison for the sharp yet dark lines seen in the feathers. Thicker lines with the wider part of the point were not all necessarily darker, simply because they covered more area, but could also be lightly applied and, therefore, thicker and more diffuse than sharper, more dense lines. A useful comparison of fairly light lines of differing widths is demonstrable in the way Holbein captured the wavy hair of another man named Hans (fig. 37).⁶⁶ He also laid down shading with the broad side of the silverpoint tool in repetitive strokes to produce varied tonal shading, as seen in his representation of the fur on Jörg Fischer's wide lapels (fig. 38).⁶⁷ If done too hard, this technique could weaken the ground and result in areas of flaking, as the condition of the lower part of this sheet suggests was the case. Holbein also used this technique of broad shading with lessened pressure to create a light or medium tonal value with a somewhat

⁶⁴ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2537.

⁶⁵ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510 verso.

⁶⁶ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2563.

⁶⁷ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2568.

lightly stippled texture across a general area of the surface, an effect that we can also see in Jörg Fischer's fur lapels and that is repeated in the drawing of an anonymous man (Berlin 2567, fig. 39).⁶⁸ In the latter case, the texture of the ground significantly influenced the quality of the drawing, because the higher surfaces of the ground had greater contact with the silver of the tool and produced the drawn areas from the chemical reaction. This effect is apparent in Berlin 2567 on the side of the man's face and neck, where the brushstrokes for the ground's application impacts the tactility of the marks made with the broad side of the silverpoint.

From this general explanation of silverpoint and overview of Holbein's techniques of handling the medium, it should be apparent that the effects of the silver's contact with the ground were often delicate lines and marks. The subtlety of silverpoint makes it a difficult medium to study without the aid of a magnifying glass, and the diminutive scale of most of Holbein's portrait drawings compounds the challenge. But examining the intricacies of Holbein's drawings rewards the viewer with tremendous insight into his process in general and, more specifically, into the independent strokes and series of movements that he used to create his images. One example of a drawing that yields considerable information about Holbein's distinctive handling of silverpoint is his study of Hans Pflieger (fig. 40).⁶⁹ The silverpoint on this drawing is particularly clear, and therefore easier to investigate, because the ground is in relatively good condition and the

⁶⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2567.

⁶⁹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2543. Hans Pflieger was possibly a goldsmith, the third signatory of trade regulations of 7 September 1529 (Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Sammlung der Goldschmiedeordnungen). Weiss, *Das Handwerk der Goldschmiede in Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1681*, 233, 317.

silverpoint has not been drawn over in ink, wash, or chalk by either Holbein or a later hand. This drawing is also instructive in that it has the quality of a rather quickly observed and recorded subject, and so it offers a fresh impression of Holbein's handling of silverpoint.

It is useful to begin analyzing this drawing of Hans Pflieger at the most crucial point for a portrait and likely where Holbein began with his silverpoint: the contour of the facial profile (fig. 41). A great advantage of using silverpoint as a starting medium in developing drawings and underdrawings is the lightness and delicacy of the resulting lines and marks, which can be faintly and tentatively drawn and subsequently gone over and corrected with darker media without stray silver marks impinging too much on the final composition. Without the impediments of overdrawn media, Holbein's study reveals the artist's scrutiny of the subject's facial profile and recording in a series of short, segmented marks that work together with other marks to create the form's contour. This searching and somewhat hesitant approach is most evident in the contour of the figure's distinctive nose, possibly disfigured from having been broken. Overlapping and double lines betray Holbein's process of careful observation and imitation. On the bridge of the nose, either a straighter, less dramatic line has been added to modify the drastic inward curve of his upper nose, or vice versa. The line curving around the tip of the nose overlaps the downward sloping line of the contour at the end of the nasal cartilage.

A similar effect of searching lines is evident in longer segmented strokes indicating the general outlines of the forms of Hans Pflieger's hat and body and clothing, plausibly areas that Holbein loosely defined after establishing the placement of the facial

profile and contour of the back of the head. Three or four arching lines meet at uneven points along the undulating contour of the top edge of the hat (fig. 42). The ends of two lines even crisscross in Holbein's attempt to convey the bulging parts of the hat. Similarly, a series of three more shallow arcing lines that overlap at their tapering ends represents the top edge of the hat's brim. An economical group of about a dozen lines that do not meet seem to have been quickly and loosely set down to establish the basic components of the subject's body and garment (fig. 43). This scarcity of information on the sitter's clothing is unusual for Holbein's drawings, as we shall see later in chapter five, although this is not an isolated example of a relatively spare portrait study. What this pure silverpoint may reveal to us is Holbein's process of developing his portrait drawings; it is apparent that he laid out the essential forms of face, body, and general attire overall before he more closely observed the modeling and tactility of specific parts of the composition. Without confirmation of these initial lines through definitive overdrawing in either silver or another medium, we can apprehend Holbein's processes of observation and conceptualization at the formative stages of one of his portrait drawings.

After having put the framework of his composition in place, the next phase in the development of Holbein's portrait of Hans Pflieger was to consider and convey three-dimensional modeling of the subject as well as details of his appearance. This drawing serves as an appropriate example for Holbein's silverpoint techniques, not simply because it is not obscured by overdrawing, but also because it exhibits Holbein's varied handling of the medium. Although the portrait is sketchier than Holbein's more finished

drawings, this characteristic is to our advantage in seeking to comprehend his techniques. This sheet presents the formal qualities typical of Holbein's drawings as well as the diversity of his methods. Throughout the drawing the quality of lines and marks is delicate. Despite the looseness of the drawing, it displays a sense of confidence and control. Careful lines define the distinct features of the face, such as the bulbous nose, the down-turned mouth, the understated chin, and the large, deep-set left eye. Modeling of forms on his face is rendered in the lightest touches of parallel strokes for hatching. Executed with the sharp tip of the silverpoint, these hatching lines offer just enough change in tonal value to suggest the subtle shadows and recesses on the cheek and the side of the nostril. They are neither precisely or systematically delineated nor sloppily or haphazardly scribbled; rather they are consistent with the loose, yet confident handling of other areas of the drawing. Faint thin lines indicating the use of a sharpened point are also present in the longer parallel hatching lines suggesting shadow on the cheek near the hair, the curving outline of the nostril, the fine crow's feet radiating from the corner of the eye, and the short zigzagging lines under the eye.

Areas of more heavily and densely drawn hatching indicate darker shadows and deeper recesses under the chin, along the jaw line, and at the front of the throat. The wider width and darker tonal value of the marks in these areas suggest that the artist used the wider part of the point, not its sharp tip, and applied slightly more pressure with the tool. Similar weight lines created with the wider part of the point, but rendered in a careful, slower, and more controlled manner are displayed in the clearly outlined iris, the edges of the eyelids, and the crease in the upper eyelid. The wider part of the tool was

also employed in long, shallowly curving lines to represent the subject's wavy hair. Shorter complementary lines are featured for the partially obscured hair on the farther side of the head. Many of these lines for the figure's hair taper toward their ends indicating that Holbein rotated the tool slightly toward the sharp point and gradually eased pressure off as he lifted the silverpoint off the paper. The control demonstrated in these lines around the eyes and for the hair contrasts with the quick, short zigzags of the eyebrow, although these marks were likewise drawn with the wider part of the point. The broad side of the silverpoint was used to shade the darkest area of the drawing, the contour under his chin that is in cast shadow, as well as with lighter pressure for indicating creases or folds of the garment along the figure's far shoulder. This tremendous variety of lines and marks, conveying Holbein's deft manipulation of the silverpoint, is present in most of the drawings attributed to him and his circle, and as we shall find later, we can rely on this characteristic in issues of attribution of drawings to Holbein or his workshop.

Ink and Wash

The fully silverpoint drawing of Hans Pflieger is representative of the first stages of Holbein's process in developing a portrait. His drawings also exhibit use of pen and ink and brush and wash. The use of these media also can aid in attribution of drawings to Holbein or later overdrawings to other hands; for some drawings clearly display fully integrated handling of silverpoint and ink, while others suggest a discontinuity of both idea and design. The former, I believe, can be firmly associated with Holbein, while the

latter indicate that workshop assistants or a later, less capable artist drew over Holbein's silverpoints.

Holbein employed pen and black ink in about half of his portrait drawings, roughly eighty sheets. When he used this material, he usually did so minimally to enhance the darkest or most shaded of his sitters' features. With his pen he distinguished irises and pupils, eyelashes, eyebrows, nostrils, and the shaded line between lips from the lighter tone of the silverpoint. It is apparent that Holbein worked exclusively with a quill pen, because his lines and marks are fine and of variable weight, exhibiting the "great flexibility of line" for which quill pens are known.⁷⁰ For his portrait drawings, he seems to have used exclusively carbon ink, because his lines are rich black and have not turned brown as they have aged.⁷¹

Two examples of his selective use of pen and ink are his drawings of Frau Fischer (fig. 44) and Jörg(?) Hierlinger (fig. 45).⁷² For Frau Fischer, Holbein captured the dark value of her iris and the deep black of her pupil, fixing the direction of her gaze clearly out at the artist and viewer. By purposefully leaving blank two specks of the pupils in her left eye and using white chalk in her right, he noted reflections from a nearby light

⁷⁰ Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours*, 55. For other similar descriptions of the variability of quill pen, see Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 30; Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 50, 52; David Acton and Joan Wright, "With Pen and Brush – Ink as a Drawing Medium," in *Master Drawings from the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, New York: Worcester Art Museum, Hudson Hills Press, 1998), 9.

⁷¹ For the properties of carbon and iron-gall inks and bistre, see Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 43-51; Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 66-88; Acton and Wright, "With Pen and Brush," 11-12; Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours*, 38-39. Holbein's exclusive use of black ink for developing portraits is consistent with Meder's conclusion about the preferred ink medium for early modern German draftsmen: "the solid line of carbon ink was most favored, and iron-gall ink was avoided if possible." Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 34.

⁷² Both drawings are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Frau Fischer is inv. nr. 2558; Hans or Jörg Hierlinger is inv. nr. 2541.

source. He indicated the darker tone of her brows in short, stiff strokes with the pen. He carefully shaded the recess of her nostril in a small arc and captured the darkest part of the shadow on the side of her nostril. With fine lines he delineated the creases of her eyelids and the meeting of her lips. In addition, he emphasized the outline of her face, neck, and upper shoulders, modulating the weight of his pen line to define subtly areas of more shading.

Similarly, in the drawing of Jörg(?) Hierlinger, Holbein's handling of pen and ink conveys his tendency to limit his additions in this technique, being highly selective about the placement of this darkest tonal value in his compositions. Like Frau Fischer's, Hierlinger's eyes are enhanced with pen, but only with tiny dots for the pupils and miniscule, fine lines radiating from the dots to record the marbled coloration of his iris. A few stiff strokes indicate his eyelashes and a few hairs of his brows. A tight curve articulates the recess of his nostril. A thin line defines where his lips touch. Using fine pen lines, the artist shaded under the chin and the adjacent contour of the neck. Clearly comprehending the abrupt change in tonal value from silverpoint to ink, Holbein utilized pen sparingly, reserving it for areas of deepest relief, and hence darkest shading, on the forms he observed. On the drawing of Jörg(?) Hierlinger, he modulated the gradation from lightest (silverpoint) to darkest (ink) through the use of brush and wash.

Holbein enhanced the three-dimensionality of his portraits by utilizing brush and a range of values of wash. In some cases, he developed a drawing with two or more values of wash, resulting in a highly finished composition. He used brush and wash half as often as pen and ink, in only about forty portrait drawings. Like the ink he employed

with pen, Holbein seems to have used carbon ink to make his washes, because these are various tones of silver or charcoal grey and do not exhibit any browning or fading over time, as gall and bister ink washes would have done.⁷³ He applied wash on his portraits with fine brushes, made with fur likely from squirrels or from rabbit, otter, or mink probably “mounted in the tapered ends of quills.”⁷⁴ Some of his brushwork is so fine as to be indecipherable from pen, and indeed, further technical examination of his drawings may reveal that some elements described as pen and ink may, in fact, be brush and ink.⁷⁵

Holbein usually handled brush and wash in a graphic manner, more often than he applied broad strokes to fill in areas of tonal value, although he did occasionally exploit the painterly possibilities of the material. Typically, he drew with hatching, cross-hatching, and various short strokes to add fullness to his sitters’ forms. The drawing of Clemens Sender (fig. 46) offers a particularly clear example of Holbein’s handling of brush and wash, because he used only this medium here in addition to silverpoint.⁷⁶ To model Sender’s features, Holbein applied at least two different values of wash. A pair of short strokes defining the subtle creases of his smile lines just to the viewer’s left of his nostril is rendered in light silvery grey. In this same tone he indicated the sitter’s light

⁷³ For the properties of carbon and iron-gall inks and bister, see Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 43-51; Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*, 66-88; Acton and Wright, “With Pen and Brush,” 11-12; Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours*, 38-39.

⁷⁴ Acton and Wright, “With Pen and Brush,” 8.

⁷⁵ In some drawings that Lieb and Stange identified as having additions in pen and ink only, I found that Holbein’s brush and wash had gone unnoticed. Moreover, for some drawings that initially appeared to me to be merely silverpoint with pen and ink, my examinations revealed that a fine brush and wash was used instead of or in addition to pen. The only aid I had for my investigation was a magnifying glass. Further study with a microscope would allow us to conclude how extensively Holbein used brush with ink and wash. This is an example of what Paul Goldman explained, “Many drawings described as having been executed in pen are often found on closer examination to have been drawn with a fine brush.” Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours*, 10.

⁷⁶ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2536.

irises, outlined the profile of his nose, and shaded the light circles under his eyes, the underside of his nose, and his upper lip. Holbein also enhanced the drawing of his collar as well as the shading along the edge of his cowl and vertical folds of his robe on his left shoulder. Only in the area from the side of his left cheek just below his nose down to the recess between his lower lip and receding chin did Holbein use the wash in a painterly mode to suggest general areas of shading.

Holbein further developed his portrait of Sender with a darker wash and graphic technique. Delicate strokes delineate the darker ring outside his irises, the folds of his eyelids, his eyelashes, the corners of his eyes to our right, the shadow inside his nostril, as well as the line between his lips and corner of his mouth (fig. 47). The short stiff strokes that accentuate the hairs of his eyebrows record the movement of the artist's hand. For each mark in his brows, a dark dot shows where the brush first made contact and the concentration of ink was greater, and then the brisk upward stroke fades into a lighter tone. Holbein went over the contour of Sender's nose again in this darker wash; this distinguishes the nose's profile from the adjacent dense hatching in the hood, as well as suggests a shadow from his nose falling on his cheek, as the light source enters from the left. For the shaded recesses inside the hood all along his facial profile, in the folds of the cloth to the right of his face and neck, and on his left shoulder, Holbein employed linear shading rather than filling in these areas with wash. Finally, in the darkest wash, Sender's pupils stand out sharply against the light and medium values of his irises and the rest of the composition. Through silverpoint and three values of wash, the modeling of Sender's unique form is thoroughly achieved. The delicacy with which Holbein handled brush and

wash, not to mention his graphic conceptualization in this medium, complements the refinement of his lines and marks in silverpoint and pen and ink.

White Highlights

Balancing the recessed and darker areas of his subjects, Holbein highlighted the higher relief portions of his sitters' features in two different ways. He applied white chalk or scratched through a drawing's ground to expose the paper underneath, occasionally using both techniques on the same sheet. More commonly, Holbein heightened drawings with white chalk, on about thirty-two works, but twelve drawings attributable to Holbein and his workshop contain heightening by scratching through the drawing or ground to make white lines or lighten specific areas. Overall, he tended to heighten his drawings selectively, whereas in most of his compositions the off-white or light grey ground itself serves as the lightest tonal value.

As we have already seen with Berlin 2572 (fig. 18), Holbein occasionally used a darker value of ground, enabling him to further develop his figures' forms with white chalk. Almost all the drawings on red-tinted grounds affiliated with Holbein also feature white chalk highlights for chiaroscuro effects. Like his manipulation of silverpoint, pen and ink, and brush and wash, his handling of white chalk can be characterized as graphic, as opposed to filling in areas with a painterly approach. In several examples, white chalk was applied in mere touches to the drawing, suggesting the nuance of diffused light on a face or only the brightest reflections off sitters' most prominent features. For instance, in Holbein's portrait of the youthful Hans Schwarz (fig. 48), the white chalk blends so

seamlessly with the ground's light grey tone that its application is only discernible upon close inspection. In a detail of Schwarz's face, the subtle white marks become more readily apparent. We see that Holbein actually extensively heightened his features, including his forehead above his eyebrows, the crests of his eye sockets just below his brows, the edges of his upper and lower eyelids, the whites of his eyes, the upper ridges of his cheekbones, the point of his nose and side of his nostril, the crests of his philtrum, and the prominence of his chin.

In still other cases when Holbein used white chalk on a light ground, the effects are almost imperceptible, even when studied closely. For example, the highlights are so subtle on his portrait of Leonhard Wagner (fig. 49) that the application of chalk is more easily observed in raking light (fig. 50). With this method it becomes clear that more of the medium was used than is perceivable when viewing the sheet straight on.⁷⁷ In oblique light, Holbein's faint hatching and blending with chalk appears as a burnished quality of the ground, reflecting light more than the porous bone ground of the sheet. Examining these areas observable in raking light more closely, it is apparent that Holbein used white chalk not only to highlight areas of high relief, but also as a corrective means to cover up his prior silverpoint marks. As silverpoint is not erasable, except by scraping off drawn areas, white chalk served Holbein as a useful, less intrusive means to revise his compositions. Presumably, chalk also allowed the artist to moderate his revisions, as it was a friable medium he could blend and even wipe away.

⁷⁷ Indeed, Lieb and Stange do not even mention the presence of white chalk on this drawing, calling into question how thoroughly they examined it. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 95, cat. nr. 187.

Less frequently Holbein produced the effects of highlights by scratching superficially through drawn areas or more deeply through the opaque ground, a *sgraffito* technique that made the light ground or white paper visible through the drawing. This efficient method for creating fine highlights has not been discussed before in the literature on Holbein. Only Elfried Bock noted that one drawing (Berlin 2571, fig. 51) has “Lichter ausgekratzt” (“[high]lights scratched out”), an observation that Lieb and Stange directly cited in their catalogue raisonné.⁷⁸ The fact that he deliberately used the silverpoint ground in this manner has gone completely unnoticed on eleven other portraits, including frequently published examples of known individuals, such as Burkhard Engelberg (fig. 52), Anna Laminit (fig. 53), Jörg Saur (?) (fig. 54), Georg Thurzo (fig. 55), and Anna Thurzo-Fugger (fig. 56).⁷⁹ In general, this technique seems to be understudied in the history of drawings, for the essential works on old master drawings do not offer any mentions of scratching, except to explain that silverpoint can only be erased by scraping off drawn areas of the ground.⁸⁰ Moreover, no extensive analysis focusing on metalpoint, and silverpoint in particular, has been published.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Elfried Bock, *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett*, vol 1 of *Die deutschen Meister: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen, mit 193 Lichtdrucktafeln*, ed. Max J. Friedländer (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1921), 52. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 103, cat. nr. 236.

⁷⁹ The following are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Burkhard Engelberg, inv. nr. 2569; Anna Laminit, inv. nr. 2559; Georg Thurzo, inv. nr. 2515; Anna Thurzo-Fugger, inv. nr. 2516. The drawing of Jörg Saur (?) is Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. I A 4.

⁸⁰ Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. 2, 63.

⁸¹ “Drawing in Silver and Gold: From Leonardo to Jasper Johns,” the recent exhibition organized by the British Museum and National Gallery of Art and its forthcoming catalogue (due out in May 2015 after the completion of this dissertation) promise to expand our understanding of these materials and their use across several centuries. Stacey Sell and Hugo Chapman, eds., *Drawing in Silver and Gold: Leonardo to Jasper Johns* (London, Washington, Princeton: British Museum, National Gallery of Art, Princeton University Press, 2015).

The white scratches used to highlight a dozen of Holbein's portraits exemplify his experimentation with new ways to utilize the silverpoint ground for effective representational and expressive ends. In his portrait of a man (Berlin 2571, fig. 51), on which Bock recognized scratched highlights, probably done with a needle, to expose the bright paper beneath. These delicate highlights include thin wavy lines to represent light or grey hairs at his temple and in his beard, dots and small patches of white for the reflections in his eyes and the shine on his nose and lower lip, and straight stiff marks for the light falling on the corner of his collar.

Other of Holbein's drawings reveal more extensive – even assertive – use of this *sgraffito* technique. For instance, the face of Anna Thurzo-Fugger (fig. 56) is a lunar surface compared to the smoothness, light porousness, and minimal brushwork from the ground application, which are typical of the textures of his other drawings. Yet, the tactility of Holbein's drawing of Anna is not discussed in any texts citing this image.⁸² Because the lightening effects of the scratches and scrapes are so well integrated into the overall composition, it is reasonable to ascribe them to Holbein as revisions he made while working up this drawing, rather than a later hand making drastic amendments. This method, like his use of white chalk, serves not only as lightening for higher areas of relief, but also as a corrective measure for 'erasing' certain drawn areas. Employing probably a needle, he added thin lines to render light or grey flyaway hairs emerging from under the brim of her hat, a reflection along the edge of her upper eyelid, and

⁸² According to Lieb and Stange, the media are "silverpoint, 'with brush and pen in ink and gone over with black chalk'." Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 109, cat. nr. 270. For the quoted text, they cited Bock, *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister*, 48.

parallel hatching brightening the side of her forehead and her upper lip just below her nose. Using a wider tool, he ‘erased’ in broadly scraped parallel lines about half the drawing in silverpoint and brush and wash in the area of Anna’s hat. With another tool having a three-pointed serrated edge, he carved out swaths of the ground to highlight her cheekbones, the plane along the side of her nose, and the side of her chin. In addition, employing one of these implements, Holbein added the glint in Anna’s eye. The relief surface of this drawing is not an isolated example in Holbein’s oeuvre; portraits of Heinrich Grim (fig. 57), Hans Griebherr (figs. 58-59), and Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner (fig. 60) also feature considerable scratching and scraping, revealing the artist’s dynamic process of developing and modifying his works.⁸³

Red Chalk

In addition to white chalk for highlights, Holbein applied red chalk to his portrait drawings. He employed red chalk on about as many works as he did white, on around thirty drawings. In thirteen cases, both white and red chalks were used to create a highly finished composition. None of the drawings on red-tinted grounds associated with Holbein feature red chalk, further supporting the conclusion that the red tint was conceived as a medium flesh tone for portraits or head studies. Holbein enlivened his human subjects through limited application of red to particular facial features, especially cheekbones, tips of noses, lips, and sometimes eyelids and tear-ducts. As with the artist’s

⁸³ These portraits are all Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Heinrich Grim is inv. nr. 2534; Hans Griebherr is inv. nr. 2532, and Hans Griebherr (?) is inv. nr. 2539; Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner is inv. nr. 2557.

use of other media, he handled red chalk in a graphic manner, applying the material with hatching rather than filling in areas.

The red chalk applied to Holbein's portrait of Adolf Dischmacher (fig. 61) is exemplary of his typical handling of the medium.⁸⁴ With a sharpened piece of chalk, he applied fine parallel strokes at a slight angle moving from lower left to upper right. He adjusted the weight and density of this hatching to modulate the tonal value of the red chalk. The darkest pink areas are indicated with the densest marks, on the upper lip, on the apples of his cheeks, and in the inside corner of his eye. Lighter pink, rendered with less pressure on the chalk and less densely hatched lines, moderates the tonal transition from dark pink on his cheeks to white on his cheekbone. This lighter tone of pink was also used on his lower lip to indicate its higher relief than the underside of the upper lip. Delicate touches of red chalk around the face suggest a general flesh color – on his upper eyelid, the side and bridge of his nose, his nostrils, the prominence of his chin, his cheek near the jawline, and even the lobe and helix of his ear. These subtle additions animate the otherwise stark representation of the sitter through the light grey ground and greyish brown silverpoint marks.

⁸⁴ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196.

Other Media

Silverpoint, pen, brush, ink, wash, white chalk, sgraffito, red chalk – these are the materials and techniques Holbein frequently employed. Occasionally, however, his drawings also feature other materials – black chalk, charcoal, and watercolor – that he, his workshop, or later hands added. Each instance of these irregular media requires individual consideration, rather than assuming that since they are unusual for Holbein’s drawings, they must be later overdrawings and not ‘authentic.’⁸⁵ Nonetheless, attributing additions in black chalk, charcoal, or leadpoint to Holbein and his immediate circle is highly speculative territory. Indeed, Lieb and Stange used such ambiguous terms, such as “schwarzer Stift” (which could be translated as black point, pen, or pencil) or “Bleistift” (which could mean leadpoint or lead pencil), that it is difficult to make any conclusions about Holbein’s possible use of these media.⁸⁶ Evidence is simply insufficient to ascertain whether Holbein or his workshop or someone else at a later time added them. Yet, the rarity of black chalk, charcoal, and leadpoint on any drawings in his entire graphic oeuvre does imply that these may be later overdrawings by artists or collectors.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Lieb and Stange’s catalogue is completely unclear in regard to the question of who drew what and when. They frequently state that drawings are “gone over,” “worked over,” or “traced” with pen and ink, brush and wash, and white and red chalk, without clarifying whether these elements were done by Holbein or someone else.

⁸⁶ Until examination of his drawings under microscope allows for verifiable identification, the specific media on these few drawings remain unknown.

⁸⁷ Arguments regarding Holbein’s awareness of and occasional use of black chalk or charcoal are mixed. Although Holbein did not employ black chalk or charcoal in his drawings, he did frequently use white and red chalk. Analysis of his underdrawings on one polyptych suggests that he did not use chalk or charcoal. See note 58 on page 29. Holbein’s contemporaries, Dürer and Hans Burgkmair, used charcoal extensively. Burgkmair was a neighbor to Holbein in Augsburg, and possibly a brother-in-law. Hence, Holbein’s awareness and occasional use of charcoal is not entirely out of the question. Holbein’s son, Hans the Younger, would go on to develop his own distinct style and technique of drawing portraits in colored chalks, but only after his exposure to chalk drawings in France in 1524. Oskar Bätschmann, “The Use of

Certainly, any additions in graphite pencil are later, as this medium was not developed during his lifetime.

Colors besides red chalk are rarely found on Holbein's portrait drawings. Yet, some portraits have minimal additions of watercolor, such as the gold chain on Veronika Fugger-Gassner's neck (fig. 62), the faint blue-green in Matthäus Roritzer's irises (fig. 63), and touches in red watercolor (rather than red chalk) on the faces of Jörg Bock (?) (fig. 64) and Hans Berting (fig. 65).⁸⁸ These watercolor details are so inconspicuous and well integrated into the compositions, especially the red on Jörg Bock (?) and Hans Berting, that it seems reasonable to ascribe them to Holbein or at least someone near him. The only example of thorough coloring of a composition among Holbein's portrait drawings is his depiction of Jörg Bomheckel (?) (fig. 66), which is painted with watercolor to record the brown and red of his hair and fur-trimmed jacket and hat.⁸⁹ The drawing's characteristics are consistent with Holbein's practices in the following ways: the sheet's dimensions and the properties of the paper and ground are comparable to his other drawings from sketchbook pages; the manipulation of the media, including silverpoint, pen and black ink, and white and red chalk, is true to Holbein's manner; the representation of features typifies his approach to conceptualizing the face and head; and the attention to the sitter's attire accords with the artist's approach to portraiture.⁹⁰ Simply

Colored Chalks for Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger" (presentation, Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, New York, 29 March 2014).

⁸⁸ All drawings are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Veronika Fugger-Gassner, inv. nr. 2522; Matthäus Roritzer, inv. nr. 5008; Jörg Bock (?), inv. nr. 2574; Hans Berting, inv. nr. 2550.

⁸⁹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2579.

⁹⁰ Two other portrait drawings that are thoroughly colored and have been ascribed to Holbein the Elder are dubious attributions, because the techniques are inconsistent with his body of work. The portrait of a

because this is an isolated example of extensive use of watercolor among Holbein's portraits does not preclude the likelihood that the artist or his workshop rendered it, particularly considering that Holbein's drawings of other subjects frequently have watercolor.

Conclusion: Integrated Media

Holbein's multiple media produce a harmonious effect, while each serves their own purposes in a portrait drawing. In tracing Holbein's working methods it is possible to follow his rationale in employing certain media for their particular qualities. His characteristic integrative utilization of materials and techniques can be especially useful in resolving some questions of attribution. In most drawings attributed to him, in which multiple materials were used, it is possible to recognize the purposes that different materials serve in the composition; however, in some sheets, pen and ink or brush and wash merely repeat the silverpoint drawing, suggesting that the overdrawing is likely not Holbein's. As we shall see in the following chapter, additional factors come into play when considering attributions of portrait drawings to Holbein the Elder.

woman (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. nr. 50) and the portrait of a man (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Art graphiques, inv. nr. A214) are so inconsistent with the standard – and even experimental – draftsmanship on Holbein's other portrait drawings, that he cannot be confirmed as the artist.

Chapter 2: *Beyond Materials and Techniques: Attributions, Inscriptions, Identities, and Purposes of Holbein's Portrait Drawings*

“If on the one hand Holbein worked in formulas of standard idioms of the workshop in his pen drawings with wash, on the other hand he spoke his own personal language in the silverpoint drawings...[These] form a sharply defined group, of which the consistent authorship cannot be subject to the slightest doubt. There is enough evidence that Holbein is the artist despite the absence of signatures.” ~ Hanspeter Landolt¹

As the previous chapter makes evident, a grasp of Holbein's drawing materials and techniques is essential to comprehending his style, and therefore, to attributing drawings or even elements of drawings to him, his workshop, or others. This chapter will address issues of attribution, including the paleography of his inscriptions. In so doing, the following will also consider the importance of his sitters' identities as well as implications for possible purposes of Holbein's portrait drawings. The aims of the first two sections are to review the rationale for assigning such a large body of portrait drawings to Holbein the Elder and to ascribe a subset of portraits in the Holbein corpus to his pupils and assistants. The subsequent section offers an analysis of the inscriptions on Holbein's drawings and assigns most of these fragmentary texts to the artist himself or possibly someone near him. The next section considers the significance of inscriptions identifying his sitters as well as problems of misidentification. The final section speculates on the purpose of his portrait drawings and their functions in the Holbein workshop.

¹ Landolt, “Die Zeichnungen Hans Holbein des Älteren,” 71. “Wenn Holbein sich für seine lavierten Federzeichnungen des in Formeln gegossenen Idioms der Werkstatt bediente, so sprach er andererseits in den Silberstiftzeichnungen seine persönliche Sprache, die seine Umgebung zwar verstand, aber infolge ihrer persönlichen Färbung nicht nachzusprechen vermochte. So bilden die Silberstiftzeichnungen eine scharf abgegrenzte Gruppe, deren einheitliche Autorschaft nicht dem mindesten Zweifel unterliegen kann. Dass der Künstler aber Holbein ist, dafür gibt es, trotz des Fehlens von Signaturen, Beweise genug.”

Attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder?

Regarding the attributions of Holbein's portrait drawings, Hanspeter Landolt argued in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, that his silverpoints are so distinctive as to make any questions of attribution irrelevant. Alas, if only attributions were that straightforward. Throughout the literature on Holbein, occasional doubts about assigning certain drawings to the master are raised; yet, the essential characteristics of his style and the rationale for naming him as the author of a substantial corpus of portrait drawings have not been thoroughly presented. In other words, scholarship on Holbein the Elder has yet to answer the following: how does an artist who painted only eleven known portraits, none of which is signed, have so many portrait drawings reasonably ascribed to him? The reconstruction of Holbein's graphic oeuvre is thanks largely to the late nineteenth-century art historian Alfred Woltmann, but how did he come to attribute so many portraits to an only occasional portrait painter?²

Piecing together this puzzle begins with a work relatively late in Holbein's career, the Saint Sebastian Altarpiece (fig. 67), which he signed and dated 1516.³ On the right inner wing of the altarpiece is a panel dedicated to Saint Elisabeth, the monumental, statuesque figure at the center. An impassioned member of the crowd (fig. 68), situated

² As Woltmann explained, many of Holbein's drawings were formerly attributed to Dürer. Already in the early nineteenth century, Carl Friedrich von Rumohr and Gustav Friedrich Waagen had suggested that the portrait drawings may have been Holbein's; however, they followed the attributions of the drawings in Basel's Amerbach Kabinett, giving them to Hans Holbein the Younger as early works from his career. Woltmann, *Hans Holbein's des Aelteren Silberstift-Zeichnungen im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, n.p. See also from Woltmann: *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1866-68); "Die Beiden Hans Holbein," *Westermann's illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte für das gesammte geistige Leben der Gegenwart* 32 (1872): 79-99; *Holbein and His Time*, trans. F. E. Bunnètt (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872).

³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. 5352, 668, and 669.

below and to the right of the saint, gazes up in awe and presses his hands together in a gesture of devotion. This rapt onlooker is Hans Holbein the Elder. The idea for this face in the crowd is his only extant self-portrait drawing (fig. 69), preserved in the Musée Condé in Chantilly.⁴ With the drawing's inscriptions he identified himself as "hanns holbain / maler" ("painter") on the left and specifying that he is "der alt[er]" ("the old" or "elder") to the right.⁵ Comparing the drawing and painting, it is evident that Holbein decided to make some alterations to his appearance in the final version.⁶ Because the drawing is not derivative of the painting, it can be reasonably supposed that Holbein drew this image himself and did so in preparation for the painting.⁷ This is not the first time he included himself in a scene of one of his history paintings, but it is the only surviving example of a preparatory drawing for such a self-representation.⁸

Along with the Chantilly drawing, Holbein's famous portrayal of his two sons, Ambrosius and Hans the Younger (fig. 70), helps to establish a foundation for reconstructing his work as a portraitist and draftsman.⁹ Dated 1511, the drawing of his sons is consistent with his self-portrait in terms of basic materials and techniques, handling of the silverpoint, and style of handwriting. Although the poor condition of the

⁴ Inv. nr. DE 897.

⁵ The importance of his self-portrait's inscription will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁶ For example, the mouth is slightly open in the drawing but closed in the painting, the eyes are shaped noticeably differently from one version to the other, and the head is tipped farther back in the painting than the drawing.

⁷ Some other drawings that served as models for details of the Saint Sebastian Altarpiece are preserved. See the discussion of these in Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 242-250.

⁸ Holbein depicted himself along with his two sons in the left panel of his Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura of about 1504 (Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5333). I suspect, though I have not yet concluded the necessary research, that he also portrayed himself in the Kaisheim Altarpiece in the scene of the Bearing of the Cross as the bystander making eye contact with the viewer (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. 721-736).

⁹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2507.

ground in some areas has meant the loss of portions of the drawing, the diverse silverpoint marks are still evident, demonstrating the employment of different parts of the tool and varied pressure the artist applied. The silverpoint inscriptions, “holbain” between the boys’ heads and “hanns” above Hans the Younger at the right, correspond so closely to the same words written on his own self-portrait that these clearly are from the same hand. Above Ambrosius, Holbein wrote his son’s nickname, “proßy,” an intimate and endearing piece of information. As remarkable visual records of personal relevance to Holbein the Elder, this drawing of his sons and the Chantilly self-portrait have become useful yardsticks against which other drawings attributed to him can be measured.

Along with these drawings of personal importance are Holbein’s donor portraits for religious commissions. Holbein’s earliest painted work with which a portrait drawing can be associated is his Epitaph of the Vetter Sisters (fig. 71), dated 1499. Most likely commissioned by Walpurga Vetter, a nun of Augsburg’s Dominican cloister of Saint Katharine, the lunette-shaped epitaph depicts scenes from the Passion, surmounted by the Coronation of the Virgin. In the lower left corner are portraits of Walpurga and her two sisters, Veronika and Christina (fig. 72), who were also fellow sisters at Saint Katharine’s.¹⁰ Inscriptions on the frame around the lunette’s curves record, on the left, Veronika’s death in 1496 and, on the right, Christina’s in 1499. Hence, Walpurga, the last living Vetter sister, is probably the subject of Holbein’s preparatory drawing (fig. 73) for

¹⁰ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 91, cat. nr. 156. Martin Schawe, *Staatgalerie Augsburg: Altdeutsche Malerei in der Katharinenkirche* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 2001), 55, 83, cat. nr. 45.

the donor figure at the left of the trio.¹¹ His drawing notes the Vetter family crest with three fleurs-de-lis in the upper right.¹² With this drawing's clear connection to the dated epitaph, it is the earliest known portrait drawing by Holbein.¹³

A substantial group of portrait drawings related to another of Holbein's major religious commissions consists of the sheets of his only still bound silverpoint sketchbook, now in Basel. The so-called "First Sketchbook" contains eleven portraits that served as models for figures in the Kaisheim Altarpiece, a massive double-sided polyptych Holbein and his workshop completed in 1502.¹⁴ Because of the artist's demonstrated interest in portraying local monks and clerics in works he produced in Augsburg, it is plausible that the sitters in his "First Sketchbook" are Cistercians from the abbey at Kaisheim. He cast these 'characters' as individualized bystanders in the altarpiece's scenes, for example, three figures in the Circumcision and Adoration of the Magi (fig. 74). With the connection of sheets of the "First Sketchbook" to this project (figs. 75-79), Holbein's signing and dating of the altarpiece give sufficient evidence to date several pages of the sketchbook to around 1502.¹⁵

¹¹ Holbein's portrait drawing of the Vetter sister is now part of the so-called "Kleine Klebeband," jointly owned by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Augsburg Kunstsammlungen und Museen. This drawing is fol. 33.

¹² Eduard Zimmermann, *Augsburger Zeichen und Wappen* (Augsburg: Hieronymus Mühlberger, 1970), vol. 2, pl. 112, nr. 3321 and 3322.

¹³ The Epitaph of the Vetter Sisters has not unanimously been attributed to Holbein the Elder, due to the significantly lower quality of the painting compared to his contemporary works, especially the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, also dated 1499 (Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5335, 5336, and 5337). However, I include it among Holbein's oeuvre, because Schawe's catalogue of the collection of the Staatsgalerie Augsburg attributes the Vetter Epitaph to Holbein while acknowledging portions may have been executed by his workshop. Schawe, *Staatsgalerie Augsburg*, 55, 83, cat. nr. 45

¹⁴ See pages 17-20 for more on the "First Sketchbook" in the Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett.

¹⁵ The pages of the "First Sketchbook" that are associated with the Kaisheim Altarpiece are fol. 1v, 4r, 7r, 14v, 16r, 18r, 20r, as well as the following separate sheets that once belonged to the sketchbook (all

Other portrait drawings that are affiliated with a larger painted work mark additional points on the timeline of Holbein's activity as a portraitist. For example, three preparatory drawings Holbein made for the Schwarz Family Votive Portrait (fig. 80) of about 1508 have survived.¹⁶ Holbein recorded the appearance of paterfamilias Ulrich Schwarz, shown in the painting (fig. 81) kneeling in prayer just to the left of his family crest, in a drawing of him with downcast eyes (fig. 82).¹⁷ Another drawing of a man looking down (fig. 83) served as the model for God the Father at the top center of the composition (fig. 84).¹⁸ As a compelling coincidence, this portrait compares physiognomically with that of Ulrich Schwarz. In depicting God, Holbein flipped the orientation of the head (fig. 85), added a beard, and slightly exaggerated some features; in other words, Ulrich Schwarz, made in God's image, models ideal piety as the patriarchal head of the family. Not to be forgotten, Zimprecht Schwarz (fig. 86), who is almost lost among the numerous sons behind Ulrich Schwarz, is painted closely after Holbein's thorough drawing of him in silverpoint, pen and ink, and red chalk (fig. 87).¹⁹ The

Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett): inv. nrs. 1662.186, 1662.191, 1662.195, and 1662.200. Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 84-86, 89-91, 98-99, 102-104, 111-114, 118-128.

¹⁶ Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr.1057.

¹⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18898. For the Schwarz family crest with three flowers arranged in a triangular formation on alternating red and white, see Zimmermann, *Augsburger Zeichen und Wappen*, vol. 2, pl. 117, nr. 3475, 3476, and 3483. The patron of this work is Ulrich Schwarz II, the son of the (in)famous Ulrich Schwarz I, whose political efforts on behalf of the Augsburg guilds were deemed too radical and ultimately led to his execution.

¹⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr 2578.

¹⁹ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.190. Lieb and Stange state that this drawing is "identical to [the figure] on the Schwarz Epitaph of about 1508," "perhaps [a] tracing after [the] painting," and "questionable whether [it is] by Holbein the Elder." Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 99-100, cat. nr. 217. I disagree with their speculations. The drawing is not "identical" with the painted version of Zimprecht Schwarz. The corners of his mouth are turned up in a slight smile in the drawing, while his expression is earnest in the painting. His head is elevated to allow him to gaze upon the holy figures at the center of the painting, but he is poised at ease with a level gaze in the drawing. Moreover, the drawing is fully consistent with Holbein's handling of silverpoint, pen and ink, and red chalk, and his typical recording

affinities between the drawing and painting are so close, in fact, that the drawing may have been traced for the painting (see fig. 88 for a hypothetical overlay of the drawing on the painting).²⁰ The direct association of the drawing of Zimprecht Schwarz with the Schwarz Epitaph pushes back the dating of the “Second Sketchbook,” which was dismantled before 1833, to 1508; Falk surmised this book dated to 1512-15.²¹

Holbein also used portraits as models for specific figures in his religious paintings. Two Augsburgers appear in his four-paneled altarpiece for the cloister of Saint Katharine in Augsburg.²² The altarpiece’s date of 1512 provides a *terminus ante quem* for Holbein’s drawings. Leonhard Wagner (fig. 89) appears as Saint Ulrich (fig. 90) in a story of one of his miracles (fig. 91).²³ On another panel for this altarpiece, Saint Peter in the scene of his martyrdom (fig. 92) is based on the same drawing, possibly of Ulrich Schwarz (?) (fig. 83), used for God the Father in the Schwarz Family Votive Portrait of about four years earlier than the altarpiece.²⁴ For the Saint Katharine Altarpiece his visage is inverted to depict Saint Peter in his unique method of execution (fig. 93). We

details of costume (see chapter five for more on Holbein’s notable interest in fashion). Finally, the silverpoint inscriptions on the drawing are in Holbein’s handwriting (see the following section on paleography of the inscriptions on the drawings).

²⁰ Technical examination of Holbein’s underdrawing of Zimprecht Schwarz using infrared reflectography, as well as simply measuring the dimensions of his figure in the painting, and then comparison with the drawing would reveal a more exact understanding of the relationship between these two works. Maryan Ainsworth’s technical research of Holbein the Younger’s portrait drawings has demonstrated that he traced some portrait drawings for the related paintings. Maryan W. Ainsworth, “‘Paternes for Phiosioneames’: Holbein’s Portraiture Reconsidered,” *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1044 (1990): 173-86. With further investigation of Holbein the Elder’s working methods, we may find that Holbein the Younger developed this technique for streamlining portrait production from lessons he learned from his father’s workshop.

²¹ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 83.

²² All panels of the Saint Katharine Altarpiece are in the Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5296, 5297, 5364, and 5365.

²³ The Fish Miracle of Saint Ulrich is inv. nr. 5296. For more concerning the potential significance of Leonhard Wagner’s appearance as Saint Ulrich, see the section devoted to him in chapter three, pages 113-127.

²⁴ The Crucifixion of Saint Peter is inv. nr. 5364.

can draw two important conclusions from these examples. First, even Holbein's portrait drawings of specific individuals were utilized in the workshop for populating history scenes, including when the individuals had no patronage connection to the work at hand. In other words, some of his portrait drawings functioned like highly detailed model or pattern drawings. Second, clearly these drawings remained part of the repertoire of Holbein's workshop for some time, as drawings were reused for works done years apart. Hence, dating his portraits – even those connected to larger projects – necessarily remains tentative.

Nonetheless, from these examples of drawings related to signed and dated projects, we have a useful basis for reconstructing not only Holbein's corpus of portrait drawings but also a rough chronology of them. Earlier drawings tend toward the simplistic, silverpoint only and sometimes gestural or sketchy, while later drawings often include additional media drawn over the silverpoint, giving them a highly finished quality. While this general trend toward more worked-up drawings is apparent, it in no way defines a stylistic development for Holbein's oeuvre. Indeed, portrait drawings associated with projects are the exception to the rule, and therefore, fitting most of his drawings into any specific timeline is speculative. However, their signature handling of media – silverpoint especially – remains consistent, allowing us to agree with most of Woltmann's attributions of portrait drawings to Holbein and his circle, presciently formulated almost one hundred fifty years ago.

Multiple Versions – Multiple Hands

A small group of portrait drawings given to Holbein and clearly related to his work offers an unusual opportunity to consider drawings of the same subjects but possibly made for different purposes. Introduced in the previous chapter is the fact that several sheets prepared with red-tinted grounds are associated with Holbein and his workshop. Most of these are clearly model or pattern drawings, but they also include twelve portraits. From this subset of portrait drawings, it is evident that drawings with red-tinted grounds could have served the workshop's ends and could even have been created by workshop hands.

Comparing two sheets with drawings of Kunz von der Rosen (figs. 94-95), a courtier of Maximilian I, we see one sheet with one portrait on a light grey ground and the other sheet showing three head studies on a red-tinted ground.²⁵ The drawing on a light grey ground (Berlin 2511, fig. 94) was likely observed from life, as evidenced by the artist's close attention to capturing accurately small details of Kunz's appearance. Such carefully observed details include the particular ridges and furrows that years have hardened around his mouth; the series of parallel creases under his eyes; the full, square-shaped beard that obscures his mouth, chin, and neck; as well as his distinctive four-corner beard and the upward curl of the ends of his mustache, a feature he may have carefully coiffed as a fashion statement.²⁶ Holbein later went over his silverpoint marks

²⁵ Both drawings of Kunz von der Rosen are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2511 and 2512.

²⁶ His four-corner beard, likely a transplanted style from Scandinavia via Saxony, was essentially unique to German facial hair in the early sixteenth century, seemingly not to be found in France, Spain, or Italy. Yet, while Kunz was sporting this prevalent feature in the 1510s at the latest, the style did not catch on among

with brush and wash to emphasize the shaded recesses of Kunz's mature face, such as the deep cheek lines along his nose and mouth and the tensely contracted muscles between his brows, as well as the wavy pattern of the dense hairs in his beard.

This portrait of Kunz von der Rosen appears to have been the model that inspired three head studies of him on a red-tinted ground (Berlin 2512, fig. 95). In the first place, the study on the bottom half of this sheet (fig. 96) imitates the basic composition of Berlin 2511 with Kunz's head turned three-quarters to the left and his face and gaze elevated. In this study the copyist recorded several searching lines to find the correct placement of the outline of Kunz's hat. A revision in pen and ink corrects the width of one of the openings through which a band or ribbon is interlaced along his hat brim. The repetitive parallel strokes of the silverpoint along Kunz's left cheek do little to suggest the round prominence of his cheekbone, as the varied and delicate strokes in both silverpoint and brush and wash do on the other drawing from life. The two studies on the top half of Berlin 2512 (fig. 97) are drawn even more sketchily than the drawing on the bottom of the sheet. These suggest the artist imagined Kunz's head rotating in space, rather than actually studying his appearance from different angles. The use of white chalk for highlights on all three studies reflects a summary indication of some of the brightest areas of Berlin 2511, rather than careful observation of light falling across his features. Similar to the other drawings and pattern drawings associated with Holbein's workshop,

other German men until the 1520s. Sigrid F. Christensen, *Die männliche Kleidung in der süddeutschen Renaissance*, *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1934), 21-22.

this trio presents simplified, even caricatured, versions of Kunz von der Rosen, not capturing an accurate likeness of the courtier as Berlin 2511 seems to aim to do.

The pair of sheets depicting Kunz von der Rosen is not an isolated example. Another set of drawings presenting the same subject – Abbot Johannes Schrott of Saint Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (figs. 98-100) – also suggests that drawings with red-tinted grounds may have been made by different hands or made for different purposes in Holbein’s workshop.²⁷ These drawings offer three versions of Abbot Schrott facing to his right with an elevated gaze. However, the draftsmanship exhibited in these three drawings is notably dissimilar. It would even be reasonable not to see these three drawings as depicting the same person; were it not for inscriptions identifying the sitter and some vague physiognomic affinities, these drawings might not have been associated with one another. The portrait with the white ground (Berlin 2528, fig. 98) is, similar to the drawings of Kunz von der Rosen, the most likely to have been observed from life. Abbot Schrott is presented almost in profile in a half-length composition, a rarity among Holbein’s portrait drawings. Delicate modeling of his facial features (especially around the eyes, nose, and mouth and along the jawline) and the recesses and folds of his robe, cowl, and cap are consistent throughout the drawing. The varied line weights and qualities of the silverpoint exhibit the subtle manipulations of the tool that exploit the variability of this medium, characteristic of drawings solidly within Holbein’s oeuvre. The other two drawings of Abbot Schrott (Berlin 2529 and 2527, figs. 99-100) are both exaggerated and seem to be derived from Berlin 2528. They display noticeably heavy

²⁷ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2527, 2528, and 2529.

handling of the silverpoint and other media and thus present strikingly altered interpretations of the subject. These caricatured portrayals not only offer a less subtle approach to Abbot Schrott's portrait, and hence were probably not taken from life but also suggest that these images may have had different purposes. In both drawings, the stark outlining of the face and harsh contrast of light and dark call an attribution to Holbein into question, at the same time as they suggest an instructive or practical function for these sheets.

The supposition that the drawings of Johannes Schrott on red-tinted grounds may have been created for or by Holbein's workshop and for the purposes of larger projects in the workshop is corroborated by the example of another set of drawings of a single sitter. Five drawings of Leonhard Wagner are associated with Holbein and his workshop.²⁸ Of these five, Basel 1662.201 (fig. 101) and Berlin 2525 (fig. 49) both on white or light grey grounds stand out as being by Holbein and taken from life. Berlin 2524 (fig. 89), on a red-tinted ground, was conceived in silverpoint, but is heavily overdrawn with pen and ink, brush and wash, and white highlights. Certainly, these additional media lend this drawing a greater sense of three-dimensional construction of the facial features. However, the qualities of the lines and marks – particularly the heavy, unvaried outline of the face – bear little resemblance to the delicate, undulating lines and wispy flicks of the tool found on Basel 1662.201 and Berlin 2525.

²⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2525 and 2524. Three additional portrait drawings of Leonhard Wagner attributed to Holbein are extant, but this discussion focuses just on the two in Berlin, which I have had the opportunity to study closely. The other drawings of Wagner are Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2992, and Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 31285. I believe the Louvre drawing is attributable to Ambrosius Holbein.

Berlin 2524 is one of several duplicate portraits associated with Holbein and carried out with the same media and in roughly the same dimensions, suggesting that working out ideas for a repertoire of pattern drawings may have been the function of these analogous sheets. This drawing bears notable similarities to the painted version of the monk as Saint Ulrich in the Saint Katharine Altarpiece (fig. 90) and is the only one that shows Wagner facing to his right with a corresponding position of his head to Saint Ulrich. In addition, the modeling of features in the drawing compares closely to that in the final painting. The placement of shadowed recesses around the eyes and under the cheekbones and the highlights from the highest points of the face are similar in the drawing and the painting. These brightened features include the tip of the nose, the upper eyelids, the peaks of the furrows framing the nose, and the ridges at the corners of the mouth. It is possible that Holbein worked up this more modeled, didactic drawing to much greater tonal effect for the purpose of his workshop to reproduce carefully in paint. Considering that northern masters usually painted the faces of main figures of their compositions, however, complicates this theory. Another possibility is that a workshop assistant made the drawing after Holbein's painting of Wagner's likeness on the panel for a collection of patterns.²⁹ Other examples of such drawings are part of Holbein's oeuvre, such as the Annunciation (fig. 102) and Circumcision (fig. 103) based on scenes from the Kaisheim Altarpiece (figs. 104 and 74).

²⁹ Again, this set of drawings is an example of how technical examination of Holbein's underdrawings using infrared reflectography could significantly advance our understanding of his and his workshop's practices and might reveal evidence to clarify the purposes of some of his portrait drawings.

Three pairs of drawings of the same sitters also present a potentially interesting case study in comparing drawings by a master and a pupil. The drawings of Jörg(?) Hierlinger (figs. 105-106), Paul Grim (figs. 107-108), and Hans Schwarz (figs. 109-110) are similar enough in materials and subject, but the technical handling of the silverpoint and other media as well as the overall impression of the drawings diverge sufficiently to question their attribution to the same hand.³⁰ These pairs of portraits may be evidence of Holbein's training process, of him working alongside an apprentice or assistant, while taking a portrait. In all three cases of these pairs, the drawings represent the same individual from a different viewpoint. This suggests that two draftsmen may have been working during the same sitting. Otherwise, one draftsman may have reimagined the sitter's position while 'copying' another drawing, in order to learn how to imitate the master's style.

Of these pairs, the three portraits that are consistent with the formal qualities of Holbein's drawings, as described in the above section on materials and techniques, are Berlin 2541 (fig. 105), Berlin 2545 (fig. 107), and Berlin 2553 (fig. 109). The drawings that are divergent are Berlin 2542 (fig. 106), Berlin 2546 (fig. 108), and Berlin 2554 (fig. 110). In the former group of sheets, the three-dimensionality of forms and the play of light over them are more convincingly depicted. The latter group, however, tends toward simplification, stylization, and unsuccessful modeling of three-dimensional forms. The

³⁰ All drawings are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Jörg(?) Hierlinger, inv. nr. 2541 and 2542; Paul Grim, inv. nr. 2545 and 2546; Hans Schwarz, inv. nr. 2553 and 2554.

former group of drawings also exhibits a variety of lines and marks in the media employed, whereas the latter group contains repetitive and regularized lines and marks.

For example, in Berlin 2541, the way Jörg(?) Hierlinger's large eyes and eyelids are situated inside their eye sockets makes more sense visually than their representation in Berlin 2542. The nuanced integration of various media – silverpoint, pen and ink, brush and wash, and white chalk – even just within the confines of his near eye in Berlin 2541 (fig. 111), results in a remarkably detailed, naturalistic conception of eyeball, eyelids, eyelashes, iris, pupil, and the reflection of light off its glistening surface. The subtlety and successful illusionism of this drawing stand out particularly when compared to the flatness and simplification of form, values, and textures in the area of the eyes in Berlin 2542 (fig. 112). The differences between these two drawings indicate various levels of practice and accomplishment in draftsmanship, as well as simply different styles, suggesting that Berlin 2541 may be the work of the master and Berlin 2542 of a pupil.

A somewhat flattened and stylized conceptualization is also evident in Berlin 2546 (fig. 108), in comparison with Berlin 2545 (fig. 107). The differences are especially apparent in the formulations of the chest and shoulders, as well as the details of the ribbon interlaced at the front of his doublet or jacket. The ribbon in 2545 (fig. 113) is articulated in varied marks and tonal values in four media to suggest the breadth, width, and depth of even this thin material. In Berlin 2546, however, the ribbon (fig. 114) is cursorily shaded with unvaried grey lines in brush and wash along its bottom edge. Berlin 2545 also displays remarkable variety of line weights and qualities as well as tonal values

of wash, while Berlin 2546 is constructed with many repetitive strokes of limited variation. A noticeable contrast in manipulation of media is apparent particularly in the portrayals of the sitter's beard. Berlin 2545 (fig. 115) shows curling marks made in a multiple directions, with three tonal values of wash and two thicknesses of brush. The beard of Berlin 2546 (fig. 116) is rendered with regularized, squiggly strokes of the same thickness and mostly the same value.

A contrast of handling of media and, therefore, of the overall impressions of portraits also comes across when comparing the two drawings of Hans Schwarz attributed to Holbein. Berlin 2553 (figs. 109 and 48) conveys the delicate features and subtle expression of the young sitter, even though it is only silverpoint with minimal pen and ink, brush and wash, and white highlights. The deft manipulation of the silverpoint is in harmony with Holbein's characteristic manner. Substantially overdrawn with brush and wash, Berlin 2554 (figs. 110 and 117) offers a caricatured portrayal of the youth, who holds essentially the same posture but is viewed from the right at a three-quarters vantage point. This portrait diverges so much from the former that Richard Kastenholz, a scholar of the sculptor Schwarz, assumed that it represents "another unknown person."³¹ Yet, the similarities in the sitter's pose, some facial features, and even such details as the style and embellishments of his hat indicate that these may be by two different hands, perhaps also for different purposes, rather than a different subject altogether. Berlin 2553 captures the individual economically, resulting in a plain likeness that seems carefully observed and simply recorded; areas demonstrating this are the faint searching lines for the placement

³¹ Kastenholz, *Hans Schwarz*, 19, n. 42.

of the jaw and the soft shading around the nose and under the eyes. Berlin 2554 has been developed to the extent that many marks are unnecessary, notably the repetitive hatching and crosshatching along the nose and cheek and around the mouth. These create a chiaroscuro effect, but one that dramatizes rather than clarifies the modeling of forms. Indeed, the excess marks exaggerate facial features – such as the full lips, cleft chin, and sunken cheek – creating a stylized ‘character,’ quite unlike the youth and candor that characterize the other portrait.

In each of these cases in which more than one portrait drawing of an individual exists, more than one style of draftsmanship is evident. This implies that multiple hands in the Holbein workshop were engaged in portraiture, not just the master himself. A routine part of not just his own practice, but also training in his studio, entailed taking portraits in addition to making pattern drawings of distinct facial ‘types.’ Holbein’s interest in diverse appearances and populating his religious paintings with individualized figures is hardly new in the history of Northern European art, but having drawings of identifiable people who served as models – whether cognizant of their role or not – is rare indeed.³² Moreover, identifying the possibility of multiple hands involved in the process of invention and associated with the single locus of an artist’s workshop is exceptional. Finally, the desire to have a repertoire so firmly grounded in ‘reality’ – or Holbein’s version of it – alludes to a burgeoning desire in southern German artistry for more

³² As Edward Saywell reminds us, “Although contemporary textual evidence clearly indicates that artists of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries supplemented the standard workshop repertory of motifs with small-scale creative and inventive preparatory drawings, few such works survive today.” Saywell, “Behind the Line,” 23, n. 6.

accurate naturalism and potentially even greater relevance of imagery to local identity and history.³³

Holbein's Inscriptions

Beyond their images, Holbein's portrait drawings provide another substantial and important resource for evidence: inscriptions identifying some sitters, occasionally their claims to fame, and rarely dates. Yet, curiously, a systematic study of their paleography has never been undertaken or presented in the literature. Despite frequent comments that inscriptions are "original" or "later" or "old," Lieb and Stange's catalogue raisonné does not define the characteristics of Holbein's handwriting or explain why inscriptions on the drawings should be attributed to him or to others.³⁴ The more recent catalogue of Holbein's drawings in the Basel Kupferstichkabinett summarily identifies texts merely as "autograph" ("eigenhändig").³⁵ But, again, a concomitant explanation as to how these can be reasonably given to the artist himself is absent. As with the question of attributions of portrait drawings to an infrequent portrait painter, this section proposes to fill this lacuna in the scholarship, offering a succinct analysis of Holbein's inscriptions. We shall find that many – in fact, most – do indeed seem to have been written by Holbein the Elder or someone close to him and only a handful seem to have been added by later hands.

³³ Refer to the discussion of the potential significance of using Leonhard Wagner's portrait for Saint Ulrich in chapter three, pages 114-127.

³⁴ For example, compare their comments regarding inscriptions for entries on pages 96-97, cat. nr. 191, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201-204.

³⁵ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 83-85, cat. nr. 175-176, 178-179, 181-184.

Just as Holbein's self-portrait in Chantilly establishes a basis for attributing a body of portrait drawings to him, this work also is essential in identifying inscriptions that he most likely wrote. Noted in the previous discussion of this drawing's importance to attributions, this pivotal inscription is in silverpoint and records the individual as "hanns holbain / maler" to the left and "der alt" to the right (fig. 118). In the same area of the sheet, technical examination under ultraviolet (UV) light has also revealed a faded inscription, mostly invisible in normal lighting.³⁶ In the same handwriting as the still legible script, the faded inscription originally had Holbein's full name "hanns holbain" on one line to the left, and "maler" alone to the right underneath the later written words "der alt." In faded silverpoint at the top center margin of the sheet is the barely legible date of 1515, made much clearer under UV light. This was just one year before the completion of the related Saint Sebastian Altarpiece. The characteristics of this sheet's inscriptions provide a singularly useful basis for assessing the scripts on other portrait drawings ascribed to Holbein.

His writing of "holbain" appears on three other works of particular personal significance to the artist, the drawing of his sons (fig. 119) and two drawings of his brother and fellow painter, Sigmund (figs. 120-121).³⁷ The similarities of the three versions of "holbain" on his self-portrait (fig. 118), his sons' double portrait (fig. 119), and the London drawing of Sigmund (fig. 120) are plain to see. These inscriptions are in

³⁶ Helene Guicharnaud and Alain Duval, "La Contribution des Techniques de Laboratoire à l'Étude des Dessins: Le Cas d'un Dessin d'Hans Holbein l'Ancien," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 55, no. 2 (2005): 59.

³⁷ Two portrait drawings of Sigmund Holbein are attributed to Holbein the Elder: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2508; London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915.987.

silverpoint, the predominant medium of his portrait drawings. In each example, he wrote their family name beginning with a lowercase ‘h,’ which has a characteristically backward curving slope of the final downward stroke. This distinctive ‘h’ proves essential in authenticating inscriptions to the master’s hand. Also consistent among these inscriptions are the right slanting and looped ascenders of the ‘l’s and ‘b’s, as well as the three repetitive, angular strokes that join the ‘a’ to the ‘i’ and form the letters ‘i’ and ‘n.’

While three of his inscriptions of his family name are silverpoint, the one on the Berlin drawing of Sigmund (fig. 121) is pen and faded brown ink. Here Holbein used a different medium for writing (probably iron-gall ink) from the carbon ink he employed in his drawings.³⁸ This inscription features two loops in the formation of the ‘h,’ not seen in the three other versions of “holbain” but, as we shall see, found in several other examples throughout his portrait drawings and notebook pages. An explanation for this divergence is that this inscription appears more hastily written than the others, as all of the letters are linked with cursive joins.

Another key piece of evidence corroborating the attribution of these three drawings to one hand – likely Holbein’s own – is the presence of dates, all written in similar form and placed at the upper center margin of all three sheets. As noted above, the date of 1515 on his self-portrait is more visible with the aid of UV light (fig. 118). He dated his double portrait of Hans and Ambrosius 1511 (fig. 122), which has faded with abrading of the ground but is still readily apparent at the top center edge of the sheet. The

³⁸ For the ingredients and properties of iron-gall ink, see Goldman, *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours*, 38; Acton and Wright, “With Pen and Brush,” 11.

‘14’ written in silverpoint above Hans the Younger (fig. 123), indicating his age, substantiates the accuracy of this date, as he was born in the winter of 1497/98. The age written above Ambrosius is heavily abraded, although some traces of silverpoint marks are evident with inspection under a magnifying glass and can be seen in old reproductions of the drawing.³⁹ The exact date of Ambrosius’s birth, like Hans the Younger’s, is unknown, but it is believed he was born in 1493 or 1494, which would suggest that he would have been seventeen or eighteen years old. Similar to the dating of his sons’ double portrait, Holbein’s London drawing of Sigmund exhibits an evident date of 1512 (fig. 120), centered at the top edge of the sheet and slightly cropped when the drawing was subsequently trimmed.

As important as Holbein writing his family name and dating drawings, at least in paleographical terms, are his first name and the word “maler” (“painter”). The identification of his profession appears on his self-portrait (fig. 118) and is repeated on his drawing of his foster son and pupil, Hans Schlegel (fig. 124) and both portraits of his brother Sigmund (figs. 125-126). The versions on the Chantilly self-portrait and the London drawing of Sigmund (fig. 125) are so similar, especially noting the sharp strokes of the ‘m’s and upward curling flourishes at the end of the ‘r’s, that they are undoubtedly from one writer. The same forward slanting cursive ‘l’ with the thicker curve on the left and downward stroke of the loop is also seen in three iterations of the word. This

³⁹ According to Elfried Bock, the age written above Ambrosius was “destroyed.” Bock, *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister*, 48. However, the photoengraved reproductions of one of Woltmann’s publications, which are surprisingly accurate for their day (almost forty years before Bock), show ghosts of the number eighteen written twice. Woltmann, *Hans Holbein’s des Aelteren Silberstift-Zeichnungen im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, n.p., pl. 39. Examination of this drawing under UV light may reveal traces of this worn inscription to clarify our understanding.

substantiated writing of “maler” provides reference points for four common letters (‘e,’ ‘l,’ ‘m,’ and ‘r).

The versions of “hanns” on his self-portrait (fig. 118) and above his namesake in Berlin 2507 (fig. 123) are strikingly similar. On both ‘h’s, the slopes of the ascenders are parallel, and the downward stroke is characteristically backsliding. The final strokes of the ‘a’s are similarly angled. The double ‘n’s share their rhythmic repetition of short peaks. His ‘s’s are both tightly curled in, almost making figure-eights. This shared formation of his and his son’s name is useful, because it establishes a basis of comparison not only for four often used letters in German that he necessarily wrote frequently (‘a,’ ‘h,’ ‘n,’ and ‘s’), but also for a common name among several sitters Holbein identified with inscriptions.

Similar versions of “han(n)s” appear on nine other drawings (fig. 128 i-x). These are close enough in form yet also offer sufficient variations in shape, rhythm, and material to expand the sample of handwriting that can be reasonably ascribed to Holbein. For instance, clear among these versions of “han(n)s” is his tendency to write in all lowercase, as well as his distinctive ‘h’ with a backward curve to the letter’s final stroke.⁴⁰ Yet, some of his ‘h’s feature double loops (fig. 128 i, iii-v), in similar form to his writing of ‘holbain’ on the Berlin drawing of his brother Sigmund (fig. 121). While the relative consistency of this sample is notable, irregularities – such as the messy ‘h’ and ‘s’ of Basel 1662.197 (fig. 128 ii) – deny the possibility that someone attempted to

⁴⁰ Holbein’s style is consistent with early modern texts, as ‘H’ and ‘h’ were often both written in miniscule form. John M. Wasson, *Early Drama, Art, and Music Documents: A Paleography Handbook*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), 7.

mimic Holbein's handwriting. If anything, such aberrations lend greater credibility to an attribution to the same author, because the imitation of letters and words was clearly not contrived. Indeed, the cursory manner with which many of his inscriptions were written is evidence of their legitimacy as notations by the artist himself. Likewise, the use of different media, mostly silverpoint but some in red chalk or pen, corroborates the likelihood that these were written by one hand, implying the artist used whatever medium he had at the ready when he decided to take note of a sitter's identity or other relevant information.

Building upon this foundation for Holbein's handwriting, another name as common as "han(n)s" on his drawings is "ulrich." He wrote this on eight drawings of monks and abbots from Augsburg's Benedictine monastery of Saint Ulrich and Afra (fig. 129 i-viii), as well as the portraits of Ulrich Fugger the Younger and his wife Veronika Fugger-Gassner (fig. 129 ix-x). In the former group of drawings, the word "sant" ("saint") often accompanies the name; the forms of the 'a,' 'n,' and 's' compare favorably to those Holbein wrote several times for "han(n)s," and the word provides evidence for his writing of another letter, 't.' As in the case of "han(n)s," these versions of "(sant) ulrich" demonstrate a relative consistency of script but with enough variation to allow for an understanding of the natural divergences of an individual's handwriting. These were also written in multiple media, including silverpoint, red chalk, pen, and – remarkably – a fine brush (fig. 129 vi-x). With this range of materials, we can see the breadth of the artist's handwriting as it would vary with the use of different writing implements. The script in silverpoint of Berlin 2526 (fig. 129 iii) is fine and loose with clear negative

space between and within letters. In thicker media of red chalk in Berlin 2534 (fig. 129 v) and brush in Berlin 2521 (fig. 129 ix), the letters assume more simplified form, for instance, the looped ‘l’ in silverpoint versus the single line for the ‘l’ in red chalk and brush. This group of inscriptions also demonstrates Holbein’s use of different styles of script. Some of his inscriptions were evidently quick notations, for example, the words that run together on Berlin 2525 (fig. 129 i) and the “ulrich” on Berlin 2534 (fig. 129 v) that runs off the edge and is continued on the next line. Others are more formally and slowly executed and even have some decorative flourishes, as in his ‘u’ with the added loop (fig. 129 iii, ix, x).

Such variations were apparently problematic to Lieb and Stange, who identified all the inscriptions of Berlin drawings 2521, 2522, 2527, 2528, 2529, and 2537 (fig. 129 iv, vi-x) as “later” or “subsequent” (“später” or “nachträglich”).⁴¹ Yet, the inscription of Berlin 2526 (fig. 129 iii), which features similarly formed letters ‘u,’ ‘r,’ ‘i,’ and ‘c’ to the inscriptions deemed later, is described in their monograph as “original.”⁴² Without an explanation, we are left to wonder if this certainty of attribution to Holbein is due simply to the fact that it is in silverpoint. If so, this implies that inscriptions in other media on his drawings were added later, but whether by someone near the artist or entirely outside the context of his workshop is not suggested. If material was such a decisive factor in their attribution of inscriptions to Holbein or others, then their determinations are arbitrary and

⁴¹ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 96-98, cat. nr. 195, 198, 199, and 207; 111, cat. nr. 279 and 280.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 97-98, cat. nr. 205.

unreliable. Their method seems to ignore basic comparison of the actual shape and rhythm of the letters and words on his drawings.

Moreover, Lieb and Stange seem to have overlooked the importance of considering the samples of script on Holbein's drawings as a whole. In so doing, they have not accounted for the subtle variations of any individual's handwriting, especially when so few examples have survived and from a period of years. For example, judging just the notably different versions of "ulrich" on Berlin 2525 (fig. 129 i) and 2521 (fig. 129 ix) without comparing them with the others, they may seem too divergent to have been written by the same hand. However, examining these two closely and in the context of the entire sample, sufficient similarities are detectable to suggest a common author. In the first place, the two seemingly incongruous versions of "ulrich" do have some formal analogies. Both 'r's feature upward angled cursive joins that connect them to the preceding 'l's. In addition, in each version, the 'c' moves immediately into the first upward loop of the 'h.' Furthermore, when looking generally at the entire sample of versions of "ulrich," formal bridges linking these two disparate inscriptions via others become apparent. Berlin 2526 (fig. 129 iii), for instance, blends characteristics of both the 'h's in Berlin 2525 and 2521. On the one hand, the 'h' at the end of Berlin 2526 is similar but more tightly formed, from being more slowly and carefully written, than the dynamic 'h' of Berlin 2525. On the other hand, the upper loop of the 'h' of Berlin 2526 corresponds in angle and shape almost exactly to that of the 'h' of Berlin 2521. Likewise, while the "ulrich" of Berlin 2526 compares so closely to Berlin 2525, it features the looped flourish of the 'u' that is akin to that done in brush in Berlin 2521. As the

mediating version of Berlin 2526 demonstrates, if variations of non-mechanical handwriting are taken into account, it becomes evident that even two dissimilar scripts could have originated from the same hand. When different styles of script fulfilling different purposes and the characteristics of the writing implements that were used are taken into consideration, resolving divergences in handwriting becomes less clear-cut than Lieb and Stange's catalogue would make it seem.

Beyond the examples cited here as exemplary of Holbein's handwriting, still more repeated words or phrases can be traced back to the artist himself or someone working with him. These include "ab(b)t" or "apt" (variations of abbot) (fig. 130 i-viii); "augspurg(h)" (Augsburg) (fig. 131 i-v); what appears to be "fucker" or "fugker," both contemporary spellings of Fugger (fig. 132 i-vii); and "jor(i)g" or "jerg" (fig. 133 i-viii), like Hans, a common masculine first name. As in the cases of "holbein," "maler," "han(n)s" and "(sant) ulrich," these repetitions display variation in style and pace of writing as well as materials, but ultimately the formal similarities among them are, surprisingly, more consistent than they are inconsistent. It is also notable that many of his inscriptions are repetitive in their phrasing. For instance, his drawings of three abbots identify the sitters similarly as follows: "Conrat Morlin abt zu Sanct ulrich zu augspurg" (Berlin 2526, fig. 134), "Abbt zu S ulrich der Schrot" (Berlin 2527 recto, fig. 135), "Apt zu San..." (Berlin 2527 verso, fig. 130 ii), "Abbt v.s. ulrich der Schrot" (Berlin 2528, fig. 136), "Abbt zu S. Ulrich zu augspurg" (Berlin 2529 recto, fig. 137), "apt zu S. u[l]rich zu augspurg" (Berlin 2529 verso, fig. 138), "Abbt zu dierhawbtn (Thierhaupten)" (Berlin

2540 recto, fig. 139), and “[a]bt zu dierhaupt[n?]” (Berlin 2540 verso, fig. 140).⁴³ When information appears twice on the same drawing, as it does in Berlin 2527, 2529, and 2540, as well as his portraits of Jakob Fugger (Berlin 2517 [fig. 132 i] and 2518[fig. 132 iv]), the writing on the rectos is more clearly and cautiously done than what are evidently summary notations on the versos. This relative consistency in terms of form and phrasing suggests that Holbein himself recorded the identities of those he portrayed with notations on recto or verso and either he or someone near him – such as an assistant or his sons – may have formally inscribed the rectos of the drawings at a later point.

Examples of more extensive writing on the versos of Holbein’s portrait drawings (figs. 14-15 and 141-149) also support the interpretation that most inscriptions are likely from his own hand. Indeed, the handwriting of these notes compares so favorably in form to that on the rectos of his portraits that their mutual source is all but certain. Some of these are hastily written notations, concomitantly ephemeral in their purpose. One verso, which is only partially decipherable, includes Latin and German words that imply a devotional text (Basel 1662.201, fig. 141).⁴⁴ Another fragmentary inscription more clearly contains part of a Marian prayer, but also notes about two men, presumably contemporaries, named Jerg Vogel and Michel Bichler (Basel 1662.194 verso, fig. 15).⁴⁵

⁴³ Likewise, other drawings of men associated with Saint Ulrich and Afra are similarly noted as having been “zu S/sant ulrich,” for example, Leonhard Wagner (Berlin 2525), Heinrich Grim (Berlin 2534), Clemens Sender (Berlin 2536), and a monk named Hans (Berlin 2537).

⁴⁴ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 81, cat. nr. 171.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 84, cat. nr. 180. In 1521, a Georg (Jerg) Vogel was married to Felizitas Artzt, a sister of Sibylla Artzt, the wife of Jakob Fugger, and both nieces of Ulrich Artzt (whom Holbein also portrayed). See “Artzt, Hans III” in Wolfgang Reinhard, ed. *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 12, Lfdnr. 19. Refer to chapter three for more about Ulrich Artzt and his and Holbein’s connected social networks.

Still another with several crossed-out lines refers to articles of clothing and types of cloth, perhaps a list of items to be ordered (Basel 1662.196 verso, fig. 142).⁴⁶ These fleeting pieces of writing remind us of the likely original context of most – if not all – of Holbein’s portrait drawings, as pages in his sketchbooks, which clearly also occasionally served him as notebooks.

Overall, far more inscriptions on Holbein’s portrait drawings can be plausibly attributed to him or his immediate circle than not.⁴⁷ The paleographical evidence suggests that the few inscriptions that are of dubious origin are conspicuously divergent, for example, the ornamental script erroneously identifying a girl as “Agnes Albrecht Dürers Schwester” (“Agnes Albrecht Dürer’s Sister”) (fig. 150), or the elaborate calligraphic script indicating a man was Matthäus Roritzer, the Regensburg architect and theorist (fig. 151).⁴⁸ As these examples suggest, the identities of Holbein’s sitters – imagined or accurate – were of sufficient interest to warrant their recording not only during Holbein’s lifetime, but also by subsequent owners of his drawings. The questions of whom Holbein and others named on the portraits, who these specific individuals may have been, and what information and misinformation has been interpreted from these textual fragments are topics of the following section.

⁴⁶ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 84-85, cat. nr. 181.

⁴⁷ This is in contradiction to some of the vague assessments of Lieb and Stange, with whom other scholars have so far not disagreed.

⁴⁸ Both drawings are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: girl, inv. nr. 2561; Matthäus Roritzer, inv. nr. 5008.

Individual Identities and Mistaken Identities

The significance of accurately comprehending Holbein's inscriptions becomes abundantly clear when we consider the intent behind them: to identify specific individuals by name and, sometimes, to highlight their accomplishments or reputations. Yet, some basic misunderstandings about his inscriptions have led to reporting and repeating misinformation about his sitters. Consequently, the picture we have of the people assembled in Holbein's oeuvre is incomplete and inaccurate. The last attempt to trace collectively the named individuals of Holbein's portraits was undertaken by Lieb and Stange for their monograph. As their brief catalogue entries imply, their efforts entailed consulting the period's tax books, presumably those housed today in Augsburg's Stadtarchiv. While their research resulted in more detailed information than had been unearthed until then, we are left to wonder what more may remain to be learned about Holbein's diverse group of sitters.⁴⁹

The fact that Holbein felt compelled to name certain people on their drawn portraits is not all that extraordinary. Numerous painted portraits of the period feature full inscriptions identifying the subjects and sometimes the date and their ages. Moreover, some of Holbein's sitters were already famous individuals in their own right, people whose stories are told in other annals of history. Indeed, it is not surprising that Holbein would note that a study of an equestrian figure in modest traveling clothes was, in fact, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (figs. 152-153) probably riding through Augsburg at

⁴⁹ The thorough archival research to compile further information about Holbein's sitters was outside the purview I initially set for this project. Moreover, during my research year in Germany, the Stadtarchiv Augsburg was closed entirely due to a disastrous book-beetle infestation that required immediate treatment to preserve the city's archives.

night.⁵⁰ Similarly, Holbein's studies (figs. 154-155) of a Netherlandish painted portrait of Charles V when he was just seven years old and still Duke Charles II of Burgundy, showcases his interest not only in the portrait genre but also the celebrated individuals who graced them and the symbols of their domination.⁵¹ Still other drawings by Holbein demonstrate his keen awareness of socially and politically noteworthy individuals, such as Ulrich Artzt (figs. 156-1

57), Burkhard Engelberg (fig. 158), Jakob Fugger (figs. 178-179), Raymund Fugger (fig. 180), Ulrich Fugger the Younger (fig. 181), Anton Fugger (fig. 182), Hans Nell (fig. 159), Matthäus Roritzer (fig. 160), Kunz von der Rosen (fig. 94-95), Jörg Seld (fig. 161), Ulrich Schwarz (figs. 82-83), and Georg Thurzo (figs. 185-186), all of whose lives can be traced in varying levels of detail from historical documents.⁵²

But, remarkably, Holbein's portraits also record the identities those who are lesser known or would otherwise be entirely unknown today.⁵³ Without his drawings and occasionally perfunctory notations in Augsburg's archives, several names would be lost

⁵⁰ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509.

⁵¹ Holbein's drawing is Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510. The style and composition of the drawing is similar to portraits of Charles created by Bernard van Orley, his workshop, or followers either for the extensive portrait collection of Margaret of Austria or for distribution in noble collections across the Holy Roman Empire. See, for instance, the portrait of a youthful Charles V attributed to van Orley (Bourg-en-Bresse, Musée de Brou, inv. nr. D 980.15) and a similar portrait after it (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. nr. 2031). However, the portrayal of Charles as a child with a falcon specifically can be seen in a portrait believed to be from the workshop of the Master of the Magdalen Legend (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. nr. GG 4430). For a compelling discussion of Margaret of Austria's portraiture collection and the politics of her patronage, consult Dagmar Eichberger and Lisa Beaven, "Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria," *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (1995): 225-248.

⁵² More about the social standing of these individuals is presented in chapter three.

⁵³ For example, Jörg Bomheckel (Berlin 2579), whose name is clearly recorded on the verso of his portrait, has so far eluded any identification in Augsburg's archives. He may be related to other Bomheckels Lieb and Stange found in the Augsburg tax books. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 100, cat. nr. 221. Or he may be someone from another location entirely, considering that Holbein travelled on several occasions outside the region of greater Augsburg.

to time. Still numerous sitters of Holbein's portraits remain anonymous. The wide range of Holbein's portraits offers a broader picture of Augsburg society in the first decade or two of the sixteenth century than is generally brought to light in histories of the period. Many of his subjects represent the working and middle classes, about whom scarce information can be gleaned from civic records or conjectures can be made based on comparable historical studies. Yet, their identities were notable enough in their day in Augsburg, Eichstätt, Frankfurt, Isenheim, Lucerne, Ulm, and other locales to which he travelled. As they are rarely seen members of otherwise 'unseen' classes, their stories warrant further investigation to develop a fuller picture of Holbein's social world and the diverse people who shared it. The individuals that Holbein depicted represent such a wide range of his society as to render them invaluable historical documents.

This issue of individual identity raises the question of what significance notions of identity and individuality may have had in Holbein's early modern southern German milieu. In recent years, this topic has received considerable attention, mainly regarding Italian culture and in response to Jakob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, first published in 1860.⁵⁴ As John Jeffries Martin explores the modern and

⁵⁴ A recent German edition is Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, ed. Horst Günther, Bibliothek der Geschichte und Politik (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989); an English translation is *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1958). For a succinct overview of the reception of Burckhardt's thesis, refer to John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, ed. Rab Houston and Edward Muir, *Early Modern History: Society and Culture* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1-20. While this debate is not one I will enter into here, its arguments on all sides – as well as their intensity – are compelling. For different approaches to this topic and their applications to both literary and material culture as well as social history, refer to the following selection, listed in alphabetical order by author: Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Peter Burke, "The Presentation of Self in the Renaissance Portrait," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge

postmodern mythologies that have developed about early modern individuality, he proposes that we evaluate notions of identity from the perspectives that are revealed through words (and to a lesser extent images) of the period, eschewing theoretical frameworks in which pre-modern concepts should ‘fit.’ He argues that “if we intend to understand this period, we need to know not only about the deeds and ideas of great men (princes, humanists, artists, and great writers) but also the ways in which ordinary men and women, rich as well as poor, understood themselves and their place in the world.”⁵⁵ In this spirit of seeking to comprehend the importance of individual identity for Holbein and his sitters, elite and non-elite, it is worthwhile to give our attention to the problem of mistaken identities.

As with fully grasping Holbein’s materials, techniques, style, and handwriting, getting basic identifications of his sitters correct – including admitting when information is simply insufficient – is paramount to ascertaining the context and significance of his portrait drawings. The following three brief case studies demonstrate the necessity for further investigation into the identities of Holbein’s lesser known subjects.

Returning to a portrait of personal significance to Holbein, Basel 1662.193 (fig. 162) depicts his pupil and foster son, Hans Schlegel. Tilman Falk questions this

University Press, 1987), 150-167, 251; Peter Burke, “The Renaissance, Individualism and the Portrait,” *History of European Ideas* 21, no. 3 (1995): 393-400; Peter Burke, “Individuality and Biography in the Renaissance,” in *Die Renaissance und die Entdeckung des Individuums in der Kunst*, ed. Enno Rudolph (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 65-78; Peter Burke, “Imagining Identity in the Early Modern City,” in *The Art of Urban Living*, vol. 1 of *Imagining the City*, ed. Christian Emden, Catherine Keen, and David Midgley, 23-27, Cultural History and Literary Imagination (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980; reprint: Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Subject in Art: Portraiture and the Birth of the Modern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁵⁵ Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 19-20.

identification, arguing that the inscription “is not clear to read.”⁵⁶ However, based on my examination of this drawing, the inscription is fragmentary indeed but clearly says “ha...schle[...]gel” and, below that, “maler” (fig. 163) Lieb and Stange cited an archival source of 1504 that notes Hans Schlegel lived at Holbein’s address and was considered “Pflög Holbeins Kind” (“foster Holbein’s child”), but they report that no painters with this name are traceable in Augsburg’s records.⁵⁷ In pursuing the question of this sitter’s identity, Falk discovered that a painter “Hans Schlegel von Arx” became a citizen of “Luzern(!)” in 1522.⁵⁸ I can only presume that the exclamation point that Falk added after “Luzern” expresses his surprise or dismay that the only painter by the name of Hans Schlegel that he found appeared rather far afield from Augsburg. The link between a foster child of Holbein’s and Lucerne is more plausible than it may seem. Both Holbein the Elder and the Younger were employed in 1517 in Lucerne, painting murals at the home of Jacob von Hertenstein.⁵⁹ I concur with Falk’s speculation that this portrait’s inscription “perhaps concerns a workshop member fostered by Holbein,” as it is possible that Holbein either cared for an apprentice in his home or began training a foster child in his profession. The record of a painter by the name of Hans Schlegel “von Arx” (of Augsburg?) in Lucerne could be a reference to the same individual who trained with Holbein. Likewise, Holbein’s sons and pupils Ambrosius and Hans had recently left his workshop and sought to establish their own practices in Basel. Holbein’s portrait of his

⁵⁶ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 84, cat. nr. 179.

⁵⁷ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 98, cat. nr. 210.

⁵⁸ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 84, cat. nr. 179.

⁵⁹ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 329.

pupil and foster son demonstrates the ramifications of accurately reading the artist's inscriptions and heeding their potential significance.

Another portrait's inscription that has been misunderstood is that on the recto of Basel 1662.198 (figs. 164-165). Lieb and Stange identified this young man tentatively as "Hans Harwurer (?)," reporting that they were unable to find this name in the Augsburg tax books.⁶⁰ As Falk pointed out, they misread the text, for the last letter of the second name clearly has a crossbar above it.⁶¹ I agree with Falk and read the inscription as "hans harwart."⁶² Hence, I propose that this individual was a member of the Herwart family, notable patricians of Augsburg. Herwart was also variously spelled "Herbort, Herwort, Hörwart," etc.⁶³ Several Herwarts with the name Hans are documented, and at least one, a Hans Herwart, born in 1486 to Heinrich Herwart and Barbara Herwart-Raiser and died in 1528, had life dates that would suit Holbein's portrayal of this young man around 1510-15.⁶⁴ Hans Herwart, like most members of his family through the previous century, ranked among the top one percent of Augsburg's wealthiest taxpayers.⁶⁵ A thoroughly considered analysis of this inscription not only reveals a more accurate reading, but also brings a new level of meaning to this portrait. This individual would have been one of the

⁶⁰ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 99, cat. nr. 213.

⁶¹ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 85, cat. nr. 183.

⁶² Examination under UV light would reveal any traces of faded parts of the script that would connect the fragments of the name, especially the 't' at the end.

⁶³ Peter Geffcken and Katarina Sieh-Burens, "Herwart II," in *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, ed. Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013), www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de, n.p.

⁶⁴ Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 278-79, Lfdnr. 405.

⁶⁵ Friedrich Peter Geffcken, "Soziale Schichtung in Augsburg 1396 bis 1521: Beitrag zu einer Strukturanalyse Augsburgs im Spätmittelalter" (Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1983), 139, table 11/1.

few individuals Holbein portrayed of patrician status, from among the old Augsburg patrician families, not representing the ‘new bourgeois’ merchant families who would enter the patriciate upon its dwindling ranks later in the sixteenth century. The issue of ‘old money’ or ‘new money’ is largely irrelevant, but Herwart’s status does indicate the breadth of Holbein’s social and professional connections in Augsburg, a subject that the following chapter will discuss in depth.

As a final example of the importance of giving full consideration to Holbein’s inscriptions, the artist created a highly developed drawing of a man (fig. 166), whom Lieb and Stange have identified as Wolfgang Breischuch I.⁶⁶ He appears in Augsburg tax records from 1480 to 1524, but his profession is either not specified therein or the authors did not report it.⁶⁷ Their rationale for this identification is their reading of the ink inscription in the upper left corner (fig. 167) as “braischuch” and their perception of the sitter’s resemblance to a portrait medal of Wolfgang Breischuch II made in 1527 by Friedrich Hagenauer (fig. 168).⁶⁸ In the first place, identifying this man as Wolfgang Breischuch I, due to the sitter’s physiognomic correspondences to a 1527 portrait medal of Wolfgang Breischuch II, relies on suspect reasoning. Not only would Holbein the Elder have been dead for three years by that date, but also the resemblance of a son to his father being so close is unconvincing. Moreover, comparing Holbein’s drawing and

⁶⁶ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2566. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 106, cat. nr. 256.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. The medal is reproduced in Georg Habich, *Die deutsche Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1929), vol. 1, 77, nr. 497.

Hagenauer's medal reveals that their appearances are not even similar.⁶⁹ But the evidence that ultimately demonstrates that their identification of this man as any member of Breischuch family is false is their erroneous reading of the inscription. It could be read as "barshetz" or "barsherz" but certainly not as "braischuch."⁷⁰ Portions of the work's inscriptions are missing, as this sheet was clearly cut down on the top and right margins and probably the left margin as well. Part of an old inscription in faded ink, beginning with the letters "pru," is apparent on the lower right margin. On the verso is also an ink inscription that says "pruning" or "prunung" (fig. 169).⁷¹ This misidentification has been repeated most recently in an exhibition catalogue of German portraiture around 1500, where he is identified as "Wolfgang (?) Breischuch."⁷² In the absence of sufficient evidence to support the identification of this man as anyone associated with the Breischuch family, he should be considered an anonymous man. While thorough consideration in the previous two examples led to greater clarity of the sitters' identities, this drawing shows us that close reading of Holbein's inscriptions could also result in greater ambiguity by refuting sometimes wishful thinking. All three cases demonstrate that opportunities for continuing investigation of his portraits persist.

⁶⁹ The man in Holbein's drawing has wavy hair, fairly deep-set eyes, a recessed upper lip, and a slightly protruding lower lip. Wolfgang Breischuch II in Hagenauer's medal has straight hair, bulging eyes, and relatively full upper and lower lips.

⁷⁰ I wish to thank Dr. Catharine Ingersoll for her assistance in verifying this inscription and seeking the advice of Dr. Thomas Eser, who confirmed our reading of the name as "barshetz" or "barcherz" and other variations thereof (e-mail communication from Thomas Eser to Catharine Ingersoll, 15 July 2014).

⁷¹ Another fragmentary inscription, probably also in ink, is visible in the upper left corner, where a series of letters was cut off and obscured by a black outline framing the sheet. Immediately below this lost inscription is a word in ink, darker than the ink of the faded inscription on the lower right margin. In the upper left corner is a fragment of a circular mark in silverpoint, indicating that the original draftsman made some marks or notations there.

⁷² Haag et al., *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein*, 175, cat. nr. 101.

Purposes of Holbein's Portrait Drawings

The attributions of Holbein's portrait drawings and careful reading of their inscriptions have implications on our understanding of the purposes of portraits and head studies in the Holbein workshop. As we have already seen, some drawings were studies for large polyptychs populated with individualized figures. Some were tools of study and training. A few were even preparatory studies for painted portraits, although only four examples have survived (figs. 170-177).⁷³ Yet, some – in fact, most of his portrait drawings – are highly finished with no particular relationship to any other extant projects. Many drawings of this last group are carefully observed and rendered and have complex surfaces and compelling pictorial effects. But for what purposes could they have been made? Any answers to this question are inevitably speculative. However, contemporary evidence of uses for other portraits may offer some plausible reasons for their making.

For example, Holbein produced eight portrait drawings of Fugger family members, spouses, and children, almost all developed and detailed drawings including attention to physiognomic accuracy and specifics of costume.⁷⁴ Most notably, he depicted

⁷³ Only four portrait drawings are known to have been directly related to portrait paintings; the drawings are all Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Jörg Fischer (inv. nr. 2564), Frau Fischer (inv. nr. 2558), Herr Haug (inv. nr. 17660), and Jörg Saur (inv. nr. 2544). The extant painted portraits are as follows: Frau Fischer (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1958.7), Herr Haug (Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum of Art, inv. nr. 71.485), and Jörg Saur (Zürich, private collection, on loan to the Kunsthaus Zürich). The portrait painting of Jörg Fischer has been lost, but it and its pendant of Frau Fischer are documented in a pair of nineteenth-century drawings by Peter Decker (see fig. 173); see Christian Klemm, "Die Identifikation des Basler Bildnisses einer 34jährigen Frau von Hans Holbein dem Älteren," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 48, no. 1 (1991): 50, fig. 2.

⁷⁴ Almost all of Holbein's portrait drawings of the Fuggers and relatives by marriage are in the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Jakob Fugger (inv. nr. 2517 and 2518), Georg Thurzo (inv. nr. 2514 and 2515), Anna Thurzo-Fugger (inv. nr. 2516), Raymund Fugger (inv. nr. 2519), Anton Fugger (inv. nr. 2520), Ulrich Fugger the Younger (inv. nr. 2521), and Veronika Fugger-Gassner (inv. nr. 2522). A copy of the portrait of Jakob Fugger, Berlin 2518, is Copenhagen, Statens Museum for

the patriarch and magnate of the Fugger firm, Jakob Fugger (1459-1525), in two portraits (figs. 178-179). He also portrayed Jakob's nephews and inheritors of the company, Raymund (1489-1535) (fig. 180), Ulrich the Younger (1490-1525) (fig. 181), and Anton (1493-1560) (fig. 182). Two drawings depict Jakob's nieces, Anna Thurzo-Fugger (1481-1535) (fig. 183) and Veronika Fugger-Gassner (1498-1554) (fig. 184). Anna's husband and Jakob's business partner, Georg Thurzo (1467-1521) is presented in two drawings (figs. 185-186); like Jakob Fugger's portraits, one is in three-quarters pose and one in profile. Finally, a drawing in Bamberg shows the profile of a young Christoph Thurzo (d. 1536) (fig. 187), the son of Georg Thurzo and Anna Thurzo-Fugger, representing a third Fugger generation among Holbein's portraits. Hypothetically, this series of drawings could have provided models for a lost or never-executed group portrait, set of familial portraits, or illustrated genealogical text, such as a family or memory book.

Holbein and his workshop produced other family portraits, in the context of three votive or epitaph pictures: the Epitaph of the Vetter Sisters of about 1499 (fig. 71), the Epitaph of the Walther Sisters of 1502 (fig. 188), and the Schwarz Family Votive Portrait of about 1508 (fig. 80). While the Vetter epitaph portrays just the three sisters, the Walther epitaph and Schwarz votive both contain depictions of several members of these families. The Vetter and Walther epitaphs were almost certainly intended for the Dominican convent of Saint Katharine, where the patrons or patrons' relatives were nuns, and the Schwarz votive was displayed in the Benedictine church of Saint Ulrich and

Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2995. The portrait of a young Christoph Thurzo, the son of Georg Thurzo and Anna Thurzo-Fugger is Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 2.

Afra.⁷⁵ Holbein's thorough drawings of the Fuggers were perhaps for a similar group memorial image, which was never made or has not survived. The Fuggers' donations to Augsburg's churches were generous indeed, and Jakob Fugger especially was keenly aware of the importance – even necessity – of demonstrations of piety and civic charity as a counterpart of their enormous material wealth.⁷⁶

Holbein's drawings may otherwise reflect plans for individual portrait paintings of members of the affluent merchant family.⁷⁷ In the first place, the degree of finish of his portraits of the Fuggers is similar to that of drawings we know were preparatory for painted portraits. Patronage for portraiture in southern Germany swelled considerably beginning around 1500, while the genre had already become standard in Italian and Flemish centers during the middle and later fifteenth century.⁷⁸ The Fuggers' tremendous mercantile success and the social dignity and political influence it afforded them are demonstrable motivations for early modern portraiture.⁷⁹ As evidenced by a portrait of

⁷⁵ The Vetter and Walther epitaphs were both removed from the convent of Saint Katharine in 1816 during secularization; see the catalogue entries in Schawe, *Staatgalerie Augsburg*, 83-84. For the location of the Schwarz Family Votive Portrait, see Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 67, cat. nr. 28.

⁷⁶ Of course, this alludes to the Fugger's lavish family chapel that dwarfs the church of Saint Anna, the social housing project the Fuggerei, generous donations to Saint Magdalene's reconstruction, and other charitable gifts under the family's leadership by Jakob Fugger. For an exploration of this theme, refer to Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 31-67, 154-159.

⁷⁷ Krause proposes that Holbein's drawings provide "documentation of the most important family members of the dynasty," although she concedes that whether any of these designs came to be completed paintings is unknown. Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 270.

⁷⁸ For an excellent overview and numerous examples of the burgeoning interest in portraiture in Germany ca. 1500, see the exhibition catalogue, Haag et al., *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein*.

⁷⁹ For a concise and convincing discussion of the self-awareness and social and political motivations for portraits in early modern southern German contexts, see *ibid.*, especially the following essays: Karl Schütz, "Das Unsichtbare Sichtbar Machen. Deutsche Porträts um 1500," 13-19; Stefan Krause, "Auf Äußerlichkeiten Achten. Form und Funktion Deutscher Porträts um 1500," 245-248. Regarding the Fuggers' astute employment of portraiture as a means of imputing honor to the family, see Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 160-164. A survey of Jakob Fugger's portraits specifically can be found in Norbert

Jörg Fugger (fig. 189), Jakob Fugger's next oldest brother, by Giovanni Bellini, members of the family were having their portraits made by renowned artists as early as the late fifteenth century. Jakob Fugger features in several different portraits, including paintings, sculpted busts, prints, and medals (figs. 190-193). His nephews, Anton and Ulrich, who took over the family business on Jakob's death in 1525, also recognized the potential significance of portraiture, having their likenesses made and copied by Hans Maler (figs. 194-198). Regarding their employment of the portrait genre for self-promotion and aggrandizement, Mark Häberlein asserts, "More than almost any other contemporary southern German family, the Fuggers made use of this medium of self-display and visual distinction."⁸⁰

The Fuggers certainly had ample exhibition space for any portraits they may have had. By the early sixteenth century, family members already occupied substantial residences around Augsburg and had accumulated other residences in the countryside.⁸¹ In 1515, Jakob Fugger conjoined the residence of his in-laws, Wilhelm Artzt and Sibilla Artzt-Sulzer, on the Weinmarkt ("wine market," today's Maximilianstraße, then a major thoroughfare through the city-center) with an adjacent house he purchased, creating "one representative city palace" (figs. 199-201).⁸² The luxury of the Fugger residence and

Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und frühen Renaissance*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, ed. Götz Freiherrn von Pölnitz (Munich: Schnell and Steiner, 1952), 266-280.

⁸⁰ Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 160.

⁸¹ Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst*, 120-130.

⁸² Jakob Fugger would again expand the residence and headquarters in 1520 to incorporate two houses at the back, west-facing façade, and in 1523 to incorporate the large neighboring residence on the *Weinmarkt*, that of Georg Kunigsperger. Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst*, 92-93. Later under Anton Fugger's leadership in the mid sixteenth century, the "palace" was further expanded to an area that covered "almost an entire city block." Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 150. For a concise genealogy of the extended family, see Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 156, Lfdnr. 245.

headquarters is suggested in Antonio de Beatis's travel journal commenting on his visit to Augsburg in late May of 1517. He describes the Fugger palace as "among the finest in Germany," citing its gold and polychromed façade frescoes, multicolored marble interior decoration, entirely copper roof, and "some [rooms] done most beautifully and expertly *all'Italiana*," featuring marble columned arcades with Tuscan capitals or Italianate wooden coffered ceilings.⁸³ This center of the family's enterprises would have provided an appropriate setting – both opulent and semi-public – to showcase a series of portraits representing the inheritors of the Fugger 'dynasty.' One might assume, that with the fame of the Fuggers, at least one example of a painting by Holbein would have been preserved, it seems doubtful that the artist ever concluded such a portrait series.⁸⁴

Finally, another intriguing possibility considering other contemporary practices is that Holbein's drawings of the Fuggers were created as designs for an illustrated manuscript of the family genealogy and history. Such family or memory books were compiled by southern German families of the affluent merchant and patrician classes. A significant, although relatively modest, example is Lazarus Spengler's *Familienbüchlein*,

⁸³ J. R. Hale, ed. *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis through Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France, and Italy, 1517-1518*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979), 66-67. Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst*, 106-107. The façade on the Weinmarkt, nearly seventy meters wide, was probably painted by Hans Burgkmair the Elder, according to Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 150.

⁸⁴ One of Holbein's drawings offers evidence for a possible explanation of such a project never being realized. Holbein's portrait of Veronika Fugger-Gassner was most likely taken in 1516, when she married Ulrich Fugger the Younger. Holbein left Augsburg for Luzern late in 1516 and remained there for much or all of 1517. Perhaps, Holbein being called away to the Hertenstein commission in Luzern is the reason why he did not see a series of Fugger portraits through to the end.

a detailed register of the family's births, marriages, deaths from 1468 to 1570.⁸⁵ A famous family book of the Fuggers is the so-called *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* ("Secret Book of Honors of the Fuggers") of about 1545-49, commissioned by Hans Jakob Fugger, the son of Raymund Fugger and great-nephew of Jakob Fugger.⁸⁶ Similar in concept to the Spengler *Familienbüchlein*, the Fugger *Ehrenbuch* relates the family's lineage, from its humble founding in the fourteenth century by a master weaver (fig. 202) until Hans Jakob's present day, just a few years following the family's admittance to the Augsburg patriciate.⁸⁷ Dissimilar from the Spengler record, however, the Fuggers' book is lavishly bound and extensively illustrated with numerous portraits (fig. 203), coats of arms (fig. 204), and decorative page borders (fig. 205). While it is surely speculative to suggest it, perhaps the *Ehrenbuch* was commissioned to expand or improve upon a previous, now lost manuscript compiled under Jakob Fugger in the early sixteenth century and including portraits designed by Holbein the Elder. Otherwise, perhaps, the existing, later *Ehrenbuch* was the realization of a desire in the family for such a book, which had been intended and planned earlier but never carried out.

These hypotheses about intentions for Holbein's drawings of the Fuggers remain tentative, unless further investigation yields additional discoveries about the family and

⁸⁵ For a modern edition, see Gudrun Litz, ed. "Familienbüchlein Spengler [1468-1570]," in *Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534): Der Nürnberger Ratsschreiber im Spannungsfeld von Humanismus und Reformation, Politik und Glaube*, ed. Berndt Hamm (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 348-402.

⁸⁶ Clemens Jäger composed the text, and Jörg Breu the Younger and his workshop designed and illuminated the pages. The original manuscript is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460. For a facsimile, see Hans Jakob Fugger, Clemens Jäger, and Jörg Breu the Younger, *Das Ehrenbuch der Fugger*, ed. Gregor Rohmann, 2 vols., *Studien zur Fuggergeschichte*, vol. 39 (Augsburg: Wißner, 2004).

⁸⁷ The Fugger family officially entered the patriciate in 1538. Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 136, Lfdnr. 238.

its patronage. Nonetheless, the Fugger portraits are captivating for their famous subjects, their cohesiveness as a group, and their candor in depicting individuals whose portraits by other artists tend to stylize and idealize their features. Furthermore, Holbein's attention to specific details of their facial features and fashion choices seem to reveal more about their appearances than even contemporary painted portrayals. What makes the case of the Fuggers more mysterious is that Holbein's careful observation and recording are not exclusive to this set of drawings. He created as detailed and highly finished portraits of several other individuals from various social backgrounds. These include men and women of laboring and craftsmen classes, such as Paul Grim (figs. 107-108), a tailor; Jörg(?) Hierlinger (figs. 105-106), part of a family of goldsmiths and plausibly a goldsmith himself; Hans Aytelhe (fig. 206), a loden weaver; three anonymous men (figs. 166 and 207-208), likely laborers or craftsmen, if their clothing is evidence of their status; Adolf Dischmacher (fig. 209), possibly a table-maker as his name suggests but was not part of the Augsburg elite of merchants and patricians; the wife of a stonemason (fig. 210); an anonymous woman, apparently of modest means, whom Holbein portrayed twice (figs. 211-212); and Holbein's own brother and fellow artist, Sigmund (Berlin 2508, figs. 213-214), and foster child and pupil, Hans Schlegel (fig. 162).⁸⁸ In light of these examples of finished drawings of individuals of humbler backgrounds than the Fuggers, what are we to make of the purpose of Holbein's drawings of the affluent family

⁸⁸ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett: Hans Aytelhe, inv. nr. 1662.199; Hans Schlegel, inv. nr. 1662.193. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: three anonymous men, 2563, 2566, and 2571; a wife of a stonemason, inv. nr. 2575; an anonymous woman, inv. nr. 2573. The same anonymous woman depicted in Berlin 2573 is Washington, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. nr. 1991.182.18.a.

and of his finished style of portrait drawings in general? Were these independent works of art? Or were these merely exercises in exploring individual appearances? In the end, the intentions and functions of the majority of Holbein's portrait drawings remain enigmatic. Nonetheless, these works demonstrate the artist's distinctive fascination with the different human forms that surrounded him, offering us a rare glimpse into the lives of Augsburgers in the early sixteenth century. The significance of Holbein's social connectedness will be examined in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 3: *Who's Who in Holbein's Portrait Drawings: Early Modern Social Capital and Networking*

“Networking’ seems to be on everyone’s lips. No one simply goes to a party anymore. They go to network. For many people, the World Wide Web exists for the main purpose of making connections. Networking seems familiar yet mysterious, accessible yet arcane. Social networks, however, have been at the core of human society since we were hunters and gatherers.” ~ Charles Kadushin¹

Holbein’s portrait drawings present such a wide variety of subjects – including men, women, and children, from diverse range of social classes and professions – that a list of his sitters’ names and occupations reads like a ‘who’s who’ of Augsburg around 1500. Among his subjects are merchants, patricians, goldsmiths, stonemasons, weavers, and other craftsmen, architects and master-builders, abbots and bishops, several Benedictine monks, Dominican friars, priors, and a few nuns, as well as wives, young women, and children. In their entirety, Holbein’s drawings offer an important social historical perspective of the bustling milieu in which he lived and worked; they also reflect his place within that context.

The identity of Holbein’s sitters is not trifling information. Who’s who in Holbein’s world was a significant question in an early modern imperial city, where essentially all individuals knew or knew of each other or could quickly size up an unknown person based on various social and material cues. A variety of significant social codes are evident in the representation of Holbein’s sitters.² In this kind of social system, one’s family affiliations and reputations were often the only things one had to recommend oneself, whether dealing with familial alliances, seeking the appropriate

¹ Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

² The issues of clothing, cultural history, and social meaning are taken up in chapter four.

spouses, carrying out matters of trade and commercial activity, or pursuing paths to professional opportunities. Social climbing was not impossible, but it certainly was not easy. Unlike the relative social egalitarian ease with which we circulate and present ourselves in today's modern societies, especially in the West, social status in early modern Augsburg and southern Germany in general was fairly tightly controlled and rigidly defined.

If one were successful in maintaining or even improving one's socio-economic position and were an upstanding burgher, then one proudly showcased one's success. Such display was achieved through social ties and activities, through specific dress appropriate to one's class, and through the location and outfitting of places of business and residence, which were often one and the same. Marriage was one of the most significant life events – and, for some, a public demonstration – in preserving and cultivating social ties. While it was important for one's outward appearance and all the trappings of one's profession to suit one's station, some sumptuary laws guarded against a successful and overly ambitious citizen presenting an undeserved climb up the social ladder.³

Theories of Social Capital and Networking

Essential to considering the implications of social status and networking as evidenced by Holbein's portrait drawings is the concept of social capital. A theory

³ The following chapter will explore the significance of clothing as well as the ramifications of Augsburg sumptuary and clothing legislation around 1500.

elaborated most famously by Pierre Bourdieu, social capital has received increased scholarly attention in recent years.⁴ Social capital encapsulates the basic principle that “social networks have value.”⁵ In other words, establishing and cultivating relationships with other people can have a variety of benefits, often mutual or collective, sometimes asymmetrically advantageous. Social capital implies concepts like ‘civil society,’ ‘social fabric,’ and ‘community,’ somewhat vague but useful, nonetheless, in thinking about the networks of obligations and exchange that connect people and situate individuals within certain groups that are defined in all manner of ways.⁶ Such networks can vary from tightly knit and straightforward, including close friendships and immediate family members, to extensive and complex, involving numerous individuals and groups with loose affinities.

Three components constitute social capital: a network comprised of a web of relationships, a set of social norms or guiding principles – sometimes unspoken, often unwritten – to which the members of a network adhere, and sanctions or controls over social norms through various positive and negative feedback channels within the network.⁷ An essential explanation is that social capital is exchanged along “everyday networks, including many of the social customs and bonds that define them and keep

⁴ Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks*, 1, 9. For Bourdieu’s summarization of social capital in English, see Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York, Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258. This essay was originally published as “Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital,” in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1983), 183-198.

⁵ This definition is from Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government, “The Saguaro Seminar: About Social Capital: FAQs,” www.hks.harvard.edu/programs/saguaro/about-social-capital/faqs (accessed 29 May 2013). Also quoted in Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks*, 162.

⁶ David Halpern, *Social Capital* (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2005), 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-13.

them together.”⁸ But social capital does not just entail identifying the ties that bind, but examining the systems of sharing and exchange that have mutual benefits, or what a leading scholar of social networking, Robert Putnam, has referred to as “norms of reciprocity.”⁹ The ‘movement’ of social capital necessarily involves *quid pro quo* exchanges.

Sociologist Charles Kadushin has researched and characterized the distinctive social circles and networks that develop in areas where the production of culture is concerned, including among intellectual elites, scientists, and artists. He explains that social networks among producers of culture tend to be “emergent,” or “not formally instituted,” and “interstitial,” or “link[ing] different social units” that might not otherwise have linked or might not have an obvious association, such as “different universities, publishers, authors, and the like.”¹⁰ When we discuss the ‘art world’ or the artistic or intellectual circles of a particular era or locale, typically such networks can be characterized as both informal and connecting individuals of various social backgrounds, whether from different social ranks (artist/artisan/craftsman, affluent patron/collector, or merchant/dealer) or from different cultures (for example, a German patron seeking an Italian artist).¹¹ Much of this rhetoric should sound familiar to historians of art, for, essentially, patronage studies are but investigations of exchanges of social capital, going

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹ See Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government, “The Saguaro Seminar: About Social Capital,” www.hks.harvard.edu/programs/saguaro/about-social-capital (accessed 26 June 2013).

¹⁰ Charles Kadushin, “Networks and Circles in the Production of Culture,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 19, no. 6 (1976): 769-770.

¹¹ It must be said that such characterizations may only be applicable to the ‘art worlds’ of the early modern and modern periods in the West or other ‘Golden Age’ flash points in world cultures when artists were highly regarded and earned prestige through patronage of their work.

beyond the patent questions of simple cost to the commissioner and payment to the artist to seek an understanding of the symbolic meanings and values of a commission.

As we do not know the patronage contexts for Holbein's drawings, these insights from sociological theory are helpful for highlighting the social symbolic importance of 'who's who' and 'who knew whom' in Holbein's portraits. As viewers of this surviving record, we can learn much about particular individuals Holbein knew and contemplate the kinds of contacts and relationships he may have made both within this imperial city and beyond. Holbein retained many of his portrait drawings, which have no connection to finished painted portraits or other commissions. Thus, these works seem to exist outside typical patronage models for portraiture, with the patron asking an artist to portray him or her. In the absence of a clear patronage context, social capital and networking provide us a theoretical framework with which to consider the evidence from his drawings. Because the information we have about Holbein and his social and professional connections is limited, we can only speculate about the general circumstances of his meeting or knowing individuals he had the occasions to portray in drawings. What makes theories of networking and intangible capital particularly useful in the case of Holbein's drawings is that these perspectives allow us to work around lacking historical information and even anonymity that are true for most of his subjects. What we cannot know about his specific sitters, we can make up for in deductive reasoning about their social circumstances based on cues in the drawings and in simply being able to situate them within Holbein's wider network.

Three resources significantly broaden our understanding of the different social ranks and the importance of linkages between and among Augsburg individuals and groups. Two are social histories of the early modern imperial city: the first is a dissertation by Friedrich Peter Geffcken focusing on social stratification in Augsburg from 1396 to 1521, and the second, picking up where Geffcken leaves off, is a publication by Katarina Sieh-Burens examining the social, political, and religious integration of the city's oligarchical leadership.¹² The basic relationships Sieh-Burens found in her research are summarized in a concise diagram of familial and oligarchical networks (fig. 215).¹³ The third resource that is unparalleled in its potential yield of network analysis is a compendium of prosopographical data of Augsburg's sixteenth-century elite.¹⁴ This concise reference compiles essential biographical information for the most wealthy and influential citizens of Augsburg, including birth and death dates, marriages, children's names, business associations, financial transactions, and more. For the purposes of considering Holbein's social milieu in the 1500s and 1510s, Geffcken's work, especially the data he tabulated, and the prosopography of elite Augsburgers together provide an abundance of details to inform our study of the social connections of his sitters.¹⁵

¹² Geffcken, "Soziale Schichtung in Augsburg 1396 bis 1521." Katarina Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Zur sozialen Verflechtung der Augsburger Bürgermeister und Stadtpfleger, 1518-1618*, Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg (Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1986).

¹³ Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 131.

¹⁴ Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*.

¹⁵ From Geffcken, see especially Tables I-XXIV of tax data for the two hundred highest payments from 1396 to 1521. Geffcken, "Soziale Schichtung in Augsburg 1396 bis 1521," appendix, 1-220.

An Overview of Holbein's Social Network

Some basic numbers are useful to provide an overview of the subjects of Holbein's portrait drawings. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of Holbein's sitters were men. Of the one hundred fifty-eight portrait drawings attributable to Holbein and his circle, one hundred thirty-three depict adult men. Among these drawings are ninety different individuals, of which forty-eight specific identities are indicated with Holbein's inscriptions or have been deduced from other evidence on the drawings. Only twenty drawings portray women, and of these, only eight individuals can be identified. Only three of these women can be identified with relative certainty based on information from the drawings' inscriptions. Nine drawings present children, including the touching memorial of his two sons, Ambrosius and Hans the Younger.¹⁶

Most of Holbein's drawings of men are of monks, clerics, or men who served in canon administration. Thirty-five drawings of monks depict eighteen individuals, of which seven are identifiable by inscriptions in Holbein's own hand and visual comparison of distinct features on other drawings. Holbein created at least fifteen drawings of clerics, most of them clearly identified with inscriptions, including two abbots and a prior of Augsburg's church and cloister of Saint Ulrich and Afra, the priors of the Dominican churches in Augsburg and Frankfurt, and a secretary and dean of Augsburg Cathedral.

¹⁶ The social circles in which Holbein moved and the social networks he cultivated were almost exclusively an adult man's world; nonetheless, his portrayals of individuals from less enfranchised groups like woman and children are intriguing and warrant further investigation.

The next largest group of Holbein's drawings consists of twenty-nine sheets representing men whose names and specific professions are unknown. Based on the figures' costumes and adornments, it is reasonable to classify eight or nine of these men as of the patrician or merchant class and eight to ten as possible artisans or craftsmen. Some of Holbein's sitters' professions are known, either as indicated with inscriptions or by investigation in archival sources. These men include four goldsmiths, three architects, three weavers, a cooper, a stonemason, a tailor, a fisherman, and an accounting clerk to the Fuggers. Holbein portrayed nine patricians, five merchants, four nobles, and one courtier, all of whose identities are noted in varying degrees of detail with inscriptions. Holbein's extant drawings show only two fellow artists, both of the sitters being family or like family, his brother Sigmund and his foster child Hans Schlegel.

Beyond the professions Holbein's sitters represent, patterns of relationships emerge from the group of sitters Holbein accumulated over the years and present an early modern version of social networking. Indeed, the web of personal and professional associations that emerges calls up not only the idea of 'who's who' in Augsburg, but also 'who knew whom' both in and outside the imperial city. This is not to say that Holbein was purposefully documenting the contacts he made throughout his career. Rather, the extant portrait drawings from his personal sketchbooks, happen to provide a significant record of his relationships and social networks.

Highlighting examples of some of the recognizable names from among Holbein's portrait drawings allows us to begin to assemble some picture of his social experiences and network. A famous name that we have already mentioned among Holbein's portrait

drawings is Fugger, the wealthiest financiers and entrepreneurs of Augsburg and arguably all of Germany. As already discussed in the previous chapter, Holbein drew portraits of eight members of the Fugger's immediate and extended family, but the context for Holbein's drawing their likenesses and the purpose for the drawings remain a mystery. What we can infer from these surviving sheets of his sketchbook that portray the Fuggers is essentially the limit of our knowledge about his contact with them. However, we can reasonably surmise that both the sitters and artist enjoyed mutual benefits of their connection.

The renown and respect of the Fuggers in Augsburg and southern Germany could only have grown with any attention they received from Holbein, one of the leading painters of his day. Although his reputation is overshadowed today by his inarguably more famous son, Hans Holbein the Younger, Holbein the Elder was a successful painter and designer in his own right. In Augsburg, an imperial free city and center for the arts and publishing that rivaled its northern neighbor Nuremberg, for example, and other European cultural loci, he oversaw a substantial workshop, which produced several large-scale altarpieces over the course of his career. Furthermore, Holbein's fame reached beyond Augsburg, and commissions called him to work elsewhere for periods of several months up to about a year.¹⁷ As with the distinction that the Fuggers sought and surely acquired amongst their own social network by commissioning portraits from prominent

¹⁷ Holbein painted the wings of an altarpiece in Ulm in 1493 intended for a church in Weingarten. He completed extensive projects in Eichstätt, Kaisheim, and Frankfurt from 1501 to 1502. He travelled to Lucerne with his son, Hans the Younger, to paint wall murals for the Hertenstein house in late 1516 into 1517, and is documented as having been in Isenheim in 1517. Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 15, 326, 329.

masters such as Dürer and the Burgkmairs, involving themselves with a widely renowned artist of Holbein's stature carried value as social and cultural currency. In other words, prestige and a certain cultural cachet accrued to the name Fugger through their associations with Holbein and other significant artists.

In spite of his renown, the exchange of social capital between Holbein and the Fuggers was probably more beneficial to Holbein than to the Fuggers, although they may have regarded their transaction as equitable. After all, Holbein received attention from one of Europe's wealthiest families and one of the foremost patrons of the arts in Augsburg. This could have led to future commissions or involvement in one of their extensive projects. Moreover, Holbein had their portraits in his sketchbook, images that could have served as a visual 'letter of recommendation' as he pursued future patrons. Without a more solid patronage context, Holbein's drawings of the Fuggers at least provide some evidence of his contact with this prosperous family, thus binding his and the Fuggers' networks.

This interpretation of the exchange of social capital between Holbein and the Fuggers emphasizes the mutual benefits of their connection, even if it may have been slightly in Holbein's favor. It is perhaps not hard to imagine that the Fuggers and Holbein could have enjoyed the benefits of their reciprocal exchange of social capital. As we have seen, what often characterizes exchanges of such capital is the fact that customs and agreements are often unwritten and even unspoken. The attitudes and behaviors of those who are successful at maintaining social networks and reciprocating in social capital exchanges – such as Holbein or Jakob Fugger – remain unknown without any manner of

documentation. Holbein very likely never spelled out to Jakob Fugger in such plain terms as offered here how their relationship could be mutually beneficial and what Holbein's portrayals of the Fuggers could signify for them and their reputations. Even if they had spoken so bluntly in person, their thoughts have not been preserved or discovered in letters, contracts, or any other type of document. As such, Holbein's portrait drawings and their occasional use in the context of larger projects exist as the only known surviving record of his world of social connections and networks and the barter of social capital that he necessarily had to practice to become an artist of renown in the "Fuggerstadt" (Fugger city) of Augsburg.

Other important Augsburgers appear in Holbein's portrait drawings, although they may not be as well-known today as the Fuggers. For example, Holbein depicted Ulrich Artzt (ca. 1450/55-1527), an affluent merchant and influential politician (figs. 156-157).¹⁸ Artzt served several times as the merchants' guildmaster and on the Small Council (*Kleiner Rat*), which wielded considerable political authority in the city, although its title implies otherwise.¹⁹ From 1504 until his death in 1527, Artzt was also a member of the Committee of Thirteen (the *Dreizehner*), "with which actual political leadership resided"

¹⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2513. Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 1. A copy of Berlin 2513 is Copenhagen, Staatens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2993.

¹⁹ Friedrich Blendinger, "Ulrich Artzt," in *Lebensbilder aus dem bayerischen Schwaben*, ed. Götz von Pölnitz (Munich: M. Hueber, 1958), 97. Members of the Small Council included two guildmasters from each of the city's seventeen guilds as well as eight patricians. Its counterpart, the Great Council (*Großer Rat*), had a total of 229 members by the end of the fifteenth century; although it was an important venue for forming public opinion, the Great Council in fact had little influence in regular civic affairs or legislation. Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 30. As Häberlein's research has shown, "political influence was closely tied to economic standing" in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Augsburg, where from 1396 to 1516, "94 percent of the holders of the four most important civic offices came from the ranks of the top 3 percent of Augsburg's taxpayers." Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 26-27.

in Augsburg.²⁰ During the same years he served as *Bürgermeister* (mayor) eight times.²¹ The Artzt family was linked with the Fuggers by marriage, as well as other important Augsburg families, such as the Königsbergers, Rehlingers, and Welsers.²² Professionally, Ulrich Artzt and Jakob Fugger served together as leaders of the merchants' guild. It has been suggested that during his eight terms as *Bürgermeister*, Artzt was a willing collaborator with Fugger, who did not seek the office and was ineligible for the position in any case upon his ennoblement in 1511.²³ Extending his influence beyond Augsburg, Artzt became the city's delegate to the Swabian League (*Schwäbischer Bund*) in 1505 and was elected as its captain every year from 1513 to 1527, when he died.²⁴ He led this political and military organization drawn from the region's Imperial Estates during a particularly tumultuous period, especially the Peasants' War of 1524-25.²⁵ Holbein highlights Artzt's political achievements with the inscription on Berlin 2513 (fig. 156),

²⁰ Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 30.

²¹ Augsburg had dual mayors, two *Bürgermeister* representing the merchant guild and the patricians. Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 13. See *ibid.*, 347 for Ulrich Artzt's years as *Bürgermeister*.

²² Sybilla Artzt, the niece of Ulrich Artzt, married Jakob Fugger in 1498 and Konrad Rehlinger in 1525. Regina Artzt, Sibylla's older sister, married Georg Königsberger in 1507. Wilhelm Artzt married Regina Welser in 1520. For this data, see "Artzt, Hans III," "Artzt, Ulrich III," and "Artzt, Wilhelm II," in Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 12-13, Lfdnr. 19-21. For the Artzt-Fugger alliance, see Martha Schad, *Die Frauen des Hauses Fugger von der Lilie (15.-17. Jahrhundert)*, Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989), 161-163.

²³ Blendinger, "Ulrich Artzt," 97-98. Jakob Fugger modestly did not make much of being ennobled in 1511 and being made a count in 1514, and he refrained from ever using the title. Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz, "Fugger, Jakob der Reiche," in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1961), vol. 5, 710-714. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 203.

²⁴ Heinrich Lutz, "Artzt, Ulrich," in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1953), vol. 1, 405-406.

²⁵ Ulrich Artzt's letters from the years 1524-25 are published in multiple volumes of the *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben*: see Wilhelm Vogt, "Die Correspondenz des schwäbischen Bundeshauptmannes Ulrich Artzt von Augsburg aus den Jahren 1524 und 1525," *ZHVS* 6 (1879), 281-404; 7 (1880), 233-380; 9 (1882), 1-62; 10 (1883), 1-298.

“burge[r]maiste[r] arczet je[t]z[t] des gancze bund oberester hauptman” (“mayor Artzt now of the whole league the highest captain”).²⁶ If this drawing does not demonstrate Holbein’s familiarity with Artzt, then it clearly indicates the artist’s at least brief encounter with him and keen awareness of positions of power and influence in Augsburg and the Swabian region.

In addition to important Augsburgers like Artzt, Holbein had the occasion to portray influential clerics in the imperial city. A notable example is Johannes Faber (ca. 1470-1530) (fig. 216), who became prior of the Dominican church in 1507 and general vicar of the Dominican congregation in southern German and Swiss territories in 1512.²⁷ A doctor of theology who had studied in Italy and held a faculty position at the university at Freiburg, Faber is identified on the drawing in Holbein’s handwriting as “johannes toctoris.”²⁸ Faber oversaw the construction of the new Dominican church of Saint Magdalene in Augsburg, which was completed in an astonishingly short period from 1512 to 1515.²⁹ In a fascinating accounting of civic and regional piety, Faber composed a

²⁶This notation indicates possibly that this portrait was drawn after Artzt’s first election to captain in 1513, or that Holbein added the inscription sometime after 1513 to an older portrait drawing in his sketchbook. The pen and ink overdrawing of the facial features may have been done at the same time as the later inscription.

²⁷ Holbein’s drawing of Johannes Faber is in the Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.189. A copy is Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2530, which Lieb and Stange erroneously identified as Abbot Johannes Schrott of Saint Ulrich and Afra. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 97, cat. nr. 200; Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 83, cat. nr. 177. Some secondary sources provide different years Faber became prior of the Dominican church. Faber reported himself that he was elected as prior in 1507; see Pius Dirr, “Eine Gedächtnisschrift von Johannes Faber über die Erbauung der Augsburger Dominikanerkirche,” *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 34 (1908): 175.

²⁸ Paul-Gundolf Gieraths, “Faber, Johannes Augustanus,” in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1959), vol. 4, 721.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Gedächtnisbuch (literally, “memory-book”), which summarizes his efforts to see the new church built as well as records the aid he received from Pope Leo X, Maximilian I, Charles V, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Duke Georg of Saxony, and several donors of Augsburg.³⁰ Faber’s manuscript inventories not only the monetary and material donations for the building of the church, but also the altars, chapels, and burial sites promised to the patron families.³¹ Among the Augsburgers Faber names are Jakob Fugger, Georg Thurzo, Ulrich Artzt, Philipp Adler, Hans Nell, and Georg Königsberger. Holbein portrayed each of these donors, except for Königsberger, although he drew two portraits of another member of that family, Nicolas.³² Holbein’s opportunities to capture these individuals’ likenesses, including a commissioned portrait painting of Philipp Adler (fig. 217), indicate he had some level of interconnectedness with these affluent and influential merchants and patricians.³³ His links to these donors, whose liberal support made the rapid reconstruction of Saint Magdalene possible, implies that Holbein was astutely aware of the potential social and commercial advantages to developing relationships with such generous patrons.

³⁰ Dirr, “Eine Gedächtnisschrift von Johannes Faber,” 169-178.

³¹ “Faber selbst hat über diese Spenden und Gaben genauestens Buch geführt. Daraus ersehen wir offenbar, in welcher freigebiger Freundschaft Fürsten, Patrizier- und Bürgerfamilien Augsburgs mit den Dominikanern, besonders mit deren Prior, verbunden waren.” Thomas Aquinas Dillis, “Johannes Faber,” in *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, ed. Götz von Pölnitz (Munich: M. Hueber, 1956), 101.

³² Holbein’s drawing of Hans Nell is Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2548. Nell may have been the stepbrother of Philipp Adler, and they both were from Speyer. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 110, cat. 278. Holbein’s drawings of Nicolas Königsberger are both Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551 and 2552.

³³ Holbein’s painted portrait of Philipp Adler is Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1981.1. If Holbein made a portrait drawing in preparation for this painting, it has not survived. Recently, Annette Kranz convincingly identified this formerly unknown sitter as Adler. Kranz, “Zum ‘Herrn mit der Peltzmütze’,” 175-195.

Like his potential connections through Johannes Faber at the Dominican church, Holbein seems to have had ties with several individuals, ranking low and high, at Augsburg's Benedictine abbey of Saint Ulrich and Afra. In addition to anonymous monks in his sketchbooks, who were likely Benedictines there, he depicted six monks of Saint Ulrich and Afra whom he identified by full name with inscriptions: Hans Griebherr (fig. 218), Heinrich Grim (fig. 219), Clemens Sender (fig. 46), Matthias Umhofer (fig. 220), Leonhard Wagner (figs. 49, 89, and 101), and Jörg Winter (fig. 221).³⁴ Among these, Clemens Sender (1475-1537) and Leonhard Wagner (1453-1522) are particularly historically significant. In addition to being a monk, Sender was a humanist and prolific author. He wrote a twelve-volume world chronicle in Latin, *Chronographia*, as well as a history of Augsburg until 1536, important to Reformation scholars for offering a contemporary account of events from a perspective skeptical of the new faiths.³⁵ Holbein's portraits of Wagner, an accomplished calligrapher and the abbey's subprior from 1502 to 1506, will be discussed in detail as a case study later in this chapter. Holbein also depicted two of the abbots of Saint Ulrich and Afra. Konrad Mörlin (fig. 222), whose abbacy lasted from 1496 until his death in 1510, was an avid proponent of

³⁴ Landolt, *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren*, 33. Holbein's portrait drawings of these named monks are as follows. Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett: Leonhard Wagner, inv. nr. 1662.201; Matthias Umhofer, inv. nr. 1662.188. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett: Hans Griebherr, inv. nr. 2531, 2532, 2538, and 2539; Heinrich Grim, inv. nr. 2533 and 2534; Clemens Sender, inv. nr. 2536; Leonhard Wagner, inv. nr. 2524 and 2525; and Jörg Winter 2535. Additional drawings are Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Graphische Sammlungen: Hans Griebherr, inv. nr. KK 124; Clemens Sender, inv. nr. KK 126, recto and verso. Copies are Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst: Hans Griebherr, inv. nr. KKSgb3808; Leonhard Wagner, inv. nr. KKSgb2992; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques: Leonhard Wagner, inv. nr. 31285.

³⁵ Clemens Sender and Friedrich Roth, "Die Chronik von Clemens Sender von der ältesten Zeiten der Stadt bis zum Jahr 1536," in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894), 1-404. B. Ann Tlusty, ed. *Augsburg During the Reformation Era: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2012), 7.

Klosterhumanismus (monastic humanism).³⁶ Under Mörlin's leadership, the abbey was at the forefront of this movement focused on preserving, translating, copying, and studying ancient texts.³⁷ Johannes Schrott (figs. 98-100) succeeded Mörlin in 1510 and held the position until he died in 1527. Holbein and his workshop made six drawings of Schrott in different media and compositions.³⁸

The network of individuals, families, and institutions mentioned thus far represent just some of the connections that Holbein cultivated over his career. These contacts can be illustrated with a diagram (fig. 223), which shows not only the various linkages among this selection of his sitters, but also the types of linkages among them, such as marriage, professional associations, spiritual concerns, and artistic patronage. Patterns of relationships emerge from this selection of Holbein's subjects. For example, Holbein's links to monks, priors, and abbots at Saint Ulrich and Afra and the Dominican church may have made it possible for Holbein to pursue connections with such important and influential figures as Ulrich Artzt, Jakob Fugger, and even Maximilian I. With each portrait Holbein's network expanded to include each individual's network, however weak

³⁶ Markus Ries, "Mörlin, Konrad," in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1994), vol. 17, 680.

³⁷ For humanism at Saint Ulrich and Afra, see Josef Bellot, "Das Benediktinerstift St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg und der Humanismus," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 84 (1973): 394-406; Rolf Schmidt, *Reichenau und St. Gallen: Ihre literarische Überlieferung zur Zeit des Klosterhumanismus in St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg um 1500*, ed. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1985); Franz Posset, *Renaissance Monks: Monastic Humanism in Six Biographical Sketches*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, ed. Andrew Colin Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 133-154.

³⁸ Holbein's drawings of Abbot Johannes Schrott are as follows: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531 (with Hans Griebherr); Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. nr. KK 125.

or strong those connections may have been. As contacts between Holbein and his sitters were renewed or repeated, the social ties that bound them grew stronger.

Developing complete biographies and social histories of all of the individuals in Holbein's network, as well as the networks of his sitters, would involve a lifetime or more of research. Indeed, as much of the literature on early modern Augsburg deals with the elite classes, archival resources could yet hold useful information about the men and women Holbein portrayed in his drawings. The following sections explore two case studies that delve into the significance of Holbein's representations of individuals, who were widely known during their lifetimes and whose histories can be studied today both in and outside of archives.

Two Case Studies: Building a Social Network

The first case study that follows concerns Leonhard Wagner (1453/54-1521), whom Holbein and his workshop depicted in five drawings (e.g., figs. 49, 89, and 101).³⁹ As introduced above, Wagner was a Benedictine monk of Augsburg's monastery of Saint Ulrich and Afra and its subprior from 1502 to 1506. Wagner was one of the most accomplished calligraphers of his day, and he designed the famous 'gothic' Germanic script, *Fraktur*, which was used in all of Maximilian I's imperial publications. Evidence of Maximilian's patronage at Saint Ulrich and Afra suggests he knew Wagner

³⁹ Holbein and his workshop's five portrait drawings of Leonhard Wagner are: Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524 and 2525; Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2992; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. nr. 31285.

personally.⁴⁰ The second case study focuses on one of Holbein's most notable sitters, Kunz (Konrad) von der Rosen (ca.1470-1519) (see figs. 94-97), courtier to Maximilian I. While he is often referred to merely as a jester, Kunz was, more importantly, a trusted advisor and – it seems – true friend to Maximilian, first during the ruler's reign as archduke and king of the Germans and later when he ascended to Holy Roman Emperor.⁴¹

Holbein did, in fact, draw a portrait – of sorts – of Maximilian I. In an unusual drawing from his oeuvre (fig. 152), Maximilian is shown on horseback and attired in a long cloak and a brimmed hat. Carrying a torch, Maximilian may have been observed riding through Augsburg after dark, a scene Holbein either quickly sketched and later refined in his studio or recorded afterward entirely from memory. Evident from this image is that Maximilian was not 'sitting' for Holbein. Were it not for the inscription in the artist's handwriting, "der groß kaiser maximilian" ("the great emperor Maximilian"), we would not have a clue as to the identity of this man with indistinguishable facial features and modest travelling attire. Clearly, the artist captured a fleeting remembrance of the emperor. This sheet's verso (fig. 153) even features a sketch of either Maximilian or an equestrian attendant in his entourage in a view from behind. Holbein would never be called upon to draw Maximilian's likeness, as, for instance, Albrecht Dürer was asked

⁴⁰ Albert Kapr, *Fraktur: Form und Geschichte der gebrochenen Schriften* (Mainz: Verlag Hermann Schmidt, 1993), 27.

⁴¹ Jakob Franck, "Rosen, Kunz von der," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1889), 195.

to do, when both emperor and artist were in Augsburg for the imperial diet in 1518.⁴² As far as we know, Maximilian also never commissioned a formal painted or printed portrait from Holbein, as he would from contemporaries Dürer, Hans Burgkmair, Daniel Hopper, and Bernhard Strigel.⁴³ It would seem Holbein was one of the few accomplished masters of Augsburg whom Maximilian or his agents did not involve in his extensive artistic projects. Both Leonhard Wagner and Kunz von der Rosen had close connections to Maximilian. Was Holbein trying to build inroads into the emperor's circle of patronage? His intimate portrait drawings would seem to allude to the means by which an artist like Holbein could develop and (hope to) capitalize on his social network.

The Benedictine Scribe, Leonhard Wagner

The idea that Holbein's drawings allude to his particular social status first came to my attention in Katherina Krause's work on a special group of his portraits, those depicting Benedictines from Augsburg's cloister of Saint Ulrich and Afra.⁴⁴ Krause specifically cites Holbein's portrayals of Leonhard Wagner. As discussed in the previous chapter, Wagner, whether knowingly or not, was the model for a key figure in a larger project, namely as Saint Ulrich, the tenth-century bishop of Augsburg, in the Saint

⁴² The drawing is Albertina, inv. nr. 4852, and its inscription in Dürer's hand records the date of the sitting as 28 June 1518. Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, eds., *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer* (Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012), 292, cat. nr. 75.

⁴³ Both Dürer's painted portrait of Maximilian I and Strigel's portrait of Maximilian and his family are Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, respectively inv. nr. GG 825 and GG 832. Dürer's woodcut portrait is Hollstein 255. Hans Burgkmair's woodcut of Maximilian's equestrian portrait is Hollstein 323. Daniel Hopper's etched portrait is Hollstein 88.

⁴⁴ Krause, "Hans Holbein der Ältere und die 'Herren' von Sankt Ulrich und Afra," 854-855.

Katharine Altarpiece (see figs. 89-90).⁴⁵ Krause argues that the representation of Wagner as Saint Ulrich in this altarpiece speaks to a particular social station that Holbein had attained. Her comment implies that Holbein's mere contact with Wager signals an elevated status for the artist and that his portrayal of Wagner would communicate his social connections to the work's viewers.⁴⁶ Krause does not provide an explanation as to why Wagner's presence in this altarpiece is a notable allusion to Holbein's social position, but she is certainly onto something interesting here.⁴⁷ Indeed, the example of Leonhard Wagner serves as a compelling case study for Holbein's portrait drawings as evidence of his social network.

The four extant panels of Holbein's Saint Katharine Altarpiece once formed the interior and exterior of two wings that framed a sculpted image of the Virgin.⁴⁸ The panels present the following four subjects: on the exterior, the crucifixion of Saint Peter on the left and the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne on the right; and on the interior, the martyrdom of Saint Katharine of Alexandria on the left and the *Fischwunder* (fish miracle) of Saint Ulrich (fig. 91) on the right. The altarpiece's original setting was Augsburg's abbey of Saint Katharine, where the work remained until secularization in

⁴⁵ Holbein's Saint Katharine Altarpiece is currently housed in Augsburg's Staatsgalerie Katharinenkirche (inv. nr. 5296). The drawing that most closely resembles the position and gaze of Wagner's face in the Saint Katharine Altarpiece is Berlin 2524. Krause implies that because of the similar composition, this could have been a model drawing for the visage in the altarpiece; however, based on a reasonable assumption that Holbein himself painted the face of the central figure, and given the thick, careless quality of the lines and heavy overdrawing in brush in wash, I propose that a workshop assistant likely drew Berlin 2524 from the painting. See Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 237.

⁴⁶ Krause, "Hans Holbein der Ältere und die 'Herren' von Sankt Ulrich und Afra," 855.

⁴⁷ To be fair, perhaps Krause was limited in the scope of presenting evidence by the confines of an edited volume of essays.

⁴⁸ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 381, n. 64.

1816.⁴⁹ Wagner appears in the guise of Saint Ulrich (or vice versa) in a panel illustrating a legend with particular local resonance: the so-called *Fischwunder* (fish miracle), when a Thursday evening meal shared between Saint Ulrich and fellow bishop, Saint Konrad of Konstanz, lasted beyond midnight, meaning that these religious leaders would violate the abstention from eating meat on Fridays. Holbein portrays these two figures in the foreground with a roasted goose centered on the table before them. A messenger has entered the scene and delivered a letter from the Bavarian Duke Arnulf to Bishop Ulrich. As payment for the messenger's service, Ulrich hands him a piece of roasted meat. When the messenger returns to the duke, as seen in the figural group in the background, he displays the damning evidence of the goose meat only to reveal a fish to the duke instead. The forbidden meat had miraculously changed into fish, thus safe-guarding the two bishop-saints from committing a grave error.⁵⁰ Saint Ulrich's most common attributes include his bishop's regalia and a fish, which he holds either in his hand or upon a sacred book, as a reference to this famous legend.⁵¹

Who was Leonhard Wagner, and why would he have been a suitable 'actor' for this sanctified historical figure? What might Holbein's contemporaries have found

⁴⁹ Schawe, *Staatsgalerie Augsburg: Altdeutsche Malerei in der Katharinenkirche*, 85.

⁵⁰ The events of this narrative as depicted by Holbein are explained in Thomas Balk, "Der heilige Ulrich in der spätmittelalterlichen Kunst," in *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973: Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung; Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, ed. Manfred Weitlauff, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte*, vol. 26/27 (Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993), 495. A succinct telling of this legend as it relates to Holbein's panel is also provided in Schawe, *Staatsgalerie Augsburg: Altdeutsche Malerei in der Katharinenkirche*, 85.

⁵¹ The attribute of the fish in recalling Ulrich's *Fischwunder* appears regularly in images of the saint after the mid-fourteenth century, when it first appeared in a statue on the interior of the north portal of Augsburg Cathedral, according to Balk, "Der heilige Ulrich in der spätmittelalterlichen Kunst," 484, 493, 500. For numerous examples of portrayals of Ulrich with his fish attribute, browse the helpful compendium of images of the saint in Manfred Weitlauff, ed. *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973*.

interesting in the fact that he was standing in for this famous bishop-saint of Augsburg? Wagner took his Benedictine vows at the cloister of Saint Ulrich and Afra in 1472, copied numerous manuscripts there, and eventually earned the title of subprior in 1502; he held that position until 1506.⁵² Yet Wagner was not only an accomplished scribe and monastic leader, but also an innovative and talented calligrapher in his own right. Among the six portrait drawings that depict Wagner, the one that I deem most likely to have been done by Holbein and taken from life is today preserved in Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett (inv. nr. 2525, fig. 49). Its inscription – in silverpoint and believed to be Holbein's distinct scrawling handwriting as found on several other drawings – identifies Wagner and his profession and emphasizes his reputation as a noteworthy scribe: “her lienhart der gut schreiber zu Sant ulrich mit name wagner” (“Mister” or “here [is] Leonhard, the good scribe of Saint Ulrich with [the last] name Wagner”).⁵³ Since the rediscovery just before World War I of Wagner's fiftieth manuscript, *Proba Centum Scripturarum*, not a copied work but an original model book by the monk himself, Wagner has been correctly identified as the inventor of the famous German ‘gothic’ script known as *Fraktur*.⁵⁴

⁵² Carl Wehmer, *Leonhard Wagners Proba Centum Scripturarum: Begleittext zur Faksimileausgabe der Proba, eines Augsburger Schriftmusterbuches aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1963), vol. 2, 43.

⁵³ “Lienhart” is an alternative spelling of “Leonhard” that appears in other contemporary references to Wagner. He was also known by the last name “Wirstlin.” Kapr, *Fraktur*, 247.

⁵⁴ Kapr, *Fraktur*, 27. See also Wehmer, *Leonhard Wagners Proba Centum Scripturarum*, vol. 2, 5, 12. Wagner's *Proba* was rediscovered by Alfred Schröder in the Bischöfliche Ordinariatsbibliothek in Augsburg and remains there today. A modern facsimile is Leonhard Wagner, *Proba Centum Scripturarum: Ein Augsburger Schriftmusterbuch aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1963), and the model text for Wagner's *Fraktur* appears on the manuscript's folio 16v, the facsimile's page 32.

Wagner's *Proba Centum Scripturarum*, "a collection of one hundred fonts recorded by one hand," contains the earliest known iteration of *Fraktur* (fig. 224).⁵⁵ According to the manuscript's dedication, Wagner "humbly offered" the *Proba* to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, so that his beneficiary "may improve or correct [the fonts]."⁵⁶ Eventually, *Fraktur* became the standard for the Maximilian's official manuscripts and publications. The first widespread use of *Fraktur* in a commission for Maximilian can be seen in his famous Prayerbook (e.g., fig. 225), begun in 1508. Ten copies of the Prayerbook of Maximilian I were printed on parchment certainly intended for a clearly circumscribed audience, and one copy was circulated for illustrations among some of the most accomplished artists of the day, including Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Jörg Breu the Elder, Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Baldung Grien.⁵⁷ In order to make the print matrices for Maximilian's Prayerbook, Augsburg printer Johann Schönsperger probably followed a handwritten model with the script as the emperor wished it to be, most likely a model from the hand of Leonhard Wagner.⁵⁸

Inferring from Wagner's substantial imprint as calligrapher and layout designer for the Prayerbook of Maximilian I, Albert Kapr states that we can safely assume Wagner personally knew the emperor, who belonged to the confraternity of Saint Ulrich and Afra,

⁵⁵ This quote comes from Wagner's dedication of his *Proba* to Maximilian I. For the original Latin dedication, see *Proba Centum Scripturarum*, vol. 1, 3. For a German translation of the Latin, on which I have also relied for my translation here, see Kapr, *Fraktur*, 25, 27.

⁵⁶ Wagner, *Proba Centum Scripturarum*, vol. 1, 3. Kapr, *Fraktur*, 25, 27.

⁵⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (inv. nr. 12293219). Kapr, *Fraktur*, 25. See also Larry Silver, "Civic Courtship: Albrecht Dürer, the Saxon Duke, and the Emperor," in *The Essential Dürer*, ed. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 140.

⁵⁸ Kapr, *Fraktur*, 25.

made frequent visits to Augsburg, and held many imperial diets there.⁵⁹ Moreover, the likelihood of Wagner and Maximilian being at least acquainted is supported by the fact that Wagner had done all of the text for a significant project years earlier for the emperor: the *Vita Sancti Simperti*.⁶⁰ This luxurious manuscript was created for the emperor by the monks of Saint Ulrich and Afra, and Wagner was the project's main scribe. The occasion for this work was to celebrate the *translatio* of the remains of Saint Simpertus to the chapel newly built in his honor inside Saint Ulrich and Afra, an event in 1492 of great pomp and ceremony and one in which Maximilian I participated.⁶¹ Holbein also had an important role in this communal project. He made two full-page illuminations. One is of Saint Simpertus's genealogy (fig. 226), which legitimated the saint's kinship with

⁵⁹ Ibid., 27. See also page 32, for Kapr's interesting elucidation of the conflicting completion dates of Wagner's *Proba* and the start of Maximilian I's commission of his Prayerbook. Wagner was still working on his collection of scripts in 1510, but the printer Johann Schönsperger had already received the order for the Prayerbook by 1508. As Kapr proposes, "After all, it was, of course, possible that regardless of the completion date of his *Proba*, Wagner developed different samples for the font of the Prayerbook at the request of the Emperor, whose aesthetic ideas [Wagner] knew, and the Emperor as patron made the [final] decision. ... Thus, the Emperor personally gave his approval of the model [by Wagner] and hence could be considered the godfather of *Fraktur*." For additional evidence of Maximilian I's connections to Saint Ulrich and Afra, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 131-133.

⁶⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044. Otto Pächt, *Vita Sancti Simperti: Eine Handschrift für Maximilian I.*, Jahrgabe des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1964).

⁶¹ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 76, 79.

Charlemagne and thereby with Maximilian I.⁶² The other represents a miracle when Simpertus revived a child after a vicious wolf attack (fig. 227).⁶³

These two illuminations for the *Vita Sancti Simperti* presumably constituted Holbein's last and only products for the Holy Roman Emperor, an avid bibliophile and patron of the arts, sponsoring works great and small that showcased the talents of German artists. Holbein was never again fortunate enough to receive Maximilian's attention. By memorializing Leonhard Wagner in his drawings and, more importantly, as Saint Ulrich in his more widely viewed Saint Katharine Altarpiece, Holbein reminds his knowing contemporaries that he has links to an expert and well-known scribe who has worked in the service of Maximilian I. Socially and professionally, Holbein remains just one connection away from the Holy Roman Emperor.

In addition to Wagner's scribal accomplishments, profound contribution to the art of calligraphy, and links to Maximilian I, Holbein's casting Wagner in the role of Saint Ulrich may have been based on another geographical connection between the monk and the tenth-century bishop-saint. From November 1509 through January 1511, Wagner resided at the abbey of Saint Gallen (or Gall) in northeastern Switzerland just a few miles

⁶² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 1v. Regarding the fictional genealogical connection between Maximilian I and Saint Simpertus, see Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, 139-140. In this publication, Wood also offers a fascinating analysis of the genealogical creativity of Maximilian I and his project advisers on page 115-116. For a thorough treatment of Maximilian I's extensive genealogical investigations and inventions, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, esp. 41-76.

⁶³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 39v. The motif of reviving a child after a wolf attack also appears in the vita of Saint Francis of Assisi. For the wolf of Gubbio legend, see any edition of *Fioretti di San Francesco (The Little Flowers of Saint Francis)*, chapter 21. For more on the vita of Saint Simpertus, see Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 139.

south of Lake Constance.⁶⁴ He was invited there by Saint Gallen's Abbot Franz von Gaisberg, in order to create lavish liturgical books.⁶⁵ There he also surely consulted the abbey's remarkable library, the oldest in Switzerland. Wagner's recent residency at Saint Gallen and return to Augsburg offered Holbein, who was then working on the Saint Katharine Altarpiece, an interesting parallel with the legend of Saint Ulrich. The tenth-century saint was born into nobility, as the son of the count of Dillingen, possibly in the environs of Kyburg, just a few miles east-northeast of Zürich, and then educated at the abbey of Saint Gallen.⁶⁶ Ulrich came to Augsburg from Saint Gallen, first as chamberlain to Bishop Adalbero in 907/908; he was later consecrated bishop himself in 923.⁶⁷ Holbein may have had this meaningful geographic analogy in mind when representing Wagner as Saint Ulrich in his Saint Katharine Altarpiece, which he completed in 1512, the year after Wagner returned to Augsburg. By depicting Wagner as Ulrich, Holbein demonstrates to contemporary viewers, who were at the abbey of Saint Katharine, that he had an intimate enough relationship within the hierarchy of Saint Ulrich and Afra to know of Wagner's special residency at Saint Gallen. This already historic and renowned abbey had a special

⁶⁴ Wehmer, *Leonhard Wagners Proba Centum Scripturarum*, vol. 2, 44.

⁶⁵ Schmidt, *Reichenau und St. Gallen*, 153.

⁶⁶ Maureen C. Miller, "Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era," *Church History* 72, no. 1 (2003): 31. Regarding other birthplaces posited for Ulrich, see Manfred Weitlauff, "Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg (923-973): Leben und Wirken eines Reichsbischofs der ottonischen Zeit," in *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973*, ed. Manfred Weitlauff, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte*, vol. 26/27 (Weißhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993), 80. While his birthplace is disputable, Ulrich's education at Saint Gallen is a consistent narrative even in the earliest sources for his vita; see Weitlauff, "Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg," 83-84.

⁶⁷ Weitlauff, "Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg," 88, 93.

tie to Augsburg's patron and former bishop, Saint Ulrich, the first saint to be officially canonized by papal decree.⁶⁸

Beyond these historical linkages, which Holbein presents as privileged knowledge and access to important social circles through the depiction of Leonhard Wagner as Saint Ulrich, it is important to consider that Wagner may also have enjoyed social and spiritual benefits by being represented as his own monastery's patron saint. By linking Wagner's experiences with Ulrich's and simply associating the monk with the memory and sanctity of one of Augsburg's most significant historical and religious figures, Holbein alludes to the exemplarity of Wagner's own life and his service to both god and emperor. Like Saint Ulrich had served the first ruler of a unified German Reich, Henry I (reigned 919-36), the Saxon duke and East Frankish king who brought peace to his lands otherwise threatened by barbarian invasions and founded the great Ottonian dynasty, Leonhard Wagner served his day's noble and revered Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.⁶⁹

This example of Leonhard Wagner alludes to the potential wealth of information about Holbein's social status and connections that could be derived from thorough investigation of the sitters in his portrait drawings and utilization of their portraits in larger projects. In order to investigate the questions of who else populates Holbein's drawings, how Holbein knew them, and what significance their portraits could have, it is

⁶⁸ Pope John XV issued a bull on 3 February 993 making Ulrich's canonization official. For more on the historical context and ramifications of this first officially sanctioned canonization, see Markus Ries, "Heiligenverehrung und Heiligsprechung in der Alten Kirche und im Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklung des Kanonisationsverfahrens," in *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973*, ed. Manfred Weitlauff, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte*, vol. 26/27 (Weißhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993), 143-167.

⁶⁹ Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1, 10, 81.

instructive to consider the work of sociologists who have theorized about, examined, and considered the ramifications of social networking. Most of the literature on social networks deals with twentieth- and twenty-first-century examples, and it is important to note that the same circumstances of modern and contemporary societies should not be equated with historical ones. However, the basic frameworks and components of social network theory can be useful in considering the individual and collective relationships documented in Holbein's portrait drawings.

Reciprocal exchange is evident in the example of Holbein's portrayal of Leonhard Wagner as Saint Ulrich, as both artist and sitter could have benefitted from the relationship as implied in the portrait drawings and the Saint Katharine Altarpiece. In the first place, Holbein clearly established rapports with the religious of the cloister of Saint Ulrich and Afra as evidenced by the documentation of sittings with them. He made a total of thirty-four drawings of monks and clerics who could possibly have been associated with Saint Ulrich and Afra, and of these drawings, ten are of clearly identified religious from the cloister.⁷⁰ These drawings of Wagner and other Benedictines offer a view of the web of relationships of which Holbein and Wagner were a part, all the way up to the Holy Roman Emperor. As is apparent from the example of Wagner, however, the social norms and sanctions that guided Holbein's relationships with the Benedictines are not

⁷⁰ These individuals from Saint Ulrich and Afra include the monks Hans Grießherr (six drawings), Heinrich Grim (three drawings), Clemens Sender (two drawings), Matthais Umhofer (one drawing), Leonhard Wagner (six drawings), Jörg Winter (one drawing), and a monk identified with an inscription, "Hans was at Saint Ulrich" (one drawing). Represented among Holbein's drawings are the following clerics at Saint Ulrich and Afra: Konrad Mörlin, Abbot (one drawing), Johannes Schrott, Abbot (six drawings), and Peter Wagner, Prior and later Abbot at Thierhaupten, another Benedictine cloister located about ten miles north of Augsburg (two drawings).

immediately apparent and require more investigation to begin to understand their possible significance.

So what did Holbein gain from documenting his connection with Wagner? This Augsburg monk was not inconsequential. Wagner was a local notable whose recognition was probably limited to Augsburg and other regional abbeys affiliated with his, like Saint Gallen. Nonetheless, he did earn wider renown by making distinctive accomplishments as a calligrapher – accomplishments that earned him the patronage of the Holy Roman Emperor. He may have come to Maximilian's attention through their mutual association with the cloister of Saint Ulrich and Afra. It is also possible that Wagner was linked to Maximilian indirectly through the emperor's secretary and unofficial director of propaganda, Vinzenz Rockner, another calligrapher who had been credited with developing *Fraktur*.⁷¹ In either case, Wagner's association with Maximilian and his artistic projects made him a desirable acquaintance for an aspiring artist working in Augsburg, such as Holbein the Elder.

Holbein showcased a closer level of his familiarity with Wagner by alluding to the Benedictine's recent residency at the Abbey of Saint Gallen as analogous to Saint Ulrich's own edification there in the tenth century. Considering that Wagner's newly developed *Fraktur* had caught the attention of Maximilian I as recently as 1508, the insinuation that Holbein knew Wagner, and was perhaps even closely familiar with him, situates the artist within an extended network of the emperor. This was possibly an important reminder for Holbein, who had not worked on a project for Maximilian in

⁷¹ Kapr, *Fraktur*, 25.

twenty years, since even before he was a citizen of Augsburg and a recognized master in the city's guild of painters. Holbein perhaps hoped to propel his career through social networking and exchanges of social capital by establishing and maintaining a social connection with Wagner. Given the power and influence of the abbey of Saint Ulrich and Afra, it is not outlandish to presume that Holbein wanted to establish links with the Benedictines there and hoped to impress Wagner by including him in an Augsburg altarpiece.

In addition to exhibiting his familiarity with Wagner and his accomplishments, Holbein may have portrayed him as Saint Ulrich to lend this figure in his Saint Katharine Altarpiece a greater sense of reality and individuality. In the place of Augsburg's tenth-century patron saint, whose likeness was mere speculation to sixteenth-century viewers, Holbein fills the role of Saint Ulrich with a real, identifiable person, notably a religious who has achieved distinction among his peers, indeed an artist in his own right. Certainly, presenting individuals as actors in religious imagery was nothing new. Numerous examples in European painting of crypto-portraits, donors appearing as figures in Biblical narratives, are known from both the north and south beginning in the thirteenth century. In northern Europe, notable examples of patrons or important individuals as main characters in images also come to mind: Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, as one of the magi in Rogier van der Weyden's Columba Altarpiece; Charles VII, king of France, also as a magus in Jean Fouquet's illuminations in the Hours of Etienne Chevalier; and perhaps more temporally and geographically relevant to Holbein, Maximilian I as a king in the Adoration of the Magi by the Master of the Habsburgs, and the Paumgartner

brothers Stephan and Lukas as Saints George and Eustace in Dürer's Paumgartner Altarpiece.⁷²

Differentiating Holbein's portrayal of Leonhard Wagner as Saint Ulrich from these examples, however, is the fact that Wagner neither commissioned the altarpiece in which he appears, nor was he an important noble or aristocratic contemporary who might be flattered at being cast in a religious scene. Holbein made his casting decision for this altarpiece for reasons other than those we typically see in early modern art. His use of a monk in the role of a past religious figure finds a parallel in one documented artistic practice of one of Holbein's Tuscan contemporaries, Sodoma (1477-1549). As told by Giorgio Vasari, Sodoma "portrayed old friars who were in the monastery at that time" in order to fill the frescoed portrait medallions of "all the generals [from the Olivetan Order] who had ruled that congregation" in the Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore outside the Tuscan village of Chiusure.⁷³ Vasari does not offer us an explanation of how or why Sodoma carried this part of the project out in this way, but relevant to this discussion is the fact that Sodoma made connections between contemporary friars and the Olivetan Benedictines of the past in a work placed where the viewers would either be one of the 'actors' or recognize their peers. Like Sodoma, Holbein imbued the Saint Katharine

⁷² Rogier van der Weyden, Columba Altarpiece, ca. 1455 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. WAF 1189). Jean Fouquet, Hours of Etienne Chevalier, ca. 1450-61 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 71). Master of the Habsburgs, Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1500-08 (Vienna, Belvedere, inv. nr. 4870). Albrecht Dürer, Paumgartner Altarpiece, ca. 1500 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. 706). I wish to thank Dr. Jeffrey Chipps Smith for pointing out other examples of artists presenting contemporaries as religious figures in northern early modern works of art.

⁷³ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, The Medici Society, 1912-1914), vol. 7, 247. The scholarship of Lorne Campbell made me aware of Vasari's story: Lorne Campbell, "The Making of Portraits," in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, ed. Lorne Campbell, et al. (London: National Gallery, 2008), 35.

Altarpiece with a sense of the continuity of local tradition as well as a note of authenticity by depicting a notable contemporary as important a historic and religious figure as Saint Ulrich was to Augsburg, more so than if he had used pattern drawings of a ‘type’ from his workshop.

Holbein’s sitter lent his work a greater sense of the reality and individuality of the character of Saint Ulrich, but in this exchange dynamic of social capital, what did Leonhard Wagner gain from Holbein’s portrayal? Holbein memorialized Wagner in the guise of one of the most important religious figures in Augsburg’s history. As bishop Ulrich had served and directed Saint Ulrich and Afra for fifty years. In city lore, he bravely led Augsburgers against an invasion of Magyars, although he remained weaponless. Ultimately, he became a civic patron saint as well as a dedicatee of one of the imperial city’s most important cloisters, of whose confraternity Maximilian I was a member.⁷⁴ Yet Holbein did not represent the most glorious event from Ulrich’s vita, when he served as a spiritual and military leader in repelling the Magyars. Rather, Holbein or his patron determined that the humble occasion of the *Fischwunder* was suitable for the single scene from Saint Ulrich’s life.⁷⁵ Hence, Wagner is aligned with the

⁷⁴ For an overview of the major events of Ulrich’s life, see Weitlauff, “Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg,” 69-142. Ulrich’s earliest biographer, Gerhard, emphasized how the holy bishop sat on horseback without any weaponry in the midst of the conflict; see the recent critical edition of the vita: Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich, lateinisch-deutsch, mit der Kanonisationsurkunde von 993*, ed. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse, Editiones Heidelbergenses (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993), 194-195. For more on Maximilian I’s close connections with the church of Saint Ulrich and Afra, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 131-132.

⁷⁵ The patron of Holbein’s Saint Katharine Altarpiece is unknown; however, it was documented in the Dominican cloister of Saint Katharine in Augsburg in 1515 and 1753. Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 237; 381, n. 64. Not surprisingly, the dramatic and violent episode of Saint Ulrich’s military leadership against the Magyars would become a popular topic later for Baroque artists; for more on this, refer to the numerous of images of the saint assembled in Weitlauff, *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*.

Ulrich featured in a miraculous event of humility and obedience, recalling both Wagner's and Ulrich's vows as monks and their commitment to serve and obey their god and the rules of their monastic orders. By casting Wagner as Ulrich, Holbein effectively compares the monk with the figure of Augsburg's sanctified bishop. Both Wagner and his portraitist mutually benefitted from their relationship as demonstrated in this particular circumstance of Holbein presenting a local monk as one of the imperial city's most revered saints.

The Kaiser's 'Fool,' Kunz von der Rosen

Holbein demonstrated even more explicitly his connection to someone close and important to Maximilian I through his portrayals of Kunz (Konrad) von der Rosen. Holbein drew four likenesses of Kunz on two sheets; one sheet has a single careful portrait study (fig. 94) and the other sheet has three studies of alternating views of Kunz's head (fig. 95). No known documentation exists concerning when, why, or how Holbein had the occasion to portray Kunz. However, apparent from these drawings, in particular the sheet with one image of Kunz (Berlin 2511, fig. 94), is that Holbein drew them from life, as evidenced by the artist's close attention to accurately capturing small details of the sitter's appearance.⁷⁶ Such intimately observed details include the particular ridges and furrows that years have hardened around his mouth; the series of parallel creases under his eyes; the full, square-shaped beard that obscures his mouth, chin, and neck; as well as

⁷⁶ I disagree with Krause, who suggests that Berlin 2511 "may be a finished drawing after" Berlin 2512, for the formal reasons I outline next. Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 382, n. 78.

the distinctive upward curl of the ends of his mustache, a feature he may have carefully coiffed as a distinctive fashion statement. Holbein also went over areas of the drawing with brush and wash to emphasize the shaded recesses of Kunz's mature face, such as the deep cheek lines along his nose and mouth and the tensely contracted muscles between his brows, as well as the wavy pattern of the dense hairs in his beard.

Krause has suggested that, like the case of Leonhard Wagner as Saint Ulrich, Holbein may have used Kunz von der Rosen's visage for a figure in a larger project, the Saint Sebastian Altarpiece of 1516 (fig. 67).⁷⁷ Krause identifies the bearded man wearing a red, slash-sleeved doublet and a red hat with a long feather at the right margin of the central panel as Kunz (fig. 229). However, the resemblance from Holbein's drawings of Kunz to that figure is not as apparent as are the similarities of Wagner in the portrait drawings and painting of Saint Ulrich. The painted figure in the Saint Sebastian Altarpiece with his full beard and mustache could bring to mind Kunz's abundant facial hair, but these features do not closely resemble the four-corner beard and pointed handlebar mustache that Kunz sported.⁷⁸ These distinctive aspects of Kunz's physiognomy are recorded not just in Holbein's portrait drawings, but also in an etched portrait by Daniel Hopper (fig. 230), the Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I (fig. 231), a bronze portrait medal by Hans Schwarz (fig. 232) and its boxwood model (fig. 233), as well as an illustration in Matthäus Schwarz's *Trachtenbuch* (fig. 234).⁷⁹ These images

⁷⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. 5352

⁷⁸ Regarding Kunz's four-corner beard, see note 25 on page 59.

⁷⁹ Hopper's portrait of Kunz von der Rosen is Bartsch 87 and Hollstein 97. Good impressions of Hopper's etching of Kunz von der Rosen can be found in Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (inv. nr. 15832 D); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. nr. 24.68.1); Vienna, Albertina (inv. nr. DG 2010/398);

consistently show not only the same style of facial hair, but also the protrusion on the bridge of Kunz's nose, as well as the downward slant and pointed tip of his nose. Since these features shared in all other images of Kunz are not present in Holbein's figure in red in the Saint Sebastian Altarpiece, identifying the model as Kunz von der Rosen is tenuous. Although this figure is not a quotation from Holbein's drawings, perhaps Kunz was an inspiration for this loudly dressed archer.

Although Kunz evidently fulfilled the role of his lord's loyal confidant, his fame both then and today rests more on his colorful antics as a court jester. He was known especially for his sharp-witted jokes, outlandish high jinx, and generally bombastic demeanor at court. Moreover, biographers have commented that Kunz had such a special relationship with Maximilian that he could carry out his performances and pranks with impunity.⁸⁰ Some of Kunz's most memorable antics include his attempts to break Maximilian I from a chamber in which he was held prisoner in Bruges, wantonly smashing an inadequate gift from the Venetian ambassador presumably to Maximilian I, and throwing cold water on the audience of a tournament – apparently to general amusement – as part of the festivities at Margrave Casimir von Brandenburg's wedding

and Washington, National Gallery of Art (Rosenwald Collection, inv. nr. 1944.5.124). Full sets of the Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I are preserved in both black and white and hand-colored copies. Impressions of Hans Schwarz's portrait medal can be seen in Washington, National Gallery of Art (inv. nr. 1957.14.1179) and Berlin, Münzkabinett (inv. nr. 18200831); Schwarz's boxwood model is in Berlin's Münzkabinett. The original illustration of Kunz von der Rosen in Matthäus Schwarz's *Trachtenbuch* (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, inv. nr. Hs. 27 Nr. 67a) has been lost, but an eighteenth-century copy of the image is Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, inv. nr. Sig. I 86. Matthäus Schwarz was the uncle of the sculptor Hans Schwarz. For a complete catalogue of the copies of Hopfer's image and other portraits of Kunz von der Rosen, see Metzger, *Daniel Hopfer*, 430-433.

⁸⁰ Franck, "Rosen, Kunz von der," 195, 197.

in 1518.⁸¹ In his *Trachtenbuch*, a personal costume journal cum memoir, Matthäus Schwarz (1497-1574) of Augsburg tells how in 1504 at age seven he was permitted to accompany Kunz for three weeks to various carnival amusements (fig. 234). Matthäus's parents were concerned that what he had seen and done with Kunz had corrupted his innocence and morality, or perhaps they observed some striking changes of character in their young, impressionable son. Whatever the case, they sent Matthäus away to Heidenheim with his maid for special tutoring by a priest.⁸²

Despite his fame – or infamy – as a man of dubious morality and an amusing, witty, trenchant commentator, Kunz was not a mere fool, a foil to the ‘civilized,’ which characterizes the traditionally rebellious role of the jester at court. The tales of his comments and behavior are entertaining to be sure and, hence, have garnered more attention than the fact that he was an intimate friend, loyal servant, and shrewd advisor to the emperor. Kunz's warm relationship and convivial repartee with Maximilian I has been compared to that of another famous ‘court jester’ of the period, Claus Narr (literally, “Claus Fool”) who served Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony (1483-1525) and was allowed to call his master “mein Fritz.”⁸³ Kunz was first recognized as a courageous individual among the soldiers who guarded Maximilian in 1477 en route to Burgundy to wed Mary of Burgundy and claim her inheritance of the powerful duchy's territories. Biographies of Kunz tell that Maximilian recognized the youth's “brave and honest”

⁸¹ Ibid., 195-197; Hans Rudolf Velten, “Hofnarren,” in *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Bilder und Begriffe*, ed. Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005), 67-68.

⁸² Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 40, 76. August Fink, *Die Schwarzschen Trachtenbücher* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1963), 102-103.

⁸³ Velten, “Hofnarren,” 68.

character early in this trip and made Kunz one of the closest bodyguards in his imperial escort.⁸⁴ Kunz reportedly learned Flemish, French, Spanish, and Italian in order to better serve his master, and he remained in the imperial military service fighting “very manly” in all wars.⁸⁵ Eventually Maximilian awarded Kunz the noble title of knight, and biographies repeat a tale of the emperor always providing Kunz’s horse with feed at court.⁸⁶ Upon Maximilian’s death in 1519, Kunz was bequeathed 200 *Gulden*.⁸⁷ What is perhaps a more noteworthy indication of the special bond between Maximilian and Kunz is the fact that the so-called ‘fool’ ranked one-hundred-twelfth among the wealthiest men in Augsburg in 1516, when his estate was valued at over 6100 *Gulden*.⁸⁸ Surely, his income as a mercenary soldier in Maximilian’s army or a mere courtier cannot account for Kunz’s substantial assets. Clearly, he was generously rewarded for his loyalty and service to the emperor.

⁸⁴ Franck, “Rosen, Kunz von der,” 195.

⁸⁵ Ibid. Here Franck cites Johann Jakob Fugger’s *Spiegel der Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich* of 1555 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Cod. germ. 895 and 896). While Fugger was a child when Maximilian I and Kunz von der Rosen died in 1519, his account does merit attention, because it is the earliest biographical source on Kunz. It is possible that Fugger relied on some written biographical sources or historical accounts that he had inherited but are no longer extant, or that he even referred to oral histories that were passed down through his imminent Augsburg family or through other regional channels. As a wealthy and powerful family of merchants and bankers, the Fuggers had a privileged relationship with Maximilian I as one of his financiers and continued their commitment to the House of Hapsburg by financing the election campaign of the subsequent Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V.

⁸⁶ Franck, “Rosen, Kunz von der,” 195. I mention this not to give credence to this probably invented tale but to point out that such repeated stories could be indicative of the nature of Kunz’s relationship with Maximilian.

⁸⁷ Kunz died later in 1519. Franck, “Rosen, Kunz von der,” 196. The value of this bequest in 1519 is not simple to determine. A poorer craftsman in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century earned about one *Gulden* a week, and middle- to upper-level officials in the Augsburg government in the later sixteenth century earned from 130 to 200 *Gulden* a year. Tlusty, *Augsburg During the Reformation Era*, xxii. Hence, Maximilian’s single bequest of 200 *Gulden* to his courtier was certainly worth more than a year’s salary for an upper-level civic official at the time. This was a considerable sum, especially in light of the fact that Maximilian left the House of Hapsburg in “horrendous debt” upon his death, owing around six million *Gulden* to his financiers. Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Vienna, Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991), 385-386.

⁸⁸ Geffcken, “Soziale Schichtung in Augsburg 1396 bis 1521,” 215, nr. 112.

Tales of Kunz von der Rosen as a wise, capable, multilingual courtier, trustworthy confidante, and valiant warrior who loyally served the Holy Roman Emperor his entire adult life have generally been overshadowed in the literature by his renown as a jester and the stereotypes that are affiliated with that court ‘character.’ Recently, however, scholars have recognized that the honorable qualities of his person are conveyed in Hopfer’s etching (fig. 230).⁸⁹ Indeed it is likely that these are the qualities for which Kunz was better known in his life, although the more entertaining stories of Kunz and his stereotyped role as a court fool have endured. As Christof Metzger argues, “When, in the scattered sayings and tales which have been preserved, Kunz refers to himself as a ‘jester,’ he presumably does so in a spirit of self-mockery.”⁹⁰ Hopfer’s version of Kunz features an attitude of earnestness and determination. With its half-length format, the print showcases Kunz’s slashed clothing, which signals his status as a knight as well as his identification as a fashionable German *Landsknecht* (lansquenet) or mercenary soldier, who could be seen at Maximilian’s court and in public squares throughout Swabia and Bavaria.⁹¹ According to a spirited description of Hopfer’s portrait – a description that certainly suits its subject well – Kunz is portrayed “as a heavysset

⁸⁹ Freyda Spira, “Originality as Repetition / Repetition as Originality: Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470-1536) and the Reinvention of the Medium of Etching” (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 185; Metzger, *Daniel Hopfer*, 429-430, cat. nr. 103.

⁹⁰ Christof Metzger, “Daniel Hopfer, Kunz von der Rosen, ca. 1510-15,” in *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath (Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012), 309, cat. nr. 87.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 309, cat. nr. 87. Under Maximilian’s ambitious military leadership, the *Landsknecht* became a new social status that was likened to the medieval knight. But as Maximilian’s mercenaries were drawn mainly from the common classes, the new identity of the *Landsknecht* challenged the traditional conception of the title of knight being eligible only to nobility. For a thorough explication of the socio-cultural roles and distinctive fashions of the *Landsknecht* in early modern Germany, see Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 8, 51, 70, 109-112, 140-143, 174-175.

swashbuckler, as a person of potency with a mighty two-handed sword, hefty barrel chest, fierce unflinching gaze, and bold expression.”⁹²

Like Hopfer’s print, Holbein’s drawings suggest the pride and earnestness of Kunz von der Rosen through his slightly upturned face, elevated gaze, and intensely focused stare. Holbein emphasizes his furrowed brow in all studies by shading the deep recesses with brush and wash, suggesting an intensity of concentration, a conviction of confidence, and a sense of deliberate attitude and action. Like Holbein’s drawn compositions, Hopfer’s etching situates Kunz’s head in a similar position facing left with his chin tilted slightly upward and his gaze elevated, conveying a sense of a stout pride and unwavering self-assuredness in the sitter. Moreover, both figures display his distinctive four-corner beard and handlebar mustache curled up at the ends. Finally, both versions are crowned with a fashionable beret of heavy material, possibly leather, with a similarly decorated brim with interwoven ribbons.⁹³

As in the case of Holbein’s portrait drawing, the reasons for and circumstances under which Hopfer created Kunz’s portrait print are undocumented and a precise date is elusive.⁹⁴ The identity of the sitter in Hopfer’s portrait depicting Kunz von der Rosen has

⁹² Achim Riether, “Daniel Hopfer, Kunz von der Rosen,” in *Dürer – Cranach – Holbein: Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die deutsche Porträt um 1500*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011), 242.

⁹³ For the beret as fashionable men’s headwear, see pages 165-170 in the next chapter.

⁹⁴ Panofsky proposed a date of around 1515 or before 1516. Erwin Panofsky, “Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification,” *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (1942): figure 16, between pages 46 and 47. Curators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art have suggested a creation date of around 1515 or 1518. Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen, Daniel Hopfer” <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/360205> (accessed 7 August 2013). Washington’s National Gallery of Art also dates the print to around 1518, in the last year of Kunz’s life. National Gallery of Art, “Hopfer, Daniel, Kunz von der Rosen,” <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/collection/art-object-page.30470.html> (accessed 7 August 2013). Christof Metzger, an expert on

even been disputed in the past. Erika Tietze-Conrat found the similarities between Holbein's inscribed drawing and Hopper's etching "very superficial," not enough to convince her that Hopper was borrowing an image from Holbein and not a Venetian print.⁹⁵ However, she offered no substantive discussion of what evidence she perceived as a lack of resemblance between the two likenesses. Panofsky disputed Tietze-Conrat's identification of Hopper's subject as a copy from an anonymous Venetian engraving of the condottiere Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba y Aguilar, an Italian hero in the wars against the Turks, nicknamed "Il Gran Capitano." His analysis of evidence for Hopper's print being the first version circulated – and, indeed, a portrait of Kunz – has prevailed as the more persuasive or authoritative argument, for scholars and institutions continue to identify the subject unhesitatingly as Kunz von der Rosen.⁹⁶

Also disagreeing with Tietze-Conrat, I believe the formal similarities between Holbein and Hopper's portraits of Kunz are not "very superficial," but rather noteworthy. Comparing the etching to Holbein's portraits of Kunz, analogies in facial physiognomy as well as chiaroscuro modeling effects are evident. Berlin 2511 (fig. 94) and the upper right version of Berlin 2512 (fig. 95) are particularly comparable to the print. In addition, the upper left rendition of Berlin 2512, which is reversed as Hopper's plate would have been, stands out as the closest comparison to the etched portrait. If this study of Kunz is

Hopper, recently estimated slightly earlier dates for the print, ca. 1510-15. Metzger, "Daniel Hopper, Kunz von der Rosen, ca. 1510-15," 309. However, Freyda Spira cogently argues in her dissertation on Hopper for a dating of the etching to about 1518, when an enthusiasm for portrait medals burgeoned during and after the imperial diet. Spira, "Originality as Repetition," 185.

⁹⁵ E. Tietze-Conrat, "When Was the First Etching Made?," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1940): 172.

⁹⁶ Panofsky, "Conrad Celtis and Kunz von der Rosen," 44-54, see especially his arguments on pages 47-48.

reversed vertically and rotated at a ten degree angle, it corresponds closely to Hopfer's image (fig. 235). But rather than suggest that Hopfer 'copied' any one drawing by Holbein, I propose that all four images of Kunz, or even others like it made in Holbein's workshop and now lost, may have inspired Hopfer in creating his image.⁹⁷ Such collaborations among artists both in Augsburg and the greater southern German region occurred, and several works and grand artistic projects affiliated with Maximilian I were known to have involved multiple artists and their studios.⁹⁸ Moreover, as Hopfer often adapted other artist's designs, collaboration between Holbein and Hopfer cannot be ruled out.⁹⁹ As Freyda Spira states, "Hopfer's tendency...is not to copy paintings but instead to look for models in prints, drawings, small-scale sculptures, and medals. For example, Hopfer more likely depended on Holbein's preparatory drawings of Kunz than on the more grizzled portrait that appears within the [Saint Sebastian Altarpiece]" (see fig. 229).¹⁰⁰

Interestingly, the potential collaboration of Holbein and Hopfer not only adds a further linkage in Holbein's social and professional network, but it also expanded his audience well beyond his reach. If the purpose of Hopfer's print was to "[compete] with [the] new pictorial alternative [of portrait medals] in a form that is both less expensive

⁹⁷ As the section titled "Multiple Versions – Multiple Hands" on pages 59-68 argues, Holbein and members of his studio were engaged in reproduction of his portrait drawings.

⁹⁸ For example, the Prayerbook of Maximilian I, discussed in relation to Leonhard Wagner in the previous section, was illustrated by Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Baldung Grien, Jörg Breu the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Albrecht Dürer. Both Burgkmair and Breu were Augsburg masters. As another example, the massive project for Maximilian's Triumphal Procession involved Burgkmair (the work's primary designer), Altdorfer, Dürer, Leonhard Beck, Wolf Huber, Hans Schäuffelein, Hans Springinklee, as well as the team of expert woodcutters working in the Augsburg shop of Jost de Negker.

⁹⁹ Spira, "Originality as Repetition," 21-22.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

and equally exchangeable,” then Holbein’s designs to inspire such a portrait print would have received a wider viewership than any of his sketchbook drawings could have.¹⁰¹ Holbein’s collaboration with Hopfer meant that one of his designs became part of the exchange of “portable portraits of distinguished contemporaries [that] were being circulated as tokens of affection and affiliation.”¹⁰² Hopfer’s dissemination of a portrait of someone so closely affiliated with Maximilian I surely did not go unnoticed by the print’s socially savvy viewers. While knowledge of Holbein’s drawings providing the inspiration for Hopfer’s etching would most likely have been restricted to the artists and their mutual subject, Kunz, Holbein plausibly aspired to gain socially and professionally through this association with the man who was probably closer to the emperor than any other citizen of Augsburg.

Although the specific circumstances of Hopfer and Holbein’s contact with their subject elude our knowledge, Holbein’s portraits are clues to his interaction with Kunz von der Rosen, however brief it may have been. Furthermore, the confidence and dignity with which both artists imbued their sitter are significant in considering the social contexts and implicit meanings of Holbein’s drawing and Hopfer’s print. Fundamental to both depictions are Kunz von der Rosen’s resolved personality, lively expression, and fixed gaze, thereby emphasizing his esteemed qualities and ignoring the comic tales of his courtly exploits. With these portraits, we see only the serious, thoughtful, and courageous side of Kunz. These are flattering portrayals. Kunz benefited through the

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

cultural cachet that accrued to him by being depicted in such potent portraits that resulted in reproducible images. As the subject of a circulating portrait print, Kunz joined the ranks of some of the most renowned and respected individuals of his day, whose faces were known beyond their immediate social sphere and immortalized in prints and medals.

Conclusion: Learning from Unwritten and Unspoken Rules?

These interpretations of the exchange of social capital between the artist and his sitters emphasize the mutual benefits of their connections. What often characterizes the “norms of reciprocity,” one of the three essential factors of social capital, is the fact that such customs and agreements are often unwritten and even unspoken. The attitudes and behaviors of those who are successful at maintaining social networks and reciprocating in exchanges of social capital – such as Leonhard Wagner, Kunz von der Rosen, Holbein, and Hopfer – remain unknown without any manner of documentation. Most likely, Holbein never spelled out to Wagner in such plain terms as offered here how their relationship could be mutually beneficial and what Holbein’s portrayal of Wagner might mean for them and the viewers of the altarpiece. Even if they had spoken bluntly in person, their thoughts have not been preserved or discovered in letters, contracts, or any other type of document. As such, Holbein’s portrait drawings and their occasional use in the context of larger projects exist as the only known surviving record of his world of social connections and networks and the barter of social capital that he necessarily had to practice to become an artist of renown.

What makes theories of social capital and networking useful in the case of Holbein's drawings is that these perspectives allow for the lacking historical information and even anonymity that are true of so many of his portraits. As viewers of these works, we can not only consider particular individuals Holbein knew but also contemplate the kinds of contacts and relationships he may have made both within Augsburg and beyond. Collectively, Holbein's portrait drawings present an important perspective on the bustling cultural center in which he lived and worked at the same time as they suggest his place within that milieu. These works are extraordinary for offering us the only glimpse in sixteenth-century art of some sense of a community. Moreover, they signal the importance of social connectivity to a sixteenth-century southern German artist. The diversity of his sitters speaks to an artist's intermediary position in society as well as his ability to circulate in a variety of social spheres. Cultivating diverse social contacts was essential for Holbein and all sixteenth-century artists to succeed in their field.

He made and retained these drawings over the course of his career, suggesting that documentation of his social and professional contacts was important to him, whether as models for figures in larger projects or merely as evidence of his connections; perhaps they were even employed as a means to recommend himself to new contacts. The survival of his portrait drawings alludes to an interest in preserving these works perhaps as records of noteworthy sitters or 'real' individuals as models. In the historical lacuna of documentation of Holbein's life, investigating his portrait drawings opens an otherwise closed window onto his world. This collection of portraits together form a kind of self-

portrait of Hans Holbein the Elder, still a hazy picture indeed, but made somewhat clearer with this important evidence from his life.

Chapter 4: *Keeping up Appearances: Fashion and Cultural History in Holbein's Portrait Drawings*

“This was not one society then but several, coexisting, resting on each other to a greater or lesser degree; not one system but several; not one hierarchy but several; not one order but several; not one mode of production but several, not one culture but several cultures, forms of consciousness, languages, ways of life. We must think of everything in the plural.” ~ Fernand Braudel¹

Among Holbein's portrait drawings is a curious sheet depicting two boys in profile, each wearing a distinctive and decorative hat (Berlin 2560, fig. 236).² Based on physiognomic similarities to Holbein's drawing of his sons (fig. 70), I believe the boys in Berlin 2560 are younger depictions of Ambrosius, on the right, and Hans the Younger, on the left.³ Ambrosius dons a close-fitting cap, which has a ribbon interlaced through a wide brim with scalloped edges, while Hans sports a slightly oversized beret brimming with feathers and frills. This candid drawing reveals an intimate experience, perhaps sons modeling in vogueish headwear for one of their father's projects, or perhaps simply a father endearingly capturing his sons' appearances while they posed in fancy hats. In any case, this drawing displays an otherwise unseen and undocumented experience of fashion among individuals of craftsman class in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century – a manner of dressing up and taking a portrait, much like Rembrandt would experiment with various costumes in self-portraiture over a century later. Holbein's study of his sons in

¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, vol. 2 of *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 465.

² Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2560.

³ Lieb and Stange argue that “an identification [of the boys in Berlin 2560] with Ambrosius and Hans the Younger does not seem possible,” but they offer no explanation as to why not. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 104, cat. nr. 241. In both images, Ambrosius (to the left in Berlin 2507 and to the right in 2560) appears to have a slight prominence in the center of his forehead, compact pointed nose, deep-set eye sockets that angle down toward the sides, faint eyebrows, and loosely curly hair. Both versions of Hans (to the right in Berlin 2507 and to the left in 2560) suggest his rounded cheeks, fleshiness under his chin, downturned mouth, faint eyebrows, and straight hair cropped short across his forehead.

ornamental hats conveys the artist's dress literacy and reflects the participation of lower and middle urban classes in the wide and varied field of early modern enjoyment and making of fashion. Beyond that, just as Rembrandt's works demonstrate his keen interest in both local and exotic attire as well as exhibit the sheer performativity of both wearing clothes and sitting for a portrait, this drawing of Holbein's sons implies the artist's astute awareness of the 'acts' and 'acting' that occur when one dresses up and has one's portrait made.

This chapter will consider Holbein's apparent fascination with his sitters' costumes as well as the possible social and cultural connotations of their clothing. What follows relies on an essential definition of dress as a form of social communication: "Fashions are bonds that link individuals in a mutual act of conformity to social conventions. In this manner, fashion constitutes a popular language through which many individuals publicly represent themselves."⁴ As social and cultural signifiers, the appearances of Holbein's subjects expressed ideas that they wished to show those who viewed them in their homes, in the public sphere, and in their portraits. Hence, how the clothing, adornments, and hairstyles of individuals in Holbein's portraits conveyed meaning and what information these features could possibly have communicated are important questions.

Studying appearances and fashion as modes of communication in the early modern period has been evolving recently as a critical area of scholarly inquiry. Recent developments in art, social, and cultural history differ markedly from previous studies of

⁴ Joanne Finkelstein, *The Fashioned Self* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 124.

costume in the types of questions that are being asked. Formerly, studies on fashion focused primarily on observing, describing, and comparing the costumes and coiffures of particular places and times.⁵ By contrast, some of today's scholars of clothes and bodily adornment investigate the social and cultural significance of tastes and trends as well as issues of materials, production, trade, value, and commodification.⁶ Moreover, scholars today are shying away from problematic assumptions that defining and modifying

⁵ For examples of this formal approach to costume history of the medieval and early modern periods, I refer the reader to the following sample of texts, listed in chronological order of publication. F. W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: A Dress from the Earliest Period until the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860). Max von Boehn, *Menschen und Moden im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, nach Bildern und Stichen der Zeit* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1923); *Menschen und Moden im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, nach Bildern und Stichen der Zeit* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1923). Hanns Floerke, *Die Moden der Renaissance* (Munich: G. Müller, 1924). Brian Reade, *The Dominance of Spain* (London: G.G. Harrap and Co., 1951). Henry Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London: H.G. Bohn, 1958). Virginia A. LaMar, *English Dress in the Age of Shakespeare* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958). Zillah Halls, *Women's Costumes 1600-1750, London Museum* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1969). Elizabeth Birbari, *Dress in Italian Painting, 1460-1500* (London: J. Murray, 1975). Jack Cassin-Scott and Ruth M. Green, *Costume and Fashion in Colour, 1550-1760* (Poole: Blandford Press, 1975). Iris Brooke, *English Costume in the Age of Elizabeth: The Sixteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: A. & C. Black, 1977). Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500* (London, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Bell & Hyman, Humanities Press, 1981). A useful compendium of men's fashions from the region and period relevant to this study is Christensen, *Die männliche Kleidung in der süddeutschen Renaissance*.

⁶ Recent texts that expand the methodological possibilities of investigating fashion in the late medieval and early modern periods include the following, which have been immensely useful for my current study. These are listed here in chronological order of publication. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, eds., *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Newark, London: University of Delaware Press, Associated University Presses, 1999). Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing*, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). Peter Hess, "The Poetics of Masquerade: Clothing and the Construction of Social, Religious, and Gender Identity in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*," in *A Companion to the Works of Grimmelshausen*, ed. Karl F. Otto, Jr., Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), 299-331. Catherine Richardson, ed. *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, The History of Retailing and Consumption (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2004). Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2005). Jan Ulrich Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes: Mode, Macht und Möglichkeitssinn in Gesellschaft und Politik des Mittelalters*, Mittelalter-Forschungen (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010). Beverly Lemire, ed. *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*, The History of Retailing and Consumption (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010). Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil, eds., *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2010). Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

fashions were limited to the noble and aristocratic classes of early modern society.⁷ Recently, scholars of early modern clothing and material culture have demonstrated that restrictive top-down constructs of fashion are not accurate in describing the medieval and early modern worlds. Ulinka Rublack asserts, “In an increasingly diverse society there were in any case competing attempts to define taste, and we can by no means assume that courts always dictated fashion, so that taste only diffused top-down through emulation.”⁸ Examining the evidence of early modern accessorizing in Italy, Evelyn Welch demonstrates that “novelty and fashion did not always move downwards, but moved simultaneously in multiple directions.”⁹ In complex early modern societies, a multiplicity of ways to be fashionable was possible.

It is with recent paths of inquiry into the social ramifications of self-styling in mind that I approach the fashions as depicted in Holbein’s portrait drawings. For, while it might be interesting enough to consider the various materials, items of clothing, and decorative flourishes alluded to in Holbein’s drawings, taking an inventory only gets us

⁷ Two problematic assumptions about systems of fashion have tended to dominate the study of this subject until recently. First, an essential concept in fashion theory overall is a ‘trickle-down’ construct of the elite classes being at the avant-garde while the lower classes merely seek to imitate them. A corollary to this is the supposition that an elitist, ever-changing approach to fashion – as in our modern conception in which the new and fresh is esteemed but esteem wanes as fashions become more popular – also characterizes notions of fashion in the early modern period. Thorstein Veblen, Georg Simmel, and Roland Barthes proposed their own separate, but similar, universal theories of fashion, which contend that cultures across time and place share the same basic imitative or ‘trickle-down’ model of fashion trends and changes. In doing so, they rely on a sweeping, teleological paradigm of history as the evolution of civilizations from less to more complex and sophisticated and with increasingly specific strata of hierarchical social organization. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York, London: Macmillan, 1899). Georg Simmel, “Fashion,” *The International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-55. Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1990).

⁸ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 6.

⁹ Evelyn Welch, “Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2009): 267-268.

only so far in understanding the appearances of Holbein's sitters. I wish not just to examine what they wore, but to consider why they wore what they wore and how their contemporaries may have viewed their fashion options – whether limited or extensive – and their fashion choices as social, cultural, and personal statements.

It is worth noting a distinction between fashion options and fashion choices. For the region's noble, patrician, and merchant classes, options could be far-ranging, and, hence, their choices were weighted with considerable meaning. Although early modern southern German nobility and aristocracy had more fashion options from which to make choices, it would be myopic to dismiss working and lower classes as lacking culture and unreasonable to assume, therefore, that merchants, craftspeople, and even laborers did not similarly participate in the making of culture by communicating through their own senses of style. Indeed, the evidence of clothing documented in portraiture like Holbein's suggests a far more complex picture of the issues of taste and consumption in the early modern period and in southern German cities like Augsburg. Furthermore, although luxury items were not available to members of every class, a substantial market for secondhand clothing and donations to the poor made it possible for lower class individuals to wear fashions that were otherwise inaccessible.

Further complicating the notion of class stratification of fashions is sumptuary legislation. Often cited as evidence of the development of "conspicuous consumption" in the early modern period, sumptuary laws were not as prevalent in German cities as in other locations during the years Holbein made his portraits. The number of sumptuary laws enacted during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries from across

Europe is intriguing, indeed, but an extensive comparative study of sumptuary regulations specifically from the early modern period has yet to be done. As Alan Hunt presents in his broad historical overview of sumptuary law, numerous regulations were proclaimed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notably in the monarchies of France, Spain, England, and Scotland and in Italian city-states; considerably fewer laws were enacted during this period, however, in German and Swiss regions. For all of Germany, only three laws in the fifteenth century and seven in the sixteenth century are tallied in Hunt's accounting of early modern sumptuary legislation (fig. 237).¹⁰ In Swiss territories, specific laws dealing with luxury clothing are not to be found for the fifteenth century, and only three were enacted during the sixteenth century. Comparatively, the total numbers of sumptuary laws for the same period are nineteen in France, eighteen in Spain, twenty-four in England, nineteen in Scotland, seventeen in Florence, twenty-eight in Venice, and thirty-six in Italian cities other than Florence and Venice.¹¹

Specifically for the period of concern here, around 1500, in imperial free German cities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg, sumptuary legislation seems to have been surprisingly minimal. While some *Kleiderordnungen* (clothing ordinances) were instituted, they were apparently done so piecemeal in both cities during the fifteenth century and first few decades of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the kind of highly specific

¹⁰ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996), 29, table 2.1.

¹¹ Ibid. More studies of sumptuary laws of early modern Italian cities are published in English. See, for example, Diane Owen Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69-99; Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Kleiderordnungen, which emphasized the appropriate use of certain materials or cuts by the appropriate class of person, generally do not appear until later in the sixteenth and saw their peak in the seventeenth and, in some regions, the eighteenth century.¹² In Nuremberg, the “fragmentary” *Kleiderordnungen* of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries were only fully codified in 1560, and they remained unpublished (implied, not printed and circulated) until 1568.¹³ According to Stéphanie Chapuis’s research on women and *Kleiderordnungen* in early modern Augsburg, the increase and specificity of clothing ordinances suggest that concerns about the preservation of class stratifications became more important in the course of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ Clothing and sumptuary regulations tended to classify citizens in more precise ways, so much so that historians have characterized the later early modern period in Germany as an era of “refeudalization.”¹⁵

Further confusing a consideration of *Kleiderordnungen* in Augsburg is the limited scholarship that has been published on this topic for this particular imperial city. While scholars have studied early modern clothing and socio-cultural history in German cities generally, in Bavaria, and in Nuremberg, this subject in Augsburg specifically has

¹² For example, refer to the chronological table of regulations issued in Bavaria from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries in Veronika Baur, *Kleiderordnungen in Bayern vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs München (München: Kommissionsbuchhandlung R. Wölfle, 1975), 134-151.

¹³ Jutta Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat: Kleidung und Haustextilien in Nürnberg von 1500-1650*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990), 43.

¹⁴ Stéphanie Chapuis, “Richter und Röcke: Frauen und Kleiderordnungen in Augsburg im 16. Jahrhundert” (Master’s thesis, University of Lyon, 2005), 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38. Regarding the concept of refeudalization (*Refeudalisierung*) in the later sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Richard van Dülmen, *Gesellschaft der frühen Neuzeit: Kulturelles Handeln und sozialer Prozeß: Beiträge zur historischen Kulturforschung*, ed. Hubert Christian Ehalt and Helmut Konrad (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 1993), esp. 16-61.

received little attention.¹⁶ Furthermore, the scant sources dealing with Augsburg's *Kleiderordnungen* are inconsistent about the first issuances of such laws in Augsburg, not to mention unclear about what kinds of regulations are even meant by the terms "sumptuary law" or "*Kleiderordnungen*." For instance, a Master's thesis by Stéphanie Chapuis, the most extensive work so far on the topic of clothing regulations in Augsburg, reports on printed *Polizeiordnungen* (police ordinances) that have some clothing-related rules as early as 1537 and 1553.¹⁷ According to Rublack, however, not until 1583 in Augsburg were the first specific "sumptuary laws" enacted, and these focused primarily on certain women's and the wealthiest men's attire.¹⁸ Perhaps this is a typographical error, as Rublack seems to be referring to the publication of Augsburg's police ordinances specifically regarding "affectation and clothing" in 1582.¹⁹

The matter of clothing regulations and 'everyday' experience is further made difficult to ascertain in Augsburg, because of its status as an imperial free city. Augsburg established its own civic ruling bodies and answered only to the Holy Roman Emperor,

¹⁶ Liselotte Constanze Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft (Göttingen, Berlin, Frankfurt: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1962). For Bavarian sumptuary laws between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Baur, *Kleiderordnungen in Bayern vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. For Nuremberg, see Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*.

¹⁷ Chapuis, "Richter und Röcke," 12-13. According to Chapuis, the 1553 *Polizeiordnung* is a restatement of the regulations of 1537 with some amendments. Both of these were printed editions.

¹⁸ According to Rublack, Augsburg's first sumptuary regulations of the sixteenth century, in 1583, "specifically targeted sixty-five maidservants for wearing fur hoods. This led to sixty-two indictments in autumn 1584, before the initiative petered out with ten more cases until May 1585. This was a mere two years after anyone had got agitated enough to act." Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 56. Evidently, this first instance of sumptuary regulation in Augsburg was focused on a specific circumstance that was seen as unfavorable, rather than covering a wide range of concerns over extravagance. Similarly, Rublack reports that "the first concerted effort by the Nuremberg council to enforce sumptuary legislation" did not take place until the middle and later sixteenth century. Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 199.

¹⁹ *Eines Ersamen Rahts der Statt Augspurg der Gezierd und Kleydungen halben auffgerichte Policeyordnung* (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1582).

who for his own political and fiscal concerns had to toe the line between beneficence and authority prudently. Regarding controls over attire and material wealth, imperial ordinances, usually issued in a *Reichsabschied*, the document declaring the decisions made at each imperial diet, served as “guidelines” for what was “appropriate for each rank.”²⁰ Powerful civic entities, like the councils of Augsburg and Nuremberg, were encouraged but not required to adapt these “guidelines” for their own legal codes.²¹ Apparently, such ‘guidelines’ were just that and not rules enforced dutifully in the imperial free cities.

While the conclusions to be drawn from this evidence are far from clear, the lower numbers of laws in Germany and Switzerland, and in Augsburg and Nuremberg in particular, compared to other regions in the early sixteenth century suggest possibly that sumptuary concerns were not as critical, enforcement of existing laws was deemed sufficient, or infractions that warranted new legislation were either infrequent or unimportant. The relatively limited sumptuary regulation in the early to middle sixteenth century in imperial free German cities like Augsburg and Nuremberg may speak to the diverse social makeup of these locales and the socio-political influence there of the middle and upper classes as opposed to the nobility. Whatever the case, the perceived necessity for sumptuary legislation, while impossible to determine, was evidently a lower

²⁰ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 56.

²¹ *Ibid.*

priority in Augsburg and Nuremberg in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century than in the more thoroughly studied Italian cities.²²

Moreover, as Georg Steinhausen astutely pointed out with regard to the faulty methodological approaches of past and even recent scholars of clothing, craft, and sumptuary legislation, we cannot assume that “because [clothing, guild, and sumptuary regulations] define everything to the smallest detail, they give a complete picture by themselves of the existing conditions.”²³ Indeed, for the most part, sumptuary laws and *Kleiderordnungen* do not offer examples of all that was acceptable but rather indicate what specific features and materials of garments were deemed unacceptable, and rarely are reasons given in laws for what made certain features unacceptable. As such, the laws and records of infractions do not provide reliable evidence of norms but instead speak more to transgressions of norms, the exceptions to the rules.

In light of the complexities of sumptuary laws and any attempts to regulate taste, this chapter will consider fashions and fashioning by individuals from a variety of social backgrounds and will, thereby, challenge the prevailing notion of fashion as a purview limited to the highest classes of merchants and patricians. Holbein’s portrayals offer a valuable resource for our better understanding of clothing, fashionability, and social identity in Augsburg particularly during the first ten to fifteen years of the sixteenth century. He drew portraits of men mostly, from a variety of social backgrounds, and their

²² For example, refer to the useful overview of Italian sumptuary laws in Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500*, and the chapter “Sumptuary Legislation and the ‘Fashion Police’” in Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 179-200.

²³ Georg Steinhausen, “Über den Plan einer zusammenfassenden Quellenpublikation für die deutsche Kulturgeschichte,” *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 5 (1898): 444, quoted in Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 43.

fashions suggest a range of options available to individuals of different classes and professions. Although his drawings of women are far fewer in number than those of men, their portraits nonetheless demonstrate the kinds of diverse styles that were possible for women of varying social strata. His few drawings of children, including his own two sons, also reveal a curiosity in exploring fashions and individual identity. Even his portrayals of religious people, whose clothing options were essentially predetermined and limited to their appropriate habits, suggest Holbein's interest in presentation of varying appearances and potentially different meanings. As his portraits are all bust or half-length, we are limited to visual evidence of tops, hats, and hairstyles. Nonetheless, the information on clothing and coiffing that can be analyzed from his drawings is abundant.

Fashions and Fashioned Identities

As already discussed in previous chapters, the men and women of Holbein's portrait drawings represent a variety of social stations in Augsburg and elsewhere. Indeed, Holbein's sitters represent more diverse parts of society than typically seen in early modern portraits. The visual evidence of Holbein's drawings indicates a more complicated situation. Similar cuts and embellishments of shirts, jackets, doublets, and gowns, as well as styles of hats and headcloths, are found among individuals with different class backgrounds and professions in Holbein's drawings. In certain cases where a portrait has no inscription identifying an individual's full name or his or her profession, it is difficult to determine with which class a person might have been associated based on appearances alone. While the quality of fabrics and other materials is not always apparent

from Holbein's drawings, especially as he represented some elements of dress more cursorily than he did facial features, his attention to the tactility of particular textiles as well as decorative details offers a diverse sample of fashions, men's especially, which complicate fashion theories of imitation. This is not to deny that imitation was a factor in early modern fashioning; indeed, imitation is essential for trends to become trends. However, Holbein's drawings offer evidence to suggest that men and woman from all classes could express their own sense of style, while communicating their adherence to social norms. It is important to note that we can only speculate about what was 'fashionable' in Holbein's Augsburg, as we rely for evidence primarily on images and occasional legal intervention. Foremost, we can only track instances that a cut of clothing or type of fabric or pattern appear in the art historical record, so we can only conjecture about what elements became trends. In addition, fashion criticism had not developed as a genre of writing. Rather fashion existed largely in the ephemeral world of display and voyeurism. Finally, to get at what 'fashionable' meant in the early modern period, the definition of fashion offered at the beginning of this chapter is instructive; fashion was about conformity as well as innovation.

The main venue for fashion in early modern Augsburg was the urban public sphere – markets, work sites, guild and council meetings, church going, weddings, festivals, social gatherings, as well as transportation throughout city streets and squares. A sense of Augsburg's hustle and bustle is captured in a remarkable series of paintings of the seasons, known as the Augsburger Monatsbilder ("pictures of the months," figs. 238-

241).²⁴ In four vast canvases, each measuring on average about 225 x 355 centimeters (about 88½ x 132 inches), a local painter, possibly a follower of Jörg Breu the Elder, depicted numerous vignettes of daily activities and special occasions in and around the imperial city.²⁵ As with the artist, the patronage of this series is unknown, although the Fuggers and others reportedly owned copies already in the sixteenth century.²⁶ In Bruegelesque vignettes, the paintings' abundance of information of lived and imagined experiences in the city is extraordinary, and perusing the scenes is a delight for the close observer. Surely, the diverse activities and narrative details provoked conversation in the Fugger and other elite families' households. While this series of paintings likely dates to around 1531, it provides an important resource for considering Holbein's sitters' fashions of a few decades earlier, because scholars have assessed that the paintings' figures are shown in clothing styles dating to around 1500.²⁷ Also relevant to the present discussion of Holbein's portraits are the depictions in the Augsburg *Monatsbilder* of places and spaces for seeing and being seen, for as Rublack states, "People began imagining how they looked being looked at, as they paraded in public space."²⁸ Fashion for Holbein's

²⁴ All the paintings are in Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum: January-March, inv. nr. 1990/185.1; April-June, inv. nr. 1990/185.2; July-August, inv. nr. 1990/185.3; September-December, inv. nr. 1990/185.4. For a thorough investigation of the production, iconography, historical context, and reception of this series, see the essays in Hartmut Boockmann, ed. *"Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel": Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance* (Berlin, Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Hirmer, 1994).

²⁵ For the attribution of these canvases to a follower of Breu, see Gode Krämer, "Die vier Augsburger Monatsbilder: Stilfragen, Datierungs- und Zuschreibungsprobleme," in *"Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel"*, 222-232.

²⁶ *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, (Augsburg: Augsburg Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1980), vol. 1, 117-120.

²⁷ Hartmut Boockmann, "Lebensgefühl und Repräsentationsstil der Oberschicht in den deutschen Städten um 1500," in *"Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel"*, 43.

²⁸ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 48-49.

contemporaries was meant for displaying identity in such forums as these compelling paintings represent.

Another painting from the period also depicts a version of Augsburg elites' attire, provides evidence for the significance of dress in the public sphere, and offers several useful reference points for assessing fashionability of Holbein's sitters. The Augsburg *Geschlechtertanz* (literally, "family-" or "dynasty-dance") of 1500 (fig. 242) depicts an annual social event among the city's elites.²⁹ During carnival, the city's patrician families, as well as patricians from other imperial cities and families related to patricians by marriage (a social status known as the *Mehrer*, or "majority"), gathered for a formal ball.³⁰ As the image suggests, a promenade of couples around the room was a central feature of the event.³¹ Throughout the image, inscriptions highlight particular individuals among Augsburg's elite, including members of the Fugger, Herwart, Imhof, Langenmantel, Rehlinger, Rem, and Welser families. The prominent inscription in black and white at the bottom claims that this picture shows "what this clothing of Augsburg was," although, of course, only examples of elite finery are on display, not clothing of

²⁹ Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximilianmuseum, inv. nr. 3821.

³⁰ Peter Geffcken, "Geschlechtertanz," in *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, ed. Günther Grünstedel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013), www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de, n.p. The term *Mehrer* refers to the non-patrician elites being the "*mereren gesellschaft von der herren stuben*" ("the majority society of the *Herrenstube*" [a societal association and actual physical gathering place restricted to the patriciate and anyone who married a member of the patriciate]). Peter Geffcken, "Mehrer," in *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*.

³¹ Boockmann, "Lebensgefühl und Repräsentationsstil der Oberschicht in den deutschen Städten um 1500," 43. For more on such events, see Wolfgang Brunner, "Städtisches Tanzen und das Tanzhaus im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Alltag im 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu Lebensformen in mitteleuropäischen Städten*, ed. Alfred Kohler and Heinrich Lutz, *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1987), 45-64.

‘average’ Augsburgers.³² In addition to an array of fashion decisions – cuts of gowns and cloaks, juxtapositions of colors and patterns, shapes and embellishments of headwear – considerable conformity in self-presentation is noteworthy, especially among the married women and widows gathered at the right toward the back of the scene and the city councilors lined up along the windows in their black fur-collared cloaks. Citing this painting for its importance to a historical understanding of clothing and display around 1500, Hartmut Boockmann argues, “From Augsburg we only have this painting as testimony that the clothing of the powerful, as well as its actual usage, should be documented for the future.”³³ It must be noted that examples of fashions in this painting cannot be relied on too much for accuracy of current fashions, because some men and women dressed “in part in contemporary [and] in part historical costumes.”³⁴ Sorting these out would require considerable knowledge of the subtle nuances of shifting fashions, an experiential knowledge that may be lost to time. Nonetheless, the Augburger Geschlechertanz survives as a testament to the fashion awareness and literacy of Augsburg’s populace in 1500. As continuing research on the period also demonstrates, a concerted interest in fashions and their meanings is evident in other works, even if no inscription blatantly states “this clothing of Augsburg is as it was.”

³² The inscription states “Nach Christy gepurt 1500 jar was dise claidung zu Augspurg das ist war,” meaning effectively, “1500 years after Christ’s birth is what this clothing of Augsburg looked like.”

³³ Boockmann, “Lebensgefühl und Repräsentationsstil der Oberschicht,” 43.

³⁴ Heinrich Dormeier, “Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung: Die ‘Wirklichkeit’ der Augsburger Monatsbilder,” in *“Kurzweil viel ohn’ Maß und Ziel”*, 170.

Men's Clothing

In comparison to the numerous full-length figures scattered throughout the *Augsburger Monatsbilder* and *Geschlechertanz* of 1500, the information Holbein's drawings offer about clothing is somewhat limited. Holbein's portraits are almost all bust format with the exception of a few rare half-length compositions. Moreover, as it is apparent that Holbein often focused his attention more on facial features, hairstyles, and headwear than on attire, several drawings present minimal evidence of sitters' clothing. Nonetheless, some of his drawings allow us enough views of shirts, jackets, and doublets to come to some understanding of the essential features of men's upper body garments. Evident is considerable consistency of tastes among his sitters from various social backgrounds, with some notable examples of distinctive fashion choices to reveal certain individuals' interest in standing out from norms.

Perhaps because Holbein did not always focus on clothing details and perhaps because his silverpoints are mainly linear and monochrome, Holbein's drawings of men convey a sense of modesty of dress in most of his sitters. Without the indication of bright colors and bold patterns, as seen throughout the *Augsburger Monatsbilder* and *Geschlechertanz* in contemporary painted portraits, Holbein's portraits seem spare indeed. Only one of Holbein's drawings survives with color thoroughly integrated into the design, a portrait of possibly Jörg Bomheckel (fig. 66). The additions of vermillion on the shoulder of his jacket and crown of his hat, as well as rich black on the fur collar and golden brown for the fur of his hat brim, contrast sharply with the purely tonal clothing in all Holbein's other drawings. In any case, we should imagine Holbein's other sitters in

full color, wearing bright reds and yellows, which were popular around 1500, as well as deep blacks and warm browns, especially in the clothing of the elites, as in the colorful world presented in the Augsburger Monatsbilder and Geschlechtertanz. Looking closely at men's attire in Holbein's drawings, other significant details suggesting certain materials, tailoring choices, and embellishments become apparent and can reveal other important information beyond color.

Excess Fabric

A sartorial choice that seems to have been consistent among sitters from different social backgrounds in Holbein's portraits is a wide collar and lapel on jackets or overcoats. This style appears in several examples, including all the Fugger men (figs. 178-182), Georg Thurzo (figs. 185-186), Hans Nell (fig. 159), Simprecht Rauner (?) (figs. 243-244), Zimprecht Schwarz (fig. 87), Adolf Dischmacher (fig. 209), and a man (Berlin 2566, fig. 166) and young man (Berlin 2568, fig. 245).³⁵ Noting the size of lapels may seem like pointing out incidental minutiae, but the addition of a wide lapel or cape attachment to the collar (as on Jakob Fugger and Zimprecht Schwarz, figs. 178 and 87) was significant because of cost implications. Additional fabric would have been an extra expense for the buyer. The kinds of wools, velvets, damasks, and especially furs that were used for doublets, mantles, and heavier cold-weather overcoats would have added

³⁵ The portraits of Simprecht Rauner are Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2549 and Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194.

up quickly.³⁶ For example, in 1529 in Nuremberg a man's "simple wool coat" could be worth one or two *Gulden* and a "wool coat with fox fur underneath" could be five; in 1555, an overcoat could be valued from twelve *Gulden* for a "velvet trimmed coat" to thirty-six *Gulden* for a "grey coat lined with marten fur" to upwards of eighty *Gulden* for a "large black wool men's coat lined with marten fur."³⁷

Wearing a garment with extra fabric – particularly more expensive materials like silks, damasks, high quality woolens, and furs – which did more than serve the essential function of covering the body or providing warmth, conveyed not only a wearer's ability to afford excess but also a certain cultural cachet through his fashion savvy. Rublack has related examples of how early modern Augsburg men "were supremely 'dress literate.'"³⁸ Obtaining an article of clothing often required making it oneself or working closely with fabric dealers, tailors, and milliners – even with furriers and foreign agents, if necessary – to have it made.³⁹ For most middle and upper class men seeking an original piece or ensemble, one often had to source and acquire one's own materials, which were then provided to a tailor along with instructions for the desired garment or outfit.⁴⁰ This knowledge of materials and how items are put together made men keenly aware of the value and meaning of the clothing of their fellow Augsburgers. Representing the

³⁶ For examples of the values of men's coats in various materials in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, see Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 159-164. The kind of extensive archival research and analysis that Zander-Seidel has compiled in this publication has not been done for early modern Augsburg.

³⁷ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 160-161.

³⁸ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 51-53.

³⁹ For a fascinating account of the extent of investment an individual could make in procuring certain materials, see the summary of Hans Fugger's correspondence regarding finding the resources for a lynx overcoat in Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 52-53.

⁴⁰ Ulinka Rublack, "The First Book of Fashion," interview, University of Cambridge, 1 May 2013, www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/the-first-book-of-fashion (accessed 5 June 2014).

working, merchant, and patrician classes, the men of Holbein's drawings employed their "dress literacy" by communicating their fashionability through their wide-labeled jackets. The men wearing oversized lapels in fur – including Jakob Fugger (fig. 179), Georg Thurzo (fig. 186), Jörg Saur (fig. 170), Jörg Fischer (fig. 172), and Herr Haug (fig. 176) – signaled to their contemporaries their substantial resources.⁴¹ Assuming that individuals wearing wide lapels in materials other than fur were merely imitating the fashions of their wealthier contemporaries oversimplifies circumstances. Men of craftsman and laboring status were not excluded from the language of dress, even if they often could not display such luxury as men of higher rank. The manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing for basic garments in standardized sizes was already underway in German cities in the sixteenth century, for both local sale and foreign export.⁴² Moreover, secondhand markets also existed in major German cities from the fourteenth century and flourished in the sixteenth century, implying that people of lower and middle classes were capable of determining the fair value of items of used clothing of varying materials and qualities.⁴³ Zander-Seidel's research on the secondhand clothing trade in Nuremberg demonstrates that "fashionable garments of a certain value were on sale, and...purchasers of every social

⁴¹ Both the drawings of Jörg Saur and Herr Haug were preparatory for extant painted portraits, and the drawing of Jörg Fischer was the model for a painting, which has been lost but is documented in a nineteenth-century drawing by Peter Decker (fig. 173); see note 72 on page 87.

⁴² Christensen, *Die männliche Kleidung in der süddeutschen Renaissance*, 11, n. 3. See also Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 376-383.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 383-397. Jutta Zander-Seidel, "Ready-to-Wear Clothing in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: New Ready-Made Garments and Second-Hand Clothes Trade," in *Per una storia della moda pronta: Problemi e ricerche; Atti del V Convegno internazionale del CISST, Milano, 26-28 Febbraio 1990*, ed. Centro Italiano per lo Studio della Storia del Tessuto (Florence: Edifir Edizioni, 1991), 9-16. See also Ulf Dirlmeier, *Untersuchungen zu Einkommensverhältnissen und Lebenshaltungskosten in oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters, Mitte 14. bis Anfang 16. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (Heidelberg: Winter, 1978), 261 and n. 5.

rank made use of it.”⁴⁴ Moreover, Charlotte Stanford’s study of the Book of Donors of Strasbourg Cathedral reports that of all the donations recorded from 1320 to 1521, clothing accounts for thirty-six percent of the items received; this evidence indicates that there were channels for poorer members of society to obtain fashionable and even expensive articles of clothing.⁴⁵ Members of all social strata could participate in some way in fashion-making, fashioning their own identities, conveying their adherence to social customs, and ‘performing’ their roles as urbane citizens of Augsburg.

Close-Fitting Collars

Another notable fashion choice among Holbein’s male sitters is a close-fitting collar. For example, Holbein depicted a man (fig. 246) wearing three layers of clothing – a thin undershirt, a doublet of slightly thicker material, and a jacket with a fashionable wide lapel.⁴⁶ Details of the delicate fasteners of both the undershirt and doublet are recorded in this drawing. In several deft strokes with the side of the silverpoint, the artist suggested the heavier pile and folds of the doublet as it gathers around the base of the

⁴⁴ Zander-Seidel, “Ready-to-Wear Clothing in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 15.

⁴⁵ Charlotte A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral’s Book of Donors and Its Use (1320-1521)*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 50-54, esp. Table 1.11. I wish to thank Dr. Joan A. Holladay for making me aware of this book.

⁴⁶ Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197. A fragmentary inscription in silverpoint, “hans Schm[...]” which is inconsistent with inscriptions in Holbein’s handwriting, runs off the upper right margin of the sheet. This does not rule out the possibility that the inscription was written by someone in Holbein’s workshop or one of his sons, who may have brought all Holbein the Elder’s drawings subsequently found in the Amerbach collection with them to Basel.

sitter's neck, distinguishing it from the fine edge of his linen undershirt.⁴⁷ This choice of a high, close collar on doublets is displayed also in drawings of Jörg Saur (?) (fig. 247), Jörg(?) Hierlinger (figs. 105-106), Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein (fig. 248), Burkhard Engelberg (fig. 158), and two men (Berlin 2562 and 2571, figs. 249 and 208).⁴⁸ This style of collar suggests a formal appearance, especially, for instance, on Jörg(?) Hierlinger, whose stiff collar was tailored smartly into rounded curves.

The sitters wearing this style of high collar on their doublets represent diverse social backgrounds. Jörg Saur was a member of an ennobled patrician family and a secretary to the dean of Augsburg cathedral, Cardinal Mattäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468/69-1540).⁴⁹ Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein, whom Holbein depicted as a youth, was a member of an old Swabian baronial family.⁵⁰ Burkhard Engelberg was a leading southern German *Baumeister*, a title encompassing architect and master mason.⁵¹ The identities of two of the men are lost to time; however, some visual clues can help us come

⁴⁷ This is most likely a white linen undershirt, as that was typically the first article of clothing men wore against their skin. Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 204. For more on linen undershirts, see pages 162-165 below.

⁴⁸ Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2547; man, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562.

⁴⁹ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 106, cat. nr. 254, 255.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 110, cat. nr. 276. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, "Schenck v. Schenckenstein," in *Neues Allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1868), 136.

⁵¹ Some of Engelberg's accomplishments include being named Augsburg's *Stadtbaumeister* ("city architect") in 1495 until his death in 1512. He designed several Augsburg residences, notably his work from 1488-95 at the residence Ulrich Fugger the Elder and Jakob Fugger purchased on the Rindermarkt. He oversaw building projects in Augsburg at the church of Saint Ulrich and Afra and the cathedral, in the Tirol at Schwaz and Bozen, as well as in Ulm salvaging efforts to support the massive tower of the minster. Ulrich Kirstein, "Engelberg," in *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*. For more on Engelberg's contributions to southern German architecture and his social station, see Franz Bischoff, *Burkhard Engelberg, "Der vilkunistreiche Architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister": Burkhard Engelberg und die süddeutsche Architektur um 1500, Anmerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und zur Arbeitsweise spätgotischer Steinmetzen und Werkmeister*, ed. Historischer Verein für Schwaben, Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen (Augsburg: Wißner, 1999). For the Fuggers' joint purchase of the residence on the Rindermarkt, see pages 90-91 and Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 19, 226, n. 34.

to some tentative understanding of their social stations. Lieb and Stange have unequivocally labeled the man in Berlin 2571 (fig. 208) a craftsman, but they do not explain their reasoning for this identification.⁵² Yet, making an association of this man with a craftsman or artisan's trade seems plausible considering the visual evidence. This man wears what appears to be a protective apron over his clothes; this hangs from clearly indicated straps attached to the smock at two points near the center of his chest and draped over his shoulders.⁵³ The man in Berlin 2562 (fig. 249) may also have been of craftsman or artisan status, for no inscription identifies him by name or profession. It is reasonable to assume he was of the working or middle class, considering his simple doublet, of which the only additions are buttons as fasteners and a small bow at his throat. Despite showing these two men in workaday or plain clothing, Holbein presents his sitters in a dignified manner, with straight-backed poses, earnest expressions, and neat attire, just as he does with his more well-known and prosperous sitters.

⁵² Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 103, cat. nr. 236.

⁵³ Holbein may have depicted two other sitters, both anonymous men (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2563 and London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915.988), wearing protective smocks over their clothes; however, the indication of straps around the neck or upper shoulders on both drawings is unclear. The smock on the man in the London drawing appears to be attached with buttons. From sixteenth-century Germany, I am aware of only one other portrait of a man wearing this article of work clothing: the self-portrait medal of Martin Schaffner (assisted by Daniel Mauch?) dated 1522 (Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung). For an illustration, see Manuel Teget-Welz, *Martin Schaffner: Leben und Werk eines Ulmer Malers zwischen Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, Forschung zur Geschichte der Stadt Ulm (Ulm, Stuttgart: Stadtarchiv Ulm, Kommissionsverlag W. Kohlhammer, 2008), fig. 109. I wish to thank Dr. Andrew Morrall for informing me of this self-portrait of Schaffner wearing a smock. Examples of similar smocks on women are illustrated in works of art from the period; for examples, see Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 68-72 and figs. 53-55.

Decorative Borders

Another feature that appears frequently among Holbein's male sitters is a decorative border – sometimes elaborately done – along the fronts of their linen undershirts. In Nuremberg fashion around 1500, low-cut necklines on men's and women's shirts were “rapidly superseded by high necklines,” sometimes with banded collars or ruffs, which remained visible from underneath closed doublets and jackets.⁵⁴ As evidenced by Holbein's portrait drawings, similarly styled undershirts with decorated edges or collars became fashionable in Augsburg, although whether low necklines were so “rapidly superseded” as in Nuremberg seems doubtful. Rather, from Holbein's drawings, it appears that older and newer styles of shirts were worn around the same time; this is an example of how changes in fashion proceeded gradually, not instantly, during the late middle ages and early modern period. As we have already seen, a few men in Holbein's drawings wore high collared doublets with coordinating linen undershirts. Others had the necklines of their linen shirts designed to hang comfortably around the base of the neck or even more loosely below the collarbones, as seen in the famous example of Albrecht Dürer's self-portrait of 1498 (fig. 250).⁵⁵ The style of linen shirt in Dürer's self-portrait is also suggested in Holbein's drawings of Jörg Fischer (fig. 172); Zimprecht Schwarz (fig. 87); a man, most likely a merchant or patrician (Berlin 2572, fig. 18); and a young man (Berlin 2568, fig. 245). As implied by this sample of men from a range of ages, a loose-fitting linen undershirt was fashionable among men of different

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁵⁵ Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. nr. P02179.

stages of life, the sitter in Berlin 2568 clearly being more youthful and the man in Berlin 2572 of an older set than the two adults, Jörg Fischer and Zimprecht Schwarz. Similar shirts that clung more closely to the collarbones are shown in Holbein's drawings of Raymund Fugger (fig. 180), Ulrich Fugger the Younger (fig. 181), Jörg Saur (fig. 170), and two men (Berlin 2566, fig. 166 and Berlin 2567, fig. 251). Holbein's vertical strokes with the silverpoint emphasize smocking at the front of their shirts; this embroidery technique entails decorative stitching to gather abundant material around necklines or cuffs.⁵⁶

Apparently, an important element for men's linen undershirts to be fashionable, whether loose or more closely fitting, was embellishment along the front collar, usually smocking or lace attachments, ideally visible at the opening of a man's jacket or overcoat. Again, Dürer's 1498 self-portrait provides an example of this style of decorative treatment. While the neckline of Dürer's linen shirt was trimmed sumptuously with a gold border, we have to partially imagine the specific materials and techniques that Holbein's sitters had used on their shirts. Holbein sketched that Ulrich Fugger the Younger (fig. 181) wore a shirt with zigzag smocking at the front and a ribbon tied in a bow at the center of his chest. Ulrich Fugger's cousin, Raymund Fugger (fig. 180), also wore a decorated linen undershirt, gathered toward the top border with crisscross embroidery along the edge. A similar smocking design appears in the portrait of Jörg Fisher (fig. 172). What these patterns may have looked like in detail are suggested in the drawings of a man (Berlin 2567, fig. 251) and young man (Berlin 2568, fig. 245), where

⁵⁶ I wish to thank Dr. Joan A. Holladay for informing me of the term smocking.

Holbein more carefully studied the intricate geometric patterns of the embroidery as well as the modulated stitching around the neckline. The appearance of this decorative edging is rendered in greater detail in a painted portrait of Jörg Saur (fig. 171), for which the drawing in Berlin (fig. 170) served as a preparatory study.⁵⁷ Comparing the drawing and painting, it is evident that Holbein summarily recorded features in the drawing, using it as an aid to memory, not a precise one-to-one model for the final portrait. In the painting, we can see how the edge of Saur's undershirt was lavishly embroidered with gold thread in an elaborate diamond pattern, which is conveyed in a simple crisscross pattern in the drawing.

A linen undershirt was a staple of a man's wardrobe, what he wore everyday against his skin.⁵⁸ Sixteenth-century inventories from Nuremberg demonstrate that men of all classes had them.⁵⁹ Most men of craftsman status in Nuremberg owned fewer than ten shirts.⁶⁰ Occasionally, some possessed several more, as did the "prosperous baker, Hans Meichsner, [who] left behind in 1538 17 shirts of a considerable value."⁶¹ By comparison, elite men tended to own numerous undershirts, for example, Willibald Pirckheimer, whose inventory upon his death in 1532 reports "43 linen men's shirts" of

⁵⁷ This painting is currently on loan from a private collection to the Kunsthau Zürich. The identification of this sitter as Jörg Saur is aided by the painting's details of coats of arms of the Saur family as well as Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 71, cat. nr. 39. For a color reproduction, see Wiemann, *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die Graue Passion in ihrer Zeit*, 43, fig. 31. For confirmation of the coat of arms of Cardinal Lang von Wellenburg, see Zimmermann, *Augsburger Zeichen und Wappen*, vol. 2, pl. 173, nr. 5039. Without a high quality photograph of Saur's portrait, I was unable to verify the Saur family crest with Zimmermann's compendium.

⁵⁸ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 204.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 204-206.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 205-206.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

“good” quality and “nine bad...ordered to be given to poor people.”⁶² The appearance of all manner of clothing in death inventories, which were decreed by law in Nuremberg in 1479, reflects the recognition of clothing as moveable assets during this period.⁶³ Even the common linen undershirt had a value. Pirckheimer’s wish that his old shirts be donated to the poor alludes to the items still being ‘worth’ something even in shabby condition, not to mention the donor’s interest in performing a ‘generous’ act of piety. As virtually all men owned and wore linen undershirts, they were aware of acceptable prices for certain quality and features, and some were even versed in the nuanced language of embellishments.

Men’s Headwear

A particular interest in a great variety of hats and their decoration is apparent in Holbein’s portrait drawings, which generally offer more information about headwear than bodily clothing. The simple fact of the proportion of male sitters wearing hats versus the bareheaded among the portraits speaks to the importance of headwear as statements of fashion and identity. Of Holbein’s drawings of men who were not monks or clerics over eighty percent are depicted with hats.⁶⁴ From simple brimmed berets and fur hats to gold-threaded skullcaps and flamboyantly plumed bonnets, the men whom Holbein drew showcase a wide range of forms of hats and ways to wear them that one might have encountered in the Augsburg public sphere. Examining fashion in early modern

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁴ Of the drawings attributed to Holbein and his circle that I studied, fifty-two drawings are of men who were not monks or clerics. Forty of these individuals wore hats when Holbein portrayed them.

Nuremberg for the period from about 1500 to 1650, Zander-Seidel observed, “For the man headgear was indispensable in daily life.”⁶⁵

As Holbein’s corpus of drawings suggests, men’s hats were not just ubiquitous, but it also seems headwear fashions, at least in and around Augsburg, may have been relatively consistent and egalitarian during the first decade or two of the sixteenth century. Defying standard ‘trickle-down’ theories of fashion, the kinds of hats and their flourishes in Holbein’s drawings are not limited to individuals of certain classes. Specific restriction of certain styles and materials for certain ranks would become a part of civic regulations much later in the sixteenth century, beginning in 1582.⁶⁶ And even later on, Augsburg’s ordinances may not reflect the reality of circumstances; the example of Nuremberg is instructive, as *Kleiderordnungen* give the impression that the *Barett* (beret) was a style of cap only permitted to the city’s elite and noble classes, and yet craftsmen’s death inventories continue to record their former possession of berets.⁶⁷ Zander-Seidel reported that a scant few of the individual death inventories she studied from Nuremberg had no mention of a *Barett*.⁶⁸ Another hat that frequently appears in inventories and Holbein’s drawings is the *Schlappe*, a type of beret that was perhaps more versatile, because it had a wide brim, sometimes lobed, that could be worn folded up or down.

The various styles of two basic types of cap, the *Barett* and *Schlappe*, present a case in point illustrating how men from diverse backgrounds sported similar kinds of

⁶⁵ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 219. Zander-Seidel included all spelling variations of *Barett*, including “*Paret(h)*, *Peret*, *Piret(h)*, *Pret(t)* or “*Piretlein*” (literally, “little beret”).

⁶⁶ See notes 17-19 on page 147.

⁶⁷ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 220.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

headwear and could presumably do so without legal constraints. Holbein portrayed a few men of varying social stations in a plain beret with a wide brim, which they wore folded up or partially down.⁶⁹ For example, two drawings show Paul Grim (figs. 107-108), a tailor, wearing this form of hat.⁷⁰ We might expect a tailor to be familiar with current trends and to present himself in well cut and assembled items; however, considering prevailing assumptions about the restrictions of early modern sumptuary laws, it might seem surprising that a man of a craftsman or artisan status would be appared as neatly as Grim is. The finery of his attire is apparent in Holbein's attention to modeling in pen and ink, brush and wash, and white highlights, especially in Berlin 2545 (fig. 107). These added techniques suggest the softness and sheen of the material of Grim's doublet as well as the three-dimensionality of the ribbons laced across his chest.

A similar hat to Grim's appears on Hans Aytelhe (fig. 206), who is probably the same "Hanns Eytelhe" listed as a loden weaver in Augsburg's tax records from 1507 to 1527.⁷¹ After 1510, Aytelhe is identified also in tax books as a *Stadtknecht*.⁷² This was the lowest rank of law enforcement in Augsburg, also known colloquially as a *Häscher* (an antiquated synonym for *Scherge* or "henchman"), apparently because a *Stadtknecht* performed the roughest duties of keeping watch on city streets and apprehending

⁶⁹ Ibid., 129-136, 219-224.

⁷⁰ The drawing of Grim, Berlin 2545, bears partially cutoff inscriptions in ink, that read "pa[u]ll[u]s grim schneider" and "[p]a[u]ll[u]s grim" (partial 'g'). According to archival sources, a Paul Grim lived in a house in 1479-80, where Thoman Burgkmair subsequently resided in 1481; the sculptor Gregor Erhart lived there 1508-09 and Hans Holbein the Elder in 1512. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 104, cat. nr. 244.

⁷¹ Ibid., 99, cat. nr. 214. Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 85, cat. nr. 184.

⁷² Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 99, cat. nr. 214.

criminals.⁷³ Wearing a similar cap is an artisan probably of slightly higher rank than a loden weaver and police guard, Hans Pflieger (fig. 40), a goldsmith and son of a salt merchant.⁷⁴ Holbein also depicted his own foster child and pupil, Hans Schlegel (fig. 162), in a wide-brimmed cap with the back portion of the brim folded down.

From among the merchant class, Holbein represented Hans Nell (fig. 159) in a similar wide-brimmed *Schlappe*.⁷⁵ Nell, a merchant from Speyer, became a citizen of Augsburg in 1496 and eventually proved himself a generous patron of the building of the new Dominican church of Saint Magdalene.⁷⁶ The same style of hat is shown in two drawings of Nicolas Königsberger (figs. 252-253), a member of a merchant family in Augsburg.⁷⁷ Also appearing in a comparable hat is Georg Thurzo (fig. 186), the prosperous Hungarian merchant and mining magnate who married Jakob Fugger's niece and became a business partner in the Fugger firm. His cap sits angled more to the side, probably in order to show off a woven skullcap underneath (more about this style later), as Jakob and Raymund Fugger are depicted in other portraits by Holbein (figs. 179-180). Anton Fugger (fig. 182), nephew of Jakob Fugger, wears his hat in a manner similar to

⁷³ For definitions of the early modern term *Stadtknecht*, I referred to two major historical reference works. Johann Heinrich Zedler, "Scherge," in *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig, Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1742), 677. Johann Georg Krünitz and Johann Wilhelm David Korth, "Stadtknecht," in *Oekonomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus- und Landwirthschaft und der Kunstgeschichte in alphabetischer Ordnung* (Berlin: Pauli, 1837), 784.

⁷⁴ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 104, cat. nr. 240.

⁷⁵ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2548.

⁷⁶ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 110, cat. nr. 278. Dirr, "Eine Gedächtnisschrift von Johannes Faber," 174.

⁷⁷ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551 and 2552. Königsberger is also variously spelled Kunigsberg(er), Kunigsperg(er), and Kinsperg(er). Georg Königsberger was related by marriage to Jakob Fugger. The Fugger firm had financial dealings with a one "N. Königsberger." Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 156, Lfdnr. 245; 169, Lfdnr. 252. Abbot Johannes Faber listed "Jörg Kinsperger" (died 1524) as a donor of "500 florins in gold" to the building campaign of Augsburg's Dominican church of Saint Magdalene. Dirr, "Eine Gedächtnisschrift von Johannes Faber," 171.

Holbein's foster son, Hans Schlegel (fig. 162), with the rear part of the brim turned down. Nonetheless, the basic shape and lacking decoration of the cap worn by Nell, Thurzo, and the Fuggers are similar to the previous examples as seen on men of craftsman and laborer status.

Taking these examples of comparable headwear on men from various social backgrounds, we are presented with evidence of one of the essential aspects of fashioning – individual choice – which is sometimes overlooked in discussions of fashion from the early modern period, from which we simply have more evidence of the fashions of the upper classes and nobility. For Nell, Thurzo, and the Fugger men, their choice to wear modest, even plain, hats may speak to a sense of decorum in presenting themselves, a desire to avoid the appearance of vanity, and possibly even a taste for simple, unpretentious fashions. Whatever the case, the appearance of a similarly styled *Barett* or *Schlapppe* on these men, who represent different social and professional affiliations, complicates our understanding of fashion during this period in Augsburg.

Shared styles among men of different classes also demonstrate the faultiness of drawing conclusions about the identity and status of Holbein's sitters based on their appearances alone. For example, two men of uncertain identity appear in this style of cap in Holbein's drawings (figs. 246 and 166). Evidence of fashion, namely the plain *Barett* or *Schlapppe* that we have seen on other Holbein sitters, cannot be relied on for securely identifying these men's class or trade associations. As demonstrated by the small sample of works cited here, individuals of diverse backgrounds and professions chose to wear a similarly styled hat. Even men from more affluent circumstances chose a more sparing,

simple design, although they could have afforded something with more decorative flourishes. Perhaps, the simplicity of the hat's tailoring and wearing it at slightly different angles were fashion statements in and of themselves, as a means of 'less is more' aesthetic and sense of respectability. Holbein's drawings discredit the assumption that people of higher social rank wore more elaborate or decorative clothing than those from the lower and middle classes.

Embellishments

Apparent from Holbein's other drawings of men, another fashionable way to wear a *Barett* or *Schlappe* at the time was to add embellishments such as ribbons and bows. Again, as in the case of the simple cap worn by men of different ranks, Holbein's portraits depict men from different social and professional backgrounds showing off decorative flourishes on their hats. In an exquisite drawing of most likely a craftsman (Berlin 2571, fig. 208), Holbein has captured the fairly simple addition of a ribbon wrapped around the hat and tied into a bow at the front. The artist has even shown a loop attached to side of the hat for the purpose of holding the ribbon in place.

Holbein represented another sitter, Jörg Saur (fig. 170), with a more elaborate version of this kind of decoration on his hat.⁷⁸ As with his embroidered linen undershirt

⁷⁸ Identifying the sitter as Jörg Saur is problematic, because Holbein's original silverpoint inscription does not read as Lieb and Stange have published it. They have written it as "Jörg Saur propst des kardinals secretary." Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 106, cat. nr. 255. Upon close investigation, however, it seems that they overlooked some additional letters that are faded from abrading of the drawing's ground. I propose that the inscription reads, "Jörg Sour[...]d propst de... kardinals s[ec]retary." The abbreviated form of *Secretarius*, *Secretari*, was in use from the fifteenth century. Wolfgang Pfeifer and Berlin-

previously discussed, the painted version of Saur's portrait allows us more information about the luxurious materials used in the embellishment of his cap. The drawing clearly indicates that twisted ribbons are attached to the front of the brim and at the top of the hat in a triangular arrangement. The painting reveals that these ribbons are delicate gold cords interspersed with pearls. The loops through which these ribbons are threaded to attach them to the hat are also more elaborate than in the previous example; as is apparent in the painting, the loop at the front center of his brim is made of gold and inset with a jewel. Indeed, "Saur had himself presented with great splendor of dress and high luxury of jewelry."⁷⁹

While Saur's family station and profession certainly allowed him to afford more lavish materials than what the likely craftsman of Berlin 2571 wearing a similarly styled cap could afford, it would be baseless to cite this as an example of imitative fashion, as in the modern idea of "who wore it first" or "who wore it best." We have no evidence for either sitter starting or following a trend; we simply have two sitters, probably from different class backgrounds, wearing an apparently fashionable hat in different ways.

Another pair of Holbein's portrait subjects, two men with unshared social standing and professional associations, appears in comparably styled hats. Holbein portrayed several contemporaries who decorated their caps with ribbons, not simply attached by loops on the outside, but threaded through holes in parts of their hats. A man (Berlin 2563, fig. 207), possibly a craftsman or artisan, wears a *Schlappe* with the front

Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, "Sekretär," *Das digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, www.dwds.de (accessed 13 July 2014).

⁷⁹ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 265.

brim folded up and the back brim lying down.⁸⁰ Ribbons are laced through the front brim and tied in the center in a bow, which is perched on the brim and just peeks out over the top edge. In a notably similar manner of wearing the front and back brims as well as the laced ribbon decoration, Martin Höfler's hat (fig. 254) implies that this style was *en vogue* among young men in Augsburg around 1500-10.⁸¹ Unlike the placement of the man's ribbon and bow in Berlin 2563, Höfler's ribbon is stretched over the top of his hat and tied in a small bow at the crown, much like the plaited gold cords of Jörg Saur's hat. Höfler was employed by the Fugger firm and received a gift from Jakob Fugger days before Fugger's death; hence, Höfler represents a stable middle- to upper-class social station, akin to his colleague, Matthäus Schwarz, known for his *Trachtenbuch* ("Costume Book").⁸²

Höfler's hat decoration is comparable to that of two other Holbein's sitters, Hans Schwarz (figs. 109-110) and Jörg Schenck von Schenckenstein (fig. 248).⁸³ These two young men represent separate social strata. Hans Schwarz, identified as "stainmecz" (stonemason or stone sculptor) with inscriptions on both drawings, would become the

⁸⁰ Similar to the man on the drawing Berlin 2571, the man in Berlin 2563 is likely a craftsman or artisan of some kind; the principle evidence for this assumption is the protective smock he wears over his clothes. See note 53 on page 161.

⁸¹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2523.

⁸² Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 110, cat. nr. 277. For more on Schwarz's fascinating *Trachtenbuch*, see the following: Fink, *Die Schwarzschen Trachtenbücher*, 97-176. Valentin Groebner, "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574," *Representations*, no. 66 (1999): 100-121. Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 33-79. Rublack, "The First Book of Fashion," interview.

⁸³ The identity of the sitters as Jörg Schenck von Schenckenstein is supported, although not confirmed, by a faded ink inscription in handwriting similar to Holbein's, "Jorg Schen(c?)k zum Schen(c?)kenste[in]." A heavily worn silverpoint inscription in Holbein's hand is on the verso at the top margin; the words "Schenck zum Schenck..." are barely legible.

foremost portrait medal sculptor in Augsburg and southern Germany.⁸⁴ Coincidentally, Hans Schwarz was also the nephew of Matthäus Schwarz of *Trachtenbuch* fame. As Schwarz's appearance suggests, he was quite young, probably just approaching his teen years, when Holbein made this drawing. Likely, Schwarz was then apprenticed to Stephan Schwarz, a member of the guild of painters, glaziers, sculptors, and goldsmiths and "surely a relative, possibly an uncle," which may account for the inscription's emphasis on his training in stone carving.⁸⁵ In addition, the likelihood that Hans Schwarz trained with Holbein has also been suggested.⁸⁶ Jörg Schenck was the young member of an old Swabian family of barons.⁸⁷ He wears his cap with the rear brim flipped up, akin to lobed berets seen in contemporary portraits. Among these three examples, we see notably similar styles of headwear worn by individuals with a range of social rankings: by a probable member of the craftsman class in Berlin 2563; by Höfler, certainly a comfortably middle-class assistant to the city's wealthiest merchants; by Hans Schwarz, a sculptor's apprentice; and by Jörg Schenck von Schenckenstein, a youthful nobleman.

Individuals from diverse social backgrounds also played with the fashionability of threading ribbons more elaborately through the brims of their hats. In both of Holbein's drawings of Kunz von der Rosen (figs. 94-97), courtier to Maximilian I, the sitter wears a distinctive hat with a thickly folded brim, possibly indicating that it was made of a heavy

⁸⁴ The inscription on one drawing of Schwarz, Berlin 2553, is an original in Holbein's handwriting but in faded ink, not silverpoint as Lieb and Stange reported. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 103, cat. nr. 234.

⁸⁵ Kastenholz, *Hans Schwarz*, 19, 333, 335.

⁸⁶ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 389, n. 112. Hans Schwarz's artistic relationship to Holbein requires further investigation.

⁸⁷ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 110, cat. nr. 276. Kneschke, "Schenck v. Schenckenstein," 136.

material, such as felt or even leather.⁸⁸ A wide band of material is interlaced through cuts in the brim, mimicking a belt. Kunz von der Rosen was portrayed with more decorative hats by other artists (e.g., figs. 230-231). In Holbein's portrayals we see Kunz in more modest headwear than the spectacular dress that came to be associated with *Landsknechte* (lansquenets or mercenary soldiers in Maximilian I's army).⁸⁹ Daniel Hopfer's etchings of *Landsknechte* (e.g., figs. 255-256) present some particularly outlandish examples of this kind of dress.⁹⁰ Kunz may have been interested in disassociating himself from his past as a *Landsknecht* and embracing his identity as an Augsburg citizen.⁹¹ Perhaps, Kunz's choice of understated hat, under which he wears a knitted skullcap, an insignia of elevated status, also reflects his hard-earned ascendancy in Maximilian's esteem from loyal mercenary soldier to intimate advisor and civilian burgher.⁹²

Kunz von der Rosen wore a style of decorated headwear that can also be seen on four other men in Holbein's drawings: Adolf Dischmacher (fig. 209), two men (Basel 1662.198 verso, fig. 257; Berlin 2572, fig. 18), and a young man (Berlin 2568, fig. 245). In each of these examples the sitter wears a cap with ribbon laced through the brim in several openings, like Kunz, or embellished with a few ribbons. Adolf Dischmacher, whose profession remains unknown but who most likely was not a member of

⁸⁸ For more on Kunz von der Rosen's social circumstances, see the section in chapter three dedicated to him, pages 127-137.

⁸⁹ For compelling analyses of the potent symbolism of the *Landsknecht* and his fashions, see Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*, 156-73; Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 140-144.

⁹⁰ The Daniel Hopfer etchings reproduced here are Three German Soldiers Armed with Halberds (Hollstein nr. 69), Three German Soldiers (Hollstein nr. 73), Five German Soldiers (Hollstein nr. 74), and Soldier Embracing a Woman (Hollstein nr. 78).

⁹¹ Kunz became a citizen of Augsburg in 1506, when he married Felicitas Gräßler, the daughter of an Augsburg citizen. Franck, "Rosen, Kunz von der," 196.

⁹² More about this style of knit skullcap associated with the Augsburg elite follows on pages 180-183.

Augsburg's elite, is identified on the drawing in an original silverpoint inscription, "adolf dischmacher," in Holbein's handwriting.⁹³ He wears a *Schlappe* with the back brim lying down and the wide, front brim folded up to show off ribbon threaded through it a few times. As with Holbein's other anonymous or undocumented sitters, it is problematic speculating about Dischmacher's social status, particularly without potential clues, such as the smock that the man in Berlin 2571 wears over his clothing. The identities of the other anonymous sitters wearing similarly embellished hats are not made more apparent by their choice of fashions. The verso of Basel 1662.198 presents a gestural study of a bearded man, whom Lieb and Stange erroneously identified as Wilhelm von Henneberg-Schleusingen.⁹⁴ This sitter wears his wide brimmed hat beribboned similarly to Dischmacher's. Elaborating on this style of hat decoration are the portraits of a man in Berlin 2572 (fig. 18), whom Lieb and Stange claimed to be a patrician, and a young man

⁹³ Lieb and Stange traced the name Dischmacher in the Augsburg tax records, but it only appears once during Holbein's lifetime, in 1492, and with the names Hans and Jakob, not Adolf. Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 99, cat. nr. 211. I conclude that this individual was probably not a member of Augsburg's elite classes of merchants and patricians, because the family name Dischmacher does not appear as its own entry or affiliated with any other elite families in Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*.

⁹⁴ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 93, cat. nr. 176. Although Lieb and Stange tentatively identified this sitter as "Graf Wilhelm von (Henneberg?)," presumably they meant Wilhelm IV (1478-1559), count of Henneberg Schleusingen, who appears in a portrait at the Naturhistorisches Museum Schloss Bertholdsburg in Schleusingen. Lieb and Stange read the heavily abraded silverpoint inscription as "Graff Wilhelm von..." which Falk discredited by suggesting that the second word of the inscription begins "Schw..." In addition, Falk disputed the attribution of the verso of Basel 1662.198 to Holbein, arguing that in its "open [perhaps artless], loose strokes" it is stylistically divergent from Holbein's drawings and may be "later." Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 85, cat. nr. 183. While I would not rule out the intervention of an apprentice or assistant in the use of red chalk on this drawing, which is relatively excessive compared to Holbein's other portraits, I disagree with Falk's overarching dismissal of this study as by Holbein simply because of its gestural quality. Other drawings within the circle of Holbein the Elder, including some versos containing sketchy, unfinished drawings, exhibit a similarly loose handling of the silverpoint. The directions and qualities of the strokes and variable line thicknesses are consistently seen in these other 'sketches.' For example, see Bamberg Graph. I A 1 (fig. 157), Bamberg Graph. I A 2 (fig. 187), Bamberg Graph. I A 9 (fig. 259), Basel Skizzenbuch U.XX fol. 6v (fig. 77), Berlin 2543 (figs. 40-43), Berlin 2578 (fig. 83).

in Berlin 2568 (fig. 245).⁹⁵ The affiliation of the man in Berlin 2572 with patrician or merchant status is not altogether unfounded, especially considering the details of two compact chains and one open-looped chain around the sitter's neck. After the initial silverpoint rendering, the draftsman attended specifically to these elements with brush and ink as well as white highlights, likewise to the facial features and portions of the hat. Evidently, this man's jewelry and headwear warranted as accurate note-taking as the face, making the suggestion of a patrician identity plausible. Finally, representing a noticeably younger generation, the youth in Berlin 2568 wears a similar hat with a wide brim folded up and decorated with laced ribbons. Overall, the diversity of individuals wearing similarly styled headwear – from non-elite to patrician, from youthful to mature – complicates the picture of what class or age associations might be drawn from the evidence of clothing alone.

Still more practices in decorating the standard *Barett* or *Schlappe* are captured in Holbein's portrait drawings. Some men chose to add small bows to the brims and crowns of their hats, as seen in the drawings of Hans Herwart (fig. 164) and a man (Berlin 2567, fig. 251).⁹⁶ Others wore hats with vertical cuts into the brims, as seen in the drawings of Jörg(?) Hierlinger (figs. 105-106) and an unidentified man (Berlin 2565, fig. 258).⁹⁷ In a spectacular example, Simprecht Rauner (figs. 243-244) embellished his *Schlappe* with ribbons, bow, plumes of feathers on left and right sides, and a hat medallion. And one

⁹⁵ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 100, cat. nr. 219.

⁹⁶ Hans Herwart(?), Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198 recto. The first anonymous man mentioned is Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2567. The other man is Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U.XX, fol. 4r.

⁹⁷ The unidentified man is Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565.

could go on pointing out details in Holbein's portraits of different ways men found to add visual interest to their caps. Indeed, the *Barett* and *Schlappe* are the most frequently depicted styles of headwear in his drawings. Their ubiquity is consistent with Zander-Seidel's research on early modern clothing: "The *Barett* defines, like no other headwear, the image of early modern clothing. In manifold forms, designs, materials, and embellishments it appears in period representations."⁹⁸ This multiplicity of variations on the same basic form of headwear suggests that Augsburgers of all ranks and professions could be fashionable in two senses of the term. First, they conformed to acceptable standards and communicated their adherence to collective norms. Second, they innovated by adding elements to their hats, thereby expressing personal choices and individuating themselves from the group.

Fur, Silk, and Gold

A challenge of analyzing and comparing men's headwear in Holbein's drawings is that the materials of which their hats were made are not clear. From contemporary inventories and more rarely extant examples of caps, it is evident that these hats were made of felt, velvet, or woven or knitted material, usually wool.⁹⁹ Holbein's drawings do show two distinct types of hats, of which the material is apparent; these are made of fur and silk.

⁹⁸ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 129.

⁹⁹ For examples of knitted hats, see Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 130, figs. 118-119; 222, fig. 201.

Fur appears on men's hats in six portraits of five individuals: Ulrich Artzt (figs. 156-157), Jörg Bomheckel (?) (fig. 66), Burkhard Engelberg (fig. 158), Jörg Fischer (fig. 172), and a man (Bamberg I A 9, fig. 259).¹⁰⁰ Three of the sitters – Bomheckel, Engelberg, and Fischer – each wear a cap of wool or felt with a wide, fur-lined brim, while the hats of Artzt and the man in Bamberg I A 9 are entirely fur. Only two men in this group of drawings are identified with inscriptions of names that can be traced in history, Ulrich Artzt and Burkhard Engelberg. A record of a Jörg Bomheckel does not appear in the city's tax books, although other Bomheckels are listed as weavers.¹⁰¹ Jörg Fischer may have been a goldsmith who paid taxes in 1512 and 1513.¹⁰² In any case, neither Bomheckel nor Fischer were likely from the elite classes of merchants and patricians, as no one by their family names is recorded in Augsburg's archives in those positions for the early sixteenth century.¹⁰³ As previously mentioned, Engelberg was an important architect, who undertook noteworthy projects in Augsburg, Ulm, and the Tirol. As explained in the previous chapter, Ulrich Artzt was a prominent Augsburg merchant and politician. The substantial, entirely fur hat Artzt wears in Holbein's drawings may perhaps signal his elevated social standing over the other sitters whose hats are merely trimmed in fur. His hat is comparable to that which Philipp Adler wears in Holbein's

¹⁰⁰ Man, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. I A 9.

¹⁰¹ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 100, cat. nr. 221.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 100, cat. nr. 222.

¹⁰³ Any Fischers who entered the merchants' guild are from the later part of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, as recorded in Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 124-129, Lfdnr. 215-225. No Bomheckels (or variants of that spelling) were registered with the merchants' guild or became part of the patriciate, according to Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*.

painted portrait.¹⁰⁴ Adler, like Artzt, was an affluent Augsburger and a highly influential figure in commerce and local government.¹⁰⁵

If the use of fur in Augsburg around 1500 was comparable to that in Nuremberg, then it was not a highly regulated material, and individuals from different social stations wore it freely, as Zander-Seidel's research demonstrates. Fur, which we so often associated with extravagance today, was "indispensable" for warm winter clothing and domestic textiles in the early modern period.¹⁰⁶ *Kleiderordnungen* in Nuremberg during the first half of the sixteenth century rarely mentioned fur, unlike some other luxurious materials, and according to inventories, individuals' fur possessions generally remained "below the limits of luxury."¹⁰⁷ We cannot know from Holbein's portrait drawings what specific kinds of fur his sitters may have worn. This information could make it possible to draw more conclusions about their social circumstances. In Nuremberg, furs of native animals, including from sheep, goat, fox, polecat, cat, mink, otter, and wolf, appeared in inventories across the social spectrum; however, non-native or certain colored furs, such as marten or white ermine, which were rarer – and, therefore, more costly – appear mainly in inventories from the merchant and patrician classes.¹⁰⁸ Again, as with the general pattern for *Kleiderordnungen* in Augsburg and Nuremberg, only in the later sixteenth and seventeenth century were more strict definitions of appropriate furs for

¹⁰⁴ Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1981.1

¹⁰⁵ Adler was a member of the powerful salt handlers' guild, of which he was guildmaster from 1510 to 1529. He served on the *Großer Rat* (Large Council) and the more influential *Kleiner Rat* (Small Council). Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 4, Lfdnr. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 401.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 401.

certain classes put into place; these ordinances stipulated not just what animals, but even what parts of animal skins, were suitable to certain classes.¹⁰⁹

Silk, another material associated with affluence, appears in Holbein's portraits in the form of a woven skullcap or calotte, referred to in inventories as a *Haube* (cap/bonnet) or *Haarhaube* (haircap).¹¹⁰ This style of cap begins to appear in German portraits of women of the urban elite in the 1490s and became popular among Augsburg's merchants and patricians in the early sixteenth century.¹¹¹ Zander-Seidel credits this popularity to the city's close trading ties with Italy, where haircaps are documented as early as the fourteenth century.¹¹² Among Holbein's ten drawings of men wearing a *Haarhaube* are Jakob Fugger (figs. 178-179), as well as Raymund Fugger (fig. 180), Ulrich Fugger the Younger (fig. 181), Georg Thurzo (fig. 185), Herr Haug (fig. 176), Jörg(?) Hierlinger (figs. 105-106), Zimprecht Schwarz (fig. 87), and three men (figs. 78 and 260-261).¹¹³

Jakob Fugger in particular seems to have made the *Haarhaube* a personal insignia of his attire. Almost all the extant portraits of him from his lifetime depict him in this

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. For Augsburg's later sixteenth-century sumptuary laws, see *Eines Ersamen Rahts der Statt Augspurg der Gezierd und Kleydungen halben auffgerichte Policyordnung*, fol. 4r. A useful transcription of this 1582 publication of Augsburg's *Kleiderordnungen* is provided in Chapuis, "Richter und Röcke," 90-100.

¹¹⁰ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 119-125, 228-233. See also the definition for "Calotte" in Julia Lehner, *Die Mode im alten Nürnberg: Modische Entwicklung und sozialer Wandel in Nürnberg, aufgezeigt an den Nürnberger Kleiderordnungen*, Nürnberger Werkstücke zur Stadt- und Landesgeschichte, ed. Rudolf Endres, Gerhard Hirschmann, and Kuno Ulshöfer (Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1984), 193.

¹¹¹ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 119.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ The three anonymous men are Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. I A 3; Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.183; and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2570.

style of cap (e.g., figs. 178 and 190-193).¹¹⁴ And the associations of this cap with him have persisted through the centuries. The modern marble portrait bust honoring him at Walhalla near Regensburg and the bronze bust (fig. 262) based on the Walhalla design at the Fuggerei in Augsburg both depict him in his distinctive calotte. Even a commemorative stamp of Jakob Fugger (fig. 263) issued in 1959 by Germany's *Bundespost* includes his emblematic haircap in red. In period portraits of Jakob Fugger, his cap stands out for being gold.¹¹⁵ Even if his entire cap was not made of the precious metal, real gold thread would likely have been woven into the silk. A luminous example of a gold cap is represented in a portrait in Madrid's Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, possibly of Georg Thurzo (fig. 264), mentioned already as Fugger's business partner and nephew by marriage to Anna Fugger.¹¹⁶

Silk haircaps with interwoven gold or silver thread are also documented in inventories, as well as being represented in images from the period, such as Hans Burgkmair's portrait of Barbara Schellenberger of 1507 (fig. 265).¹¹⁷ A similar black silk *Haarhaube* with gold embellishment is suggested in Holbein's drawing of a man (Basel 1662.183, fig. 78), on which the artist made notations for the hat's colors, "shw" for *schwarz* (black) and "g" for *gold* or *gelb* (gold or yellow). This style of hat has become so

¹¹⁴ For the various lifetime and posthumous portraits of Jakob Fugger, see Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst*, figs. 175-186, 188-192, 195-197, 199, 202, 204-205, and 207-208.

¹¹⁵ Staatsgalerie Augsburg, inv. nr. 717.

¹¹⁶ Inv. nr. 213 (1930.44).

¹¹⁷ Hans Burgkmair's portrait of Barbara Schellenberger is in Cologne, Wallraf-Richart Museum, inv. nr. 0850. Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 228-229.

tied to Fugger identity today, that the catalogue entry for this drawing describes the sitter as “a noble man with a ‘Fuggerhaube’.”¹¹⁸

In addition to caps referred to specifically as *Goldhauben* (gold caps) and silk caps with gold, early modern inventories in Nuremberg also list a “gold-colored silk knitted” haircaps. Except for the man in Basel 1662.183 whose hat was likely black silk with embellishment in gold thread, it is impossible to even speculate about the materials Holbein portrayed in his drawings.¹¹⁹ Certainly, the more common material for haircaps in inventories is silk, whether knit or made of solid cloth.¹²⁰ For instance, the inventory for Willibald Pirckheimer upon his death in 1531 reports that he owned four knitted silk *Haarhauben* and one gold cap.¹²¹

Holbein’s drawing of Herr Haug (fig. 176), which was preparatory for a painted portrait (fig. 177), offers an example of the potential significance of wearing a fashionable knitted haircap.¹²² A careful study of the construction of such a cap is recorded in silverpoint on the verso of the drawing (fig. 266). Whether Holbein’s patron or the artist himself was interested in the accurate representation, this study suggests the importance of correctly portraying this piece of attire, which was not just fashionable but also socially meaningful among affluent Augsburgers. When Holbein likely made this portrait, in 1516 or 1518, viewers could have interpreted the wearing of a luxurious *Goldhaube* as a statement of general prosperity and, more specifically, of association

¹¹⁸ Falk, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, 82, cat. nr. 174.

¹¹⁹ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 121-122, 230.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹²² The painted portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family, is in Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum of Art, inv. nr. 71.485.

with the cosmopolitan elite of the imperial city. Unlike most other types of headwear presented on sitters from various social stations in Holbein's drawings, *Haarhauben* – and especially those made with or of gold or silver – seems to have been consistently a marker of wealth and elevated status, a sign of merchant or patrician affiliation.

Women's Clothing and Headwear

With far fewer portraits of women in Holbein's oeuvre, it is more challenging to speculate about the possible significance of their fashions. Yet, even the small sample of twenty drawings of women attributed to Holbein and his circle reveals noteworthy information about women's fashionability in Augsburg. Similar to the men of Holbein's portraits, social differences are not as evident in sitters' clothing as fashion theorists might have us assume. Indeed, without certain clues as to women's identities in the drawings or from archival sources, it would be impossible to determine most women's class affiliations.

The women of Holbein's drawings, like the men, demonstrate the importance of conformity to being fashionable in the early modern period. However, unlike the men Holbein portrayed, the women seem to present themselves in attire distinctive of their social backgrounds. Perhaps the limited number of drawings of women makes the contrasts in their fashions seem more noteworthy than the larger sample of men's portraits. On the other hand, perhaps, this group of portraits suggests a more regimented approach to women's fashions than men's in Augsburg about 1500. In the following examples, a demarcation in women from the lower, middle, and elite classes is suggested,

but all interpretations are speculative. The identities and circumstances of most of the men in Holbein's drawings were uncertain, but even more is indeterminate about the women he portrayed.

The one consistency among Holbein's portraits of women is that all married or widowed women are represented with some form of headcloth. The *Haube* (which can be translated as hood, bonnet, or veil but will be used here to refer to headcloths in general) was an "indispensable" part of every adult married woman's attire, every day, no matter what her class.¹²³ All or most of a woman's hair was expected to be covered. Indeed, "the medieval tradition of the women's headcloth as a sign and order of married status" continued into the early modern period.¹²⁴ This sign remained so pervasive that it is safe to assume that the woman in Holbein's drawing with her hair in braids wrapped around her crown (fig. 267) was unwed.¹²⁵ Although women's headwear fashions during this period began to allow for some small portions of the hair to be visible, especially with the popularity of the beret and haircap, which women wore like men, all Holbein's sitters remained conservative in this regard.¹²⁶ A particularly conservative style of women's headcloth is depicted on Anna Laminit (fig. 268) and unidentified sitters in two of Holbein's drawings, which may actually represent the same woman (figs. 211-212).¹²⁷

¹²³ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 105.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹²⁵ Holbein's portrait of a woman named Mechtilta, is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. F. 274 inv. nr. 15.

¹²⁶ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 105.

¹²⁷ For the two drawings that may represent the same unidentified woman, see note 87 on page 93.

Each wears a traditional headcloth, referred to as a *Schleier*, which not only fully covers the hair but also conceals the neck.¹²⁸

Indicating appropriate attire for a woman of the craftsman class, three drawings by Holbein and his workshop depict the wife of Peter Schwarzensteiner (figs. 269-271).¹²⁹ Cited in Augsburg tax books as a leatherer from 1483 to 1535, Peter Schwarzensteiner became guildmaster in 1510.¹³⁰ Holbein identified Frau Schwarzensteiner by her last name and as “Zunftmaisterin” (the wife of the guildmaster) with inscriptions in red chalk on Berlin 2555 (fig. 269) and in ink on Berlin 2556 (fig. 270) and 2557 (fig. 271).¹³¹ Both the inscriptions on Berlin 2555 and 2557 also refer to Frau Schwarzensteiner’s noteworthy piety (*Fromm*). Holbein’s drawings emphasize the distinct features of her face over her attire, which is modest, especially when compared to his other drawings of women. In the minimal attention given to her clothing and headwear, the spare content of these drawings is more like Holbein’s portraits of monks and nuns than of other Augsburgers. The garment she wears on her upper body fits closely around her shoulders, and no accessories or flourishes are indicated. Her headcloth consists of a simple wrap around her head, serving only its imperative function of concealing her hair. Without the inscription referring to Frau Schwarzensteiner’s piety,

¹²⁸ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 110-113.

¹²⁹ The three drawings of Frau Schwarzensteiner are all Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2555, 2556, and 2557.

¹³⁰ Lieb and Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 105, cat. nr. 246-248.

¹³¹ Both inscriptions on Berlin 2555 and 2557 are consistent with Holbein’s handwriting, contrary to Lieb and Stange’s assertion that the inscription on Berlin 2557 is later. The inscription on Berlin 2556 is in another hand. The inscription on Berlin 2555, which has been cut down at least on the right edge, reads, “Zunftmaisterin Schwarze[n]staineri[n] / der frome frawe d[...] seiboldi / tochter.” The inscription on Berlin 2557 reads similarly in a more scrawling script, “Schwarze[n]stainerin de[r] frome frawe / seibolderin tochter und zunftmaisterin.”

the plainness of her clothing and headwear might be interpreted as signals of a low social station and meager resources. Not knowing how a leatherer's income would compare to others in Augsburg about 1500 makes any conclusions about a leatherer's wife's resources tentative; however, Zander-Seidel's research on sixteenth-century Nuremberg has revealed that wives of men of craftsman status were able to afford more decorative and expensive items than Frau Schwarzensteiner's frugal attire. This suggests that she might have worn plain clothing by choice, perhaps as a demonstration of her piety. This example is a reminder of the importance of personal taste and decisions when it comes to assessing the meanings of fashions.

Holbein depicted another woman of the craftsman class (Berlin 2575, fig. 210) in attire that reflects her fashionability. She was possibly the wife of a stonemason or sculptor, for the drawing's fragmentary inscription includes the text "Stainmtz," which could be a reference to her husband's profession as a *Steinmetz*.¹³² Holbein wrote a variation of this word ("stainmecz") on two drawings of the youthful Hans Schwarz (figs. 109-110), who was training as a sculptor at the time.¹³³ Although the woman in Berlin 2575 wore modest attire in comparison to that in many other women's portraits of the period, her dress and headcloth have subtle features that set them apart from the plain garments of Frau Schwarzensteiner. Her dress is trimmed with rich black material, perhaps velvet, which the artist emphasized with thick ink lines following the contours of her shoulders and bisecting the front of her bodice. Trimming in black is also seen in

¹³² The inscription on three registers has been cut off along with the left margin of the sheet. It plausibly reads, "...stainm[e]tz / [we]yb des / [...]nen / [to]c[the]r[.]"

¹³³ See the discussion of Hans Schwarz on pages 173-174.

Holbein's portraits of other women (e.g., figs. 175 and 211), in other women's portraits of the period, as well as on women and men in images reflecting contemporary life, such as the *Augsburger Monatsbilder* (figs. 238-241) and *Geschlechertanz* (fig. 242). Moreover, the style of this woman's headcloth was also fashionable in the early sixteenth century. Referred to in inventories as a *Wulsthaube* (*Wulst* meaning "bulge" or "coil," as in that used in making pottery), her headcloth is formed into a prominence by being draped over a shaper (*Wulst*) that is perched upon the crown of her head.¹³⁴ Holbein also recorded the incidental details of decorative stitching around the margins of the cloth and in parallel lines over her head. The form and embellishment of this woman's *Wulsthaube* are consistent with what women of patrician and *Mehrer* status are represented wearing in the *Augsburger Geschlechertanz*. Women of elite, non-elite, and unknown status wearing similarly formed headcloths can also be seen in contemporary portraits and details of the *Augsburger Monatsbilder*, speaking to the significance of conformity as well as the relative consistency in attire from different classes.¹³⁵ This form of headcloth and, subsequently, more fashionable smaller variations referred to as *Steuchlein*, are ubiquitous not only in images from the period, but also in inventories across the social spectrum.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 106-110. Women's inventories of Nuremberg report items referred to as *Wulsthauben*, meaning the headcloths only, and *Wülste*, the shapers worn under the headcloths. Women of craftsman and merchant class usually owned a few shapers and several cloths.

¹³⁵ For examples of other *Wulsthauben* in portraits of the period, see Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 49, fig. 33; 72, fig. 59; 77, figs. 65-66; 83, fig. 73; 105, fig. 90; 107-108, figs. 92-95; 149, fig. 141.

¹³⁶ The *Steuchlein* "remained the most frequently named headcloth [in inventories] for the period of inquiry," 1500-1650, and from inventories of deceased women across "all social strata." Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 107.

Still another example of a woman's attire in Holbein's drawings exemplifies social differentiation through clothing. Portrayed in notably more luxurious clothing than Frau Schwarzensteiner and the wife of the stonemason is Frau Fischer (fig. 174), the wife of Jörg Fischer (fig. 172).¹³⁷ Because the drawing of Frau Fischer was a preparatory study for an extant portrait painting (fig. 175), we have considerably more information about her clothing than the two previous examples.¹³⁸ Frau Fischer's headcloth is fashionably formed over a *Wulst*, like the woman's in Berlin 2575. The gossamer-thin silk and intricate embroidery of Frau Fischer's *Haube*, however, differ from the obviously heavier fabric (probably linen) and simply stitched lines of the woman's headcloth in Berlin 2575. Frau Fischer's overdress is a pale yellow, which was a popular color in the early sixteenth century, as the Augsburger Monatsbilder and Geschlechtertanz also suggest. Rublack's research has revealed that yellow was a color that connoted joy and happiness in early modern Germany.¹³⁹ In both the drawing and painting, Holbein conveys the heaviness and quality of the cloth of her dress through the deep folds in the material at her elbows and forearms. The edges of her dress along the shoulders and front opening are trimmed with a wide band of velvet, exhibiting more of the luxurious material than the dress of the wife of a stonemason. Frau Fischer's undershirt, probably made of linen, is delicately smocked at the front margin and trimmed with a black and gold crisscross

¹³⁷ For the pairing of this portrait with the portrait of Jörg Fischer, see Klemm, "Die Identifikation des Basler Bildnisses einer 34jährigen Frau von Hans Holbein dem Älteren," 49-54.

¹³⁸ The painted portrait of Frau Fischer is Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1958.7. Another silverpoint drawing of Frau Fischer (London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1854,0628.113) is often also attributed to Holbein the Elder; this drawing may have been done after the painting, because the sitter shows the same serious expression of the painting, not the lively subtle smile of Berlin 2558.

¹³⁹ Rublack, "The First Book of Fashion," interview.

pattern, much like the embroidered decorations already discussed with regard to men's undershirts.¹⁴⁰ High around her waist she wears a green belt embellished with gold rosettes. Indeed, Frau Fischer was elegantly outfitted in garments suitable to the wife of an affluent merchant or patrician.

We can be sure of two sitters among Holbein's drawings who represent women of the elite merchant and patrician class in Augsburg: Anna Thurzo-Fugger (fig. 183) and Veronika Fugger-Gassner (fig. 184). We also know more about their circumstances than any other women whose likenesses Holbein drew or painted. Anna Thurzo-Fugger was the daughter of Ulrich Fugger the Elder, Jakob's older brother, and Veronika Lauginger, a patrician. In 1497, Anna married Georg Thurzo, thereby formally and spiritually uniting the German and Hungarian merchant families. Appropriating a "noble custom" on her wedding day, Anna appeared "in a gown and bare-headed with tied-up braids."¹⁴¹ Their wedding was such an exceedingly lavish spectacle that the chronicler Wilhlem Rem commented that it set a new benchmark for "noble customs" of the city's elite.¹⁴² The wedding of Veronika Gassner, the only child of Augsburg merchant Lukas Gassner and the patrician Felizitas Rehlinger, to Ulrich Fugger the Younger in 1516 reportedly outdid this precedent.¹⁴³ Rem commented that it was "strange" for these families to be brought

¹⁴⁰ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 72.

¹⁴¹ This was unprecedented in Augsburg, where brides had worn a brown veil as well as a coat over their gowns on the way to church. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 176.

¹⁴² Quoted in Dormeier, "Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung," 169.

¹⁴³ Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 171, Lfdnr. 253; 176, Lfdnr. 263. For his daughter's dowry, Lucas Gassner provided the "unheard-of sum of 12,000 [*Gulden*]," and "Fugger spent 13,000 [*Gulden*] on his marriage portion." This is in addition to the 3,000 *Gulden* in clothing and jewelry that Ulrich bought for Veronika and the 4,000 *Gulden* in wedding expenses and gifts he gave to "other relatives and servants" to honor the occasion. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 177.

together, for they had previously “been averse to one another” and “spoke ill of each other.”¹⁴⁴ The extravagance in honor of the union was a bold statement about the families’ hopes of ameliorating their former antagonism.

Even without this historical basis for the elevated social situations of Anna Thurzo-Fugger and Veronika Fugger-Gassner, we might speculate that they were of higher status than the other more modestly dressed women of Holbein’s drawings. Anna Thurzo-Fugger is the only woman of Holbein’s sitters who appears in neither a traditional nor a stylish headcloth, but in a hat, more specifically a *Schlappe* as discussed in relation to men’s headwear. This was certainly an avant-garde fashion choice for a woman in the first decade or two of the sixteenth century; for while a substantial number of examples of men wearing berets and caps appear in portraits, images, and inventories, very few women wore such headwear as early as Holbein must have drawn his portrait of Anna (most likely before 1517). According to Zander-Seidel’s extensive research, one of the earliest portraits of a woman of Nuremberg wearing a *Barett* is Hans Schwarz’s medal of Anna Pfinzing (fig. 272) of about 1519.¹⁴⁵ Women’s hats became popular relatively quickly in Nuremberg, so much so that the “traditional headcloth was almost completely replaced” by the end of the 1520s, and they appear frequently in inventories of all classes after the 1530s.¹⁴⁶ A young, unmarried woman in a merchant or patrician household in the January scene (fig. 273) of the *Augsburger Monatsbilder* appears in a yellow brimmed cap similar to the *Schlappe* Anna Thurzo-Fugger wears in Holbein’s drawing.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 177.

¹⁴⁵ The medal of Anna Pfinzing is Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nr. MedK610. Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 131.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

The accepted dating of the Monatsbilder cycle after 1531 supports the increased visibility of new styles of headwear. Anna Thurzo-Fugger's sporting a hat of an emerging style for women reflects her awareness of developments in fashionability. Being an affluent, socially esteemed, married woman and member of a merchant family in the imperial city, she had access not only to considerable resources but also to information about the latest trends, regionally and internationally. Moreover, she was in a position to take up styles that moved away from certain traditions and established new ones, which, of course, the *Barett* and *Schlappe* eventually became. This would not be the first time Anna adopted a fashion that challenged traditions, as her deliberate appropriation of "noble custom" in her marriage attire had demonstrated. Interestingly, the fact that some of her hair peaked out from behind her cap, perhaps a novelty for Holbein seeing a married woman, is recorded in silverpoint as well as white lines scratched through the sheet's light grey ground.

Rather than adopting avant-garde fashions, Veronika Fugger-Gassner (fig. 184) signals her affluence through the sheer luxuriousness of the materials she wears. Considering that she appears in a married woman's headcloth that fully conceals her hair and she wed Ulrich Fugger the Younger in 1516, Holbein's portrayal likely dates to that year, the last he resided for an extended time in Augsburg.¹⁴⁷ Veronika's headcloth is similar in form to Frau Fischer's (fig. 174), but the embroidered diamond and circle pattern that Holbein painstakingly recorded is much more extensive than the decorative

¹⁴⁷ In 1921, Elfried Bock catalogued this drawing's inscription, which today appears heavily abraded or even washed out, as "partially blurred" but apparently still legible then, reading it as "Ulrich Fuckhern des jungen hausfr[au]" ("the young housewife of Ulrich Fugger"). Bock, *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister*, 49.

border of Frau Fischer's headcloth. In addition, the indication of the fine edge of the cloth encircling Veronika's face and the translucency of the fabric suggests that this was silk rather than linen or cotton, of which most other women's headcloths of the period were made.¹⁴⁸ Her gown is consistent with contemporary fashions trimmed with a wide band of probably velvet, although her attire is not overstated per se. Yet, adorning her neck and tucked into the front of her bodice is a thick chain, almost certainly of gold, as suggested by fading yellow pigment enhancing the drawing. The basic cut and solid color of the material on her chest provide a suitable backdrop for the display of this sumptuous piece of jewelry. As a new bride of the Fugger family, Veronika Fugger-Gassner was appropriately dressed and embellished in lavish materials of meticulous manufacture.

Conclusion: Fascinations with Fashions

Holbein's representations of multiple examples of clothing and headwear from the period suggest that people of different social situations explored fashionability and expressed their own tastes in various ways. Naturally, wealthy members of Augsburg society could afford more luxurious fabrics and more costly production of their attire. However, the access of the affluent classes to more options does not entirely negate the participation of Augsburg's middle and lower classes in the city's lively world of fashion. Holbein's drawings capture a period when individuals of diverse backgrounds may have had some flexibility in choosing their attire, before highly restrictive and rigidly class-stratified clothing regulations were enacted later in the later sixteenth and seventeenth

¹⁴⁸ Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, 105.

centuries. We find with Holbein's drawings that appearances can be deceiving, and his portraits challenge basic assumptions about early modern fashion and fashioning. We can see a craftsman (fig. 208), an artist's apprentice and foster child, Hans Schlegel, (fig. 162), and a young merchant, Anton Fugger (fig. 182) sporting the same basic style of hat, as that which a merchant's daughter and wife, Anna Thurzo-Fugger (fig. 183), adopted as a progressive statement in women's headwear. His drawings indicate that individuals of all classes and ages could be interested in clothing and even acutely aware of its meanings. Indeed, simply because Holbein depicted individuals from a broader swath of society than we otherwise see in portraiture, his drawings allow us to see scarcely documented individuals as they looked or wished to be depicted.

Holbein's portrait drawings reveal just as much about the artist as they do his sitters. He was not only aware of the importance of social cues in clothing, but also seemingly intrigued by the different forms and materials of fashions. Holbein's implicit fascination with appearances is a precursor to an explicit example of enchantment with fashions, Matthäus Schwarz's *Trachtenbuch*. On the frontispiece (fig. 274) dated 20 February 1520 of Schwarz's unusual fashion journal, the author comments on the pleasure he took in conversations with older people, "not least about what they had worn decades ago."¹⁴⁹ Even more astonishing, Schwarz further remarks that they had shown him "images of their costumes (*trachtencontrofat*) from 30, 40, 50 years ago."¹⁵⁰ With his own *Trachtenbuch*, he said, he would record ("*contrafaten*") his own clothing "to see

¹⁴⁹ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 40.

¹⁵⁰ For the complete transcription of the frontispiece, see Fink, *Die Schwarzschen Trachtenbücher*, 98.

what might become of it in five, ten or more years.”¹⁵¹ This comment so prominently placed at the frontispiece of his costume journal turned memoir is compelling, and not just for the historical consciousness it shows Schwarz had in his own project, as Rublack has pointed out.¹⁵² It also affirms what Holbein’s portrait drawings with detailed renderings of costume demonstrate: shared knowledge of clothing’s meanings and recognition of the significance of individual’s appearances, years before Schwarz so explicitly said so. Schwarz’s comment could also be relevant to portraits specifically, because of particular rhetoric. Rather than merely referring to images (*Bilder*), paintings (*Gemälde* or *Malerei*), or drawings (*Zeichnungen*), he specifically chose forms, naturally Germanized, of the Latin word *contrafactum* (counterfeit). This term in the sixteenth century, as Peter Parshall has elucidated, was “most often employed within the emerging genres of portraiture and topography, for images reporting specific events, and for portrayals of both natural and preternatural phenomena.”¹⁵³ It is possible that Schwarz was referring specifically to portraits – counterfeits from life – that he had seen. Was he looking at something like Holbein’s portraits? Or was he looking at Holbein’s very own drawings? Both scenarios are more possible than we might expect, considering that Hans Schwarz, Matthäus’s nephew, was likely a pupil of Holbein the Elder and shot to fame as a portraitist and medalist in Augsburg in 1518.¹⁵⁴ Holbein’s portrait drawings, or

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 74.

¹⁵³ Peter Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993): 556.

¹⁵⁴ For the suggestion that Hans Schwarz was Holbein’s pupil, see pages 12, 15, and 173 and Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 389, n. 112. Schwarz portrayed twenty-five notable individuals who attended the imperial diet in Augsburg in 1518, setting off a craze for portrait medals in and around southern Germany.

something akin to them, which inspired Matthäus Schwarz's curiously self-aware study of his own clothing, illuminates a wider cultural trend towards fascination with fashion across a multifaceted modern southern German society.

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "A Creative Moment: Thoughts on the Genesis of the German Portrait Medal," in *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, ed. Stephen K. Scher (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2000), 177-199.

Conclusion: *Holbein as Father and Teacher*

“The master, who already knew how to create portrait heads of the most dignified character and finest enlivenment in his earlier paintings, also shows himself here [in his portrait drawings] as a great artist of likenesses, truly as the predecessor of his son.” ~ Alfred Woltmann¹

In concluding this study of Holbein’s portrait drawings, I wish to reflect briefly on his legacy as a draftsman and portraitist by focusing on what the next generation of artists nearest him – specifically his son Hans Holbein the Younger – inherited from him. By examining continuities and changes in the portrait drawings of both Holbeins, this chapter will consider Holbein the Younger’s debts to his father, with whom he trained as a youth. First, I will briefly review themes in scholarship regarding Holbein the father and his son. Then, I hope to demonstrate with two case studies that Holbein the Younger’s preeminent achievements as a portraitist were founded on practices and techniques he had learned from his father. In short, renown in the name “Holbein” is the result of two generations of exceptional portraitists.²

In dealing with the Holbein family, some scholars have proffered analyses that focus on images the Holbeins made of themselves and each other. Krause opens her recent monograph on Holbein the Elder with a discussion of an early drawing by Holbein the Younger, one of several marginal images of Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly* (fig. 275). Krause identifies the actors as the Holbeins themselves, relating the arrogant king in the

¹ Woltmann, *Hans Holbein’s des Aelteren Silberstift-Zeichnungen im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, n.p. “Der Meister, der schon auf seinen früheren Gemälden Portraitköpfe von gediegenstem Charakter und feinsten Beseelung zu schaffen wusste, zeigt sich auch hier als einen grossen Künstler im Bildniss, wahrhaft als den Vorgänger seines Sohnes.” I wish to thank Dr. Joan A. Holladay for her assistance with this translation.

² The Holbeins were actually a family of artists, including Sigmund, Hans the Elder’s brother, and Ambrosius, Hans the Younger’s brother. In addition to these blood relations, the Holbeins were probably linked maritally to another notable artist family in Augsburg, the Burgkmairs, who also likely played a significant role in the Hans the Younger’s artistic formation.

center to Hans's older brother, Ambrosius, the fool on the right to Hans himself, and the older, perhaps impatient, bearded man witnessing their antics from the left to their father Hans.³

Another interesting and often cited image of the Holbeins is a detail (fig. 276) from the Elder's panel painting of the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Saint Paul's outside the Walls) of about 1504.⁴ Among the onlookers to the transformative baptism of Saul into the Apostle Paul, Holbein included himself and his sons, Ambrosius, who was older, and Hans. Bruno Bushart interpreted this scene as a prophetic statement of the Holbeins' destinies.⁵ He compared the gesture of the father Hans pointing to his younger son and namesake to traditional northern European iconography of Saint John pointing at Christ on the Cross and proclaiming, as he does in his gospel, "He must increase, but I must decrease" (*John* 3:30)." A translation of this text into image is famously seen in the Crucifixion from Matthias Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece of about 1504 (fig. 277), in which Saint John the Evangelist emphatically points at the crucified Christ and a Latin inscription didactically quotes the verse. In other words, Bushart implies that Hans the Elder recognized the precocious artistic talent in his younger son, who could not have been older than six when this work was completed, and the father foretold that his own

³ Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 7.

⁴ Bruno Bushart begins his essay on Holbein the Elder and the Younger with a discussion of this image. Bruno Bushart, "Hans Holbein – Vater und Sohn," in *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, ed. Matthias Senn, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* (Basel: Schwabe, 1999), 151. Sabine Häberli, "Biography: Hans Holbein the Younger, Augsburg 1497/98 - London 1543," in *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*, ed. Christian Müller (Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006), 10. Krause seems less interested in this portrayal of Hans and his sons, perhaps because her project is less concerned with the life and career of Holbein the Younger and interpreting meaning from the father's gesture to his younger son. Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 292.

⁵ Bushart, "Hans Holbein – Vater und Sohn," 151.

son would one day outshine him. This metaphorical link between the Holbeins and Christ and Saint John has overtones of divine intervention, although Bushart may have simply offered his readers an amusing speculation.

Bushart views this vignette – and the relationship between father and son – through a retroactive lens of history and depends not on any supportive evidence but on a common literary *topos* in histories of masters and pupils. The refrain of pupil superseding master is emphasized especially in tales of familial ties or ties characterized as “like family.” For example, this archetypal narrative is clearly demonstrated in stories of the Venetians Giovanni and Gentile Bellini both far outstripping Jacopo Bellini’s artistic achievements.⁶ Giorgio Vasari relates, “...when [Giovanni and Gentile] had grown to a certain age, Jacopo [Bellini] himself with all diligence taught them the rudiments of drawing; but no long time passed before both one and the other surpassed his father by a great measure, whereat he rejoiced greatly, ever encouraging them...even so should Giovanni vanquish himself, and Gentile should vanquish them both.”⁷

Yet, even scholars of Holbein the Younger, who may not repeat the *topos* of pupil/son superseding master/father, have tended to downplay his formative years under his father’s tutelage in Augsburg and to assign influences on the young Holbein to artists elsewhere.⁸ Some accounts of Holbein the Younger’s education and early career

⁶ For a recent discussion that reformulates the familial connections among the three Bellinis, see Daniel Wallace Maze, “Giovanni Bellini: Birth, Parentage, and Independence,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2013): 783-823.

⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, The Medici Society, 1912-1914), vol. 3, 173-174.

⁸ For a concise list of sources regarding influences on Holbein the Younger, see the comprehensive annotated bibliography, Erika Michael, *Hans Holbein the Younger: A Guide to Research*, Garland

summarily dismiss his youth in Augsburg and report that he worked and trained in the workshop of Hans Herbst in Basel in 1515.⁹ Overlooked is the fact that the young Hans had certainly already been training for the first seventeen to eighteen years of his life with his father, learning how to handle various painting and drawing media proficiently, to observe forms in nature carefully, to imitate his father's techniques and distinctive style as closely as possible, and to design for a range of other media, including for wood sculpture, metalwork, and stained glass.¹⁰ Holbein the Younger's youthful competence is

Reference Library of the Humanities (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1997), 694-701. Other artists or schools that have been cited as influential to Hans the Younger include the following: locally or regionally, Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Burgkmair, Hans Daucher, Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, Albrecht Dürer, Matthias Grünewald, Urs Graf, and Hans Herbst (a natural assumption, as Holbein was a journeyman in his workshop); farther afield in France, Leonardo (at the court of Francis I, 1516-1519), the School of Fontainebleau, Andrea Solario, and Guillaume Le Roy; and farther still in Italy, Bramante, Jacopo de' Barbari, Correggio, several artists of the Lombard School, Mantegna, Carlo Moderno, and Raphael. For a more recent example of scholarship that emphasizes the international influences on Holbein the Younger, see Oskar Bätschmann, "Holbeins künstlerische Beziehungen zu Italien und Frankreich," in *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, ed. Matthias Senn, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* (Basel: Schwabe, 1997), 131-150.

⁹ Bätschmann and Griener start their second chapter with a section, titled "A typical beginning," which opens with Holbein the Younger in 1515 entering "the workshop of Hans Herbst as a journeyman." Bätschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (1997), 36. There is no mention of his apprenticeship, which he certainly must have carried out with his father, even while gathering inspiration from their relatives, especially Hans Burgkmair the Elder.

¹⁰ Oskar Bätschmann, *Hans Holbein d. J.* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2010), 10-11. For another example of short shrift given to Holbein the Elder's role in his children's artistic education, see the chronology that indicates between 1497/98 and 1515, "Hans and his elder brother Ambrosius (c. 1493-94-c. 1519) probably complete[d] their training in their father's workshop," in Bätschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (1997), 7. Jochen Sander concedes that Ambrosius and Hans the Younger "receive[d] a solid artistic education in their father's workshop" and "would have completed their apprenticeships by the time they set out as journeymen around 1515." Sander, "The Artistic Development of Hans Holbein the Younger," 14. Christian Müller likewise mentions, "Hans the Younger and his brother Ambrosius Holbein had their first artistic education in their father's workshop," but ends the discussion there. Christian Müller, "Hans Holbein the Younger as Draughtsman," in *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*, ed. Christian Müller (Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006), 20. Susan Foister is slightly more informative, stating, "his artist father had offered him training in drawing, painting, and collaborative work with sculptors, glasspainters and metalworkers." She is also more generous in acknowledging Holbein the Elder's importance: Holbein the Younger's "ability to design and paint wall-paintings and altarpieces and to produce patterns for woodcuts, metalwork and stained glass was founded on the training he must have received in the successful Augsburg workshop of his father Hans Holbein the Elder, himself a designer of elegance and sophistication and an incisive portraitist." Foister, *Holbein in England*, 13, 17.

evidenced by the fact that he was awarded his first major commission in Basel from the city's *Bürgermeister* just one year after he arrived: the double-portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen, and his wife, Dorothea Kannengießer (fig. 278).¹¹ Certainly, the technical and artistic mastery exhibited in these paintings in oil on limewood could not have been developed in one year of study and practice in Hans Herbst's workshop. The youthful Holbein must have commenced his training under Herbst as a journeyman, not an apprentice. Holbein's move to Basel and time with Herbst could be characterized as his *Wanderjahre*, an important educational experience in the Northern tradition, in which a graduated apprentice travels and explores works of art and artistic practices in other cities or regions. Additional evidence that Holbein must have completed his apprenticeship with his father is the fact that Holbein established himself in Basel as an independent master just three years after this important commission from Basel's mayor.¹²

The minimal discussion of Holbein the Younger's artistic development is due largely to the lack of documentary evidence for this period. The only fact we do know, thanks to archival documents in Augsburg, is that Hans was born sometime in the winter of 1497/98. Indeed, the trajectory of his life from this point until he arrived in Basel in 1515 remains obscure. In order to attempt to fill in this lacuna, it becomes the task of the art historian to interpret the evidence from images with historical context in mind. What

¹¹ Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 312.

¹² On September 25, 1519, Holbein the Younger was recognized as a master in the Basel guild of painters, *Zum Himmel*, upon payment of an admittance fee. Bäschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (1997), 7, 27. Häberli, "Biography: Hans Holbein the Younger," 11. Sander, "The Artistic Development of Hans Holbein the Younger," 15. The following year, probably as a result of his marriage to Elsbeth Binzenstock, the widow of a Basel citizen, Holbein acquired Basel citizenship without a fee. Häberli, "Biography: Hans Holbein the Younger," 11.

can we ascertain from comparisons of the elder and younger Holbein's works themselves? By considering both the Holbeins' portrait drawings, I hope to demonstrate that Hans learned a great deal from his father. Even as Holbein the Younger set out to cultivate his own reputation, meet ever-changing demands, and represent evolving ideas, he continually adapted his father's methods and techniques to create his own distinctive artistic practice. In the two case studies that follow comparing portrait drawings by father and son, I will explore these key elements found in common in the Holbeins' approaches to portraiture: a keen interest in observing people, an adept facility at recording individuals' distinctive features, considerable delicacy of touch in handling drawing media, and particular attention to clothing and other adornments as signifiers of identity and rank.

A "passion for investigating the human face," as Bruno Bushart noted, is evident in the portraiture practices of both the elder and younger Holbein.¹³ While this may strike us as an obvious comment in a discussion of two portraitists, Bushart's characterization of the Holbeins' penchant for portraiture as a "passion" is telling. For Holbein the Elder, taking portraits was apparently, if not a singular preoccupation, then certainly a habitual part of his practice. The fact that of his two hundred extant drawings about one hundred fifty can be described as either portraits or head studies is a simple statistic, but it speaks volumes of Holbein's regular interest in capturing people's appearances. Moreover, the fact that his portrait drawings either are dated or can be reliably dated between 1499 and 1516 demonstrates that he was engaged in creating portraits for much of his career.

¹³ Bushart, "Hans Holbein – Vater und Sohn," 153.

Presumably, Holbein the Elder often kept a prepared sketchbook and silverpoint at hand, so that he might record any likenesses that he found compelling.

Holbein the Younger either inherited a similar predilection or, at least, developed an adept skill set for portraits while studying under his father. Following extreme responses to religious reform movements, Basel, a progressive center for education and publishing, experienced a violent wave of iconoclasm in 1529. Some have interpreted this catastrophic event for the visual arts in Basel as a turning point in the younger Holbein's career path, explaining his shift away from Basel and toward the English court of Henry VIII.¹⁴ Indeed, Hans had trained as a history painter with his father, whose religious commissions were his means of livelihood. Moreover, some of Hans the Younger's earliest important commissions were for altarpieces or other devotional images.¹⁵ Without sufficient opportunities for patronage for religious works, Holbein turned to portraiture, for which he was popular in his own time. His early portraits garnered the attention not just of Basel's mayor, but also of eminent humanists Erasmus of Rotterdam and Sir Thomas More, whose recommendations helped Holbein establish himself in England.¹⁶ During his two periods of residency in London (1526-28 and 1532-43), he

¹⁴ Bächtli and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (1997), 88-97.

¹⁵ Of particular note from this period prior to Basel's iconoclastic disturbances are Holbein the Younger's Heads of a Male and Female Saint (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 308 and 309), Adam and Eve (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 313), Diptych with Christ as the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin as the Mother of Sorrows (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 317), Dead Christ in the Tomb (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 318), Passion Altarpiece (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 315), Last Supper (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 316), Organ Shutters for the Basel Münster (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. 321), Wings for the Oberried Altarpiece (Freiburg im Breisgau, Münster, Universitätskapelle), the Solothurn Madonna (Solothurn, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. A 134), and the Darmstadt or Meyer Madonna (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, loan from the Hessischen Hausstiftung).

¹⁶ Erasmus first recommended Holbein to Thomas More. Holbein carried with him to England a letter of introduction from Erasmus to More. Certainly, the high esteem with which More was held at the time at the

portrayed in drawings and paintings almost a quarter of the noble peerage, an astonishing proportion of the most notable names and faces of the kingdom.¹⁷ Around eighty-five of Holbein the Younger's portrait drawings have survived, just from his years in England, not including his projects in Basel.¹⁸ Compare this to his father's extant corpus of about one hundred and sixty-five portrait drawings. Considering what may have been lost to time, a conjecture that Holbein the Younger created at least as many portrait drawings as his father did is not implausible.

Beyond their proclivity for creating likenesses, the Holbeins' works also demonstrate an affinity in their delicate handling of media. In Holbein the Younger's early career, it is relatively straightforward to draw parallels between his portrait drawings and those of his father. Comparing, for example, the younger Holbein's preparatory drawing of Jakob Meyer (fig. 279) for the painted double-portrait of 1516 to the elder Holbein's portrait of an unidentified man (formerly misidentified as Wolfgang Breischuch, Berlin 2566, fig. 166), several similarities become apparent.¹⁹ In this case, both father and son used silverpoint, the father's standby tool but a medium the son would employ more rarely. Silverpoint requires a linear approach to rendering forms on the page, necessitating the use of delicate hatching and cross-hatching for modeling. This

English court (this being before his appointment as Lord Chancellor and, of course, before his execution in 1535), gave Holbein an advantage over other artist émigrés from the Continent trying to find a foothold in England. For a concise discussion of Holbein's status as an alien in England and turmoil in England regarding the issue of immigration, see Foister, *Holbein and England*, 10-12.

¹⁷ According to Foister, "Seventeen of the eighty-three peers, or their spouses or children, can be identified as the subjects of portrait drawings or paintings by Holbein, making nearly a fifth of the total. If the fact that some of these peers died during or just after Holbein's first visit to England is taken into account, the proportion rises to nearly one quarter." Foister, *Holbein and England*, 29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹ Hans Holbein the Younger, Jakob Meyer zum Hasen, 1516, silverpoint and red chalk with traces of pen and ink on prepared paper (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1823.137).

precise, exacting tool does not allow for easy corrections. Both drawings demonstrate that the artists have mastered nuance of line quality and subtle variations in tonal value, for which silverpoint was such a delicate, but adaptable, medium in capable hands. Both artists have used the silverpoint to distinguish the texture of stiff cloth from that of wavy or curly hair, from the gradual contours of smooth skin of these younger men. Viewing details of the drawings (figs. 280-281) makes it clear that Holbein the Younger followed his father's methods of altering line quality for particular facial features: for example, the clearly delineated outline of the facial profile from the point the forehead emerges from their hat brims down to their necks, including the sharp definition of the nose; the thick, dark line that articulates the line between the lips; the use of thinner, fainter lines for the lower eyelids, while the upper eyelids are rendered with heavier lines that fall over the lines of the lower eyelids. Despite the formulaic approach to representing facial features, both Holbeins succeeded in capturing distinctive appearances of their sitters. We notice the thick, loosely curly hair of the man in Berlin 2566 versus the finely textured, tight curls of Meyer's hair. The forms of their eyes, noses, and mouths appear specific to these men, so we apprehend that the man the elder Holbein drew had a full lower lip that protruded slightly below his upper lip and Meyer may have had a stout figure judging by the fullness of his cheeks and the double chin. Furthermore, in addition to elements deftly described in silverpoint, both artists enlivened their images through the use of red chalk, highlighting the ruddiness of cheeks and noses and the natural flush of lips.

One important distinction between these two images is their size; Holbein the Elder's sketchbook drawings all measure about eight to ten by twelve to fifteen

centimeters. Holbein the Younger's preparatory drawing of Jakob Meyer is approximately twenty-eight by nineteen centimeters.²⁰ Clearly, even from his earliest years as a journeyman, Hans the Younger worked on a larger scale than his father ever had for portrait drawings. This may not seem noteworthy, except for the fact of the medium; developing a drawing in silverpoint's fine and faint lines on the scale of the portrait of Jakob Meyer required considerably more time and effort – and arguably even greater careful attention to details – than the drawings in his father's sketchbooks.

After encountering chalk drawings during a visit to the French court in 1524, Holbein the Younger shifted to working almost exclusively in this medium for portrait drawings.²¹ He likewise continued to increase the scale of his drawn portraits.²² Almost all of his portrait drawings subsequent to his journey to France, including those for his English sitters, were done in colored chalks, and most of the drawings from England measure roughly twenty to thirty by thirty to forty centimeters. As technical studies have demonstrated, Holbein the Younger developed a streamlined method for some of his later portrait paintings by tracing directly from his large drawings onto prepared panels.²³ Finding chalk a freer and quicker medium capable of more painterly effects, Holbein moved away from the restrictive techniques of silverpoint.²⁴ He never fully gave it up,

²⁰ Sander, *Hans Holbein d. J.*, 121, n. 40.

²¹ Bättschmann, "The Use of Colored Chalks for Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger," presentation.

²² Perhaps, the use of chalk in France owes much to the residency of Leonardo there from 1516 to 1519. Bättschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein* (1997), 8. Jane Roberts, *Holbein and the Court of Henry VIII: Drawings and Miniatures from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1993), 16.

²³ Ainsworth, "'Paternes for Phiosioneamyas,'" 173-186.

²⁴ Foister explains that Holbein the Younger's use of mixed media later in his career "corresponds closely to his practice in painting." *Holbein and England*, 61.

however, applying metalpoint in details of costumes and jewelry, where the medium's precision and linearity were well suited. Furthermore, even as his choice of media evolved from his youth, Hans the Younger continued in a similar vein to that of his father by using pen and ink, brush and wash, and white chalk to emphasize certain features and lend a greater sense of three-dimensionality to his sitters' features through tonal variation and modeling.

Holbein the Younger's continual reference to lessons in draftsmanship from his father is also evidenced in this comparison of two drawings of women, one of Frau Fischer of Augsburg by Holbein the Elder (fig. 174) and the other of Lady Mary Guildford (fig. 282) from later in his son's career.²⁵ Holbein the Younger's drawing dates to his first trip to England in 1526-28 and was executed entirely in chalk. Yet, it is remarkable to note the linearity of his rendering in chalk, a friable and blendable medium that granted the artist options for much freer, gestural handling. While the use of color is certainly fitting, considering this functioned as a preparatory drawing that was traced for a panel painting (fig. 284), it is noteworthy that Holbein the Younger retained some of the essential characteristics of his father's portrait style: the outline of the cheek and chin, the tonal emphasis on the upper eyelid, the heavier line quality to articulate the nostrils, and the undulating line of varying thickness defining the lips.

What stands out as particularly comparable in their drawn portrayals of these women, aside from their candid expressions, are the artists' careful observations of

²⁵ Hans Holbein the Younger, Lady Mary Guildford, 1527, chalk on paper (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.35).

details of their clothing and jewelry. In the previous comparison of the drawings of father and son, both of the men's distinctive hairstyles and hats were recorded with some consideration, although their shirts and coats were vaguely depicted. This seeming disparity of treatment is rare for both artists. In images of both men and women, the Holbeins were generally attentive to sitters' particular costume and adornments. Indeed, as the numerous examples in the previous chapter demonstrate, clothes and accessories served as important displays of identity and status in early modern Europe.

Both of these drawings of women served as models for paintings (figs. 175 and 284), which were paired with portraits of their husbands (figs. 173 and 283).²⁶ Notable in the painted versions of Frau Fischer and Lady Guildford is the absence of the candor with which the artists had captured their expressions in the drawings. In addition, the women in the paintings are dwarfed and neatly contained within their frames, whereas they had filled the compositions of the drawings. Rather, these wives, as pendants to their husbands – figuratively adorning them – are both diminished in their stature and display patent signs of affluence and social importance.

Holbein the Elder's drawing of Frau Fischer, clearly a woman of more modest means than Lady Guildford, highlights the fine embroidery decorating the headcloth concealing her hair, a signal of her married status (fig. 44). His portrait also conveys the luxury of the cloth of her dress in the deep folds at her elbows and forearms and marks

²⁶ Hans Holbein the Elder's painted portrait of Frau Fischer is oil on limewood (Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. nr. G 1958.7). Hans Holbein the Younger, Lady Mary Guildford, oil on wood (Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. nr. 1:1943). Regarding the now lost painted portrait of Jörg Fischer by Holbein the Elder, see note 72 on page 87, note 42 on page 158, and fig. 173. Holbein the Younger's Sir Henry Guildford is preserved in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

out clearly the width of the velvet trim around the dress's edge (fig. 285). In addition, he noticed details of the intricate smocking at the front of her linen undershirt or underdress as well as the crisscross pattern along this garment's top edge. To an even greater degree, Holbein the Younger's drawing of Lady Guildford emphasizes the excess of her clothing and accessories. He captured the particular form and elements making up her complex bonnet in the latest fashion (fig. 286). He recorded an abundance of different types of expensive cloths, particularly in the heavily draped folds of her outer robe (fig. 287). He also took note of the intricate pendant of her necklace, an important reminder for the painting and a detail he fully developed there. Especially prominent are the series of six delicate gold chains, recorded in yellow chalk. The artist was clearly attentive to the way each of these is incorporated into the construction of her robe and how they curve over her bodice in varying parabolic lines. In meeting the demands of their male patrons, both father and son perceptively observed and portrayed the minutiae of their patrons' wives' costumes, important signifiers of their and their husbands' social position and economic achievements.

The ambition to garner social recognition and attain economic prosperity and the notion that social climbing was even possible through personal betterment and individual accomplishments have become mainstays in characterizing the Renaissance worldview. The developing concepts of self and unique identity are made manifest in the burgeoning interest in portraits among people of different class backgrounds in early-modern Europe. Hans Holbein the Elder and his son were positioned on either side of an important turning point for portraiture. Holbein the father seemed to be drawing portraits out of personal

interest, sometimes for use in his religious works with individualized figures, and was only occasionally asked for painted portraits. However, in painting portraits his son would find a substantial source of recognition and income in both Basel and London.²⁷ Patronage from members of the English court and aristocracy, eager to have their picture drawn or painted, established Holbein's claim to fame both then and now. The foundational methods that he learned from his father prepared him for a path he probably never expected to take, toward being regarded as one of the greatest painters of the early modern period and one of the greatest portraitists in the history of art.

So much he owed to his father, a great portraitist before portraitists became great.

²⁷ According to Foister, "his private practice as a portraitist must have added considerably to his income in England." *Holbein and England*, 23.

Appendix: Catalogue of Hans Holbein the Elder's Portrait Drawings

For the present study I had opportunities to study firsthand Holbein's drawings in the collections in Berlin, Basel, Bamberg, Paris, and Chantilly. Therefore, some information for the following entries is derived from the most recent catalogue of Hans Holbein the Elder's complete oeuvre by Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange, the most recent catalogue of the drawings of the Kupferstichkabinett at the Kunstmuseum Basel, or museums' online collections databases. Any of the following information regarding materials and techniques and inscriptions, which I have not be able to verify through my own firsthand analysis, is marked with an asterisk.

Portrait Drawings Attributable to Holbein

Portrait of Ulrich Artzt

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 10 x 7.6 cm

Inscription: mostly illegible, fragmentary, and cropped on the right margin, silverpoint and pen and ink

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 1

Figure number(s): 157

Portrait of Christoph Thurzo

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 8.2 x 7.1 cm

Inscription: "her kristoff dors[i]," silverpoint

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 2

Figure number(s): 187

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, with traces of a red-tinted ground underneath (?), 14 x 8.4 cm

Inscription: "...ff mair f..." silverpoint

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 3

Figure number(s): 260

Portrait of Jörg Saur

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, scratched highlights, 13.9 x 8.8 cm

Inscription: "Sauer propst," pen and ink

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 4

Figure number(s): 247, 54

Portrait of Hans Kienlein(?), brother at St Ulrich and Afra(?)

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 9.3 x 8.9 cm

Inscription: "her hans / ulrich," red chalk; "kienlein," brush and wash (inserted inbetween "hans" and "ulrich")

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 5

Portrait of Johannes von Wilnau

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black and brown ink, 13.7 x 9 cm

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 7

Portrait of Konrad Würffel

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 12.4 x 8.6 cm

Inscription: illegible and cropped on the right margin, silverpoint

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 8

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 9.5 x 8.3 cm

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 9

Figure number(s): 259

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, with traces of a red-tinted ground underneath (?), 8.9 x 8.4 cm

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 10

Portrait of a boy

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 11.9 x 8.2 cm

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 11

Portrait of Matthias Umhofer

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, 13.6 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "Im 1513 jar An sant matheis tag 80 Jar / altt und seyn andre(?) mes halten [...] gesunge," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.188

Figure number(s): 220

Portrait of Dr. Johannes Faber

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 13.9 x 10.7 cm

Inscription: "johannes toctoris," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.189

Figure number(s): 216

Portrait of Zimprecht Schwarz

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 14.1 x 10.8 cm

Inscription: "Zimpret Schwarz" (top margin), "schulmeister vom Frau" (sideways along left margin), silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.190

Figure number(s): 87

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.6 x 10.2 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.191

Portrait of a boy

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, red chalk, 13.6 x 10.1 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.192

Portrait of Hans Schlegel

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk, 13.9 x 10.7 cm

Inscription: "hans Schlegel / maler," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.193

Figure number(s): 124, 128 iv, 162, 163, 143 (verso)

Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and ink, red chalk, 14.1 x 10.7 cm

Inscription: "alle zeyt gut gesel zimpfbrecht raner," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194

Figure number(s): 243

Portrait of Adolf Dischmacher

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, 14 x 10.5 cm

Inscription: "adolf dischmacher," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196

Figure number(s): 61, 209, 142 (verso)

Portrait of a man named Hans Schm...

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 13.8 x 10.7 cm

Inscription: "hans Schm..." (cropped on right margin) silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197

Figure number(s): 128 ii, 246

Portrait of Hans Herwart

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk, 14 x 10.8 cm

Inscription: "hans harwart," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198

Figure number(s): 128 v, 164, 165

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, 14 x 10.8 cm

Inscription: mostly illegible (begins "Schwa..."), color notes: "gra" (grau) on hat, "w" (weiß) on beard, silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198 v

Figure number(s): 257

Portrait of Hans Aytelhe

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 13.9 x 10.5 cm

Inscription: "hans Aytelhe," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.199

Figure number(s): 128 iii, 206

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.5 x 9.8 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.182 U XVI 25a

Portrait of Hans Büchlin

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 13.5 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: "Hans büchlin," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.184 U XVI 25

Figure number(s): 128 i

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.9 x 10.1 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.185 U XVI 26

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.8 x 9.2 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.186 U XVI 26

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 12.2 x 9.7 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.187 U XVI 26

Portrait of Leonhard Wagner, with additional sketches and notes

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.9 x 10.6 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201 (OR 1662.201 U XVII 51)

Figure number(s): 101, 141 (verso)

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint, overdrawing in brush and wash by another hand*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 1v

Figure number(s): 75

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint, overdrawing in brush and wash by another hand*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 2v

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 3r

Figure number(s): 76

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 4r

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 14.3 x 10.5 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 5v

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 14.5 x 10.6 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 6v

Figure number(s): 77

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.5 x 9.7 cm

Inscription: Color notes: "g" (gelb or gold) and "schw" (schwarz) along top edge of hat, silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX fol. 7r / 1662.183 U XVI 25b

Figure number(s): 78

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 14.3 x 10.6 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 8v

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 9r

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 10v

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 14.2 x 10.5 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 11r

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint, overdrawing in pen and ink by another hand*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 12r

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 14v

Figure number(s): 79

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint*, 14.3 x 10.3 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 18r

Portrait of Jörg Seld

Silverpoint*, 14.2 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "JORIG SELD GOLDSCHMID / 1491 / 43 JAR / ALT," medium unknown

Dated 1497

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. nr. 1532

Figure number(s): 161

Portraits of Ambrosius Holbein and Hans Holbein the Younger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 15.5 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "holbein" between heads, "prosy" and "hanns" above heads, "14" above Hans, "1511" top center margin, all silverpoint

Dated 1511

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2507

Figure number(s): 70, 119, 122, 123, 127

Portrait of Sigmund Holbein

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?), 13.4 x 10.2 cm

Inscription: "Sigmund holbain maler," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2508

Figure number(s): 121, 126, 213

Portrait of Maximilian I

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, 15.4 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: "der groß kaiser maximilian," red chalk

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509

Figure number(s): 152, 153 (verso)

Portrait of Kunz (Konrad) von der Rosen

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, 9.8 x 8.9 cm

Inscription: "Cuncz v der Rosen," brush and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2511

Figure number(s): 94

Three portraits or head studies of Kunz (Konrad) von der Rosen

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 13.4 x 8.6 cm

Inscription: "conrat vo de roße," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2512

Figure number(s): 95, 96, 97, 144 (verso)

Portrait of Ulrich Artzt

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.8 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "burgemaiste arczet jez des gancze bund oberester hauptman," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2513

Figure number(s): 156

Portrait of Georg Thurzo

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, 15.1 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: "her Jörig dorssi," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2514

Figure number(s): 185

Portrait of Georg Thurzo

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white highlights, scratched highlights, 15.3 x 9.5 cm

Inscription: "her gorg her dorssi," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2515

Figure number(s): 55, 186

Portrait of Anna Thurzo-Fugger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, scratched highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?), 13.5 x 9.2 cm

Inscription: "dorsinin," brush(?) and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2516

Figure number(s): 56, 183

Portrait of Jakob Fugger der Reiche

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.6 x 9 cm

Inscription: "Her Jacob fuckher," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2517

Figure number(s): 178

Portrait of Jakob Fugger der Reiche

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, 13.4 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: "Jacob fuckher," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2518

Figure number(s): 179

Portrait of Raymund Fugger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.4 x 9.2 cm

Inscription: "Raymundy fuckher," brush(?) and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2519

Figure number(s): 180

Portrait of Anton Fugger

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 13.6 x 9.1 cm

Inscription: "Anthoni fuckher," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2520

Figure number(s): 182

Portrait of Ulrich Fugger the Younger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, 13.5 x 8.8 cm

Inscription: "Ulrich fugger d Junger," brush(?) and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2521

Figure number(s): 33, 181

Portrait of Veronika Fugger-Gassner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and brown wash, watercolor, 12.8 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: mostly illegible, "ulrich f...", pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2522

Figure number(s): 62, 184

Portrait of Martin Höfler

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 11.2 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: "martin d fuckher diener," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2523

Figure number(s): 254

Portrait of Leonhard Wagner

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 13.6 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: mostly illegible and crossed out inscription along top margin, silverpoint;

"Her leonhar[d] / wagner," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524

Figure number(s): 89, 145 (verso)

Portrait of Leonhard Wagner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, white chalk highlights, 13.6 x 9.5 cm

Inscription: "her lienhart der gut schreiber zu / Sant ulrich mit name wagner," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2525

Figure number(s): 34, 49, 50

Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, 13.8 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "Abbt v. s. ulrich / der Schrot," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2528

Figure number(s): 98, 136

Portrait of Heinrich Grim

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 9.4 x 9 cm

Inscription: "he (r above e) hain / rich grim / zu Sant ul / rich," red chalk

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2534

Figure number(s): 57, 219

Portrait of Jörg Winter

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, later overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand, 9.3 x 7.6 cm

Inscription: "...rg winte...", silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2535

Figure number(s): 221

Portrait of Clemens Sender

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and two tonal values of grey wash, 13.6 x 9.5 cm

Inscription: "her Clement / zu sant / ulrich," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2536

Figure number(s): 46, 47

Portrait of a Benedictine monk named Hans

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, incised for transfer(?), 9.7 x 6.8 cm

Inscription: "hans war zu S ulrich," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2537

Figure number(s): 35, 128 vi

Portrait of Hans Grießherr

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 11.7 x 8.6 cm

Inscription: "Herr Hanns Gress...", pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2538

Figure number(s): 218

Portrait of Hans Grießherr

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 13.6 x 9.2 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2539

Figure number(s): 59

Portrait of Jörg(?) Hierlinger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 13.5 x 8.5 cm

Inscription: "hanns hurling..." pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2541

Figure number(s): 105, 45, 111

Portrait of Hans Pflieger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 14.1 x 10 cm

Inscription: "hans phleger" (cropped on left margin), pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2543

Figure number(s): 40, 41, 42, 43

Portrait of Jörg Saur

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 15 x 10.5 cm

Inscription: "Jorg Sour / propst de... / kardinals secretary," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2544

Figure number(s): 170

Portrait of Paul Grim

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 13.1 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: "...[P]als / grim" (cropped on the left margin), silverpoint; "pals grim Schneider" (top margin), pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2545

Figure number(s): 107, 114, 115

Portrait of Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.4 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: "Jorg schenck zum Schenckenste[...]," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2547

Figure number(s): 248

Portrait of Hans Nell

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 14.1 x 8.4 cm

Inscription: "hans nell" (upper left), red chalk; "Hanns Nell" (right margin), brush(?) and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2548

Figure number(s): 128 ix, 159

Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand,
13.6 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: "zimprecht rawner," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2549

Figure number(s): 244

Portrait of Hans Berting

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk
highlights, watercolor(?), 12.2 x 9.1 cm

Inscription: "Bruder Hanns perting," brush(?) and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2550

Figure number(s): 65

Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 15.4 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: "kunigsperg ... niclass," red chalk

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551

Figure number(s): 128 x, 252

Portrait of Hans Berting

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 15.4 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: "Bruder hans bertin...", red chalk

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551 verso

Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 10.2 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: "[?]er[]hecke / Niclas beim(?) / Kungspg," silverpoint with pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2552

Figure number(s): 253

Portrait of Hans Schwarz

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk
highlights, 12.4 x 9.9 cm

Inscription: "hans schwarcz stainmecz," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2553

Figure number(s): 48, 109, 128 vii

Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 11.4 x 7.6 cm

Inscription: "Swarzensteinerin," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2556

Figure number(s): 270

Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 11.7 x 8.2 cm

Inscription: "schwarczestainerin de frome frauwe / seiboltin tochter [u?]nd zunftmaisterin," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2557

Figure number(s): 60, 271

Portrait of Frau Fischer

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 12.6 x 8.1 cm

Inscription: Verso: "...mey...der ... / von augspurg," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2558

Figure number(s): 44, 174, 285

Portrait of Anna Laminit

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 10.3 x 8.7 cm

Inscription: "lamanötly d nit ist," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2559

Figure number(s): 53, 268

Portraits of Hans Holbein the Younger and Ambrosius Holbein

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.3 x 7.4 cm

Inscription:

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2560

Figure number(s): 236

Portrait of a girl

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 13.3 x 7.9 cm

Inscription: Later: "A. Dürer," "Agnes Albrecht Dürers Schwester," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561

Figure number(s): 17, 149, 150

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 13.5 x 8.6 cm

Inscription: Illegible, fragmentary, and cropped on the left margin, silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562

Figure number(s): 147 (verso), 249

Portrait of a man named Hans

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 13.2 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: "hanns," silverpoint, overwritten in pencil(?)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2563

Figure number(s): 37, 207

Portrait of Jörg Fischer

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 13.5 x 9.5 cm

Inscription: "...rg fischer," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2564

Figure number(s): 38, 172

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, 13.3 x 9.7 cm

Inscription: "20 nound(?)" (top margin), pen and ink; "novemb" (cropped on the upper right corner), silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565

Figure number(s): 258

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 14 x 8.7 cm

Inscription: "Barscherz," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2566

Figure number(s): 166, 167, 169, 281

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 11.6 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: "...eck" (cropped on the upper left margin), pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2567

Figure number(s): 39, 251

Portrait of a young man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 13.9 x 10 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2568

Figure number(s): 245

Portrait of Burkhard Engelberg

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 12.8 x 9.8 cm

Inscription: Verso in ink "Mayster [...]ngel[...] / stainmitz von augspurg(h?)," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2569

Figure number(s): 52, 158

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, 9.2 x 7.2 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2570

Figure number(s): 261

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and three values of grey wash, scratched highlights, 13.4 x 9.9 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2571

Figure number(s): 51, 148 (verso), 208

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 13.3 x 10.1 cm

Inscription:

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2572

Figure number(s): 18

Portrait of a woman

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 13.1 x 9.5 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2573

Figure number(s): 32, 211

Portrait of Jörg Bock (?)

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, watercolor, 15.1 x 10 cm

Inscription: "jorg boken," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2574

Figure number(s): 64

Portrait of a woman

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 12.6 x 8.6 cm

Inscription: "...s staimcze (we)yb des (...)nen (toc)hter" (cropped on the upper left margin); "Septi(...)" (cropped on the upper right margin), all silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2575

Figure number(s): 210

Portrait of an elderly man

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, brush and grey wash, 13.2 x 9.2 cm

Inscription: "decim(...)" (cropped on the upper right margin), silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2577

Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk, with overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand, 11.9 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: Verso: "IHESV.FILI.DEI.VIVI.MISERERE.MEI...", silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2578

Figure number(s): 83, 85, 16 (verso)

Portrait of Jörg Bomheckel (?)

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, watercolor, 13.9 x 10.1 cm

Inscription: "Bom jorig;" Verso: "Jorig bomheckel, all pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2579

Figure number(s): 66

Portrait of Matthäus Roritzer (ca. 1430/40-1492/95)

Silverpoint on a light grey ground; overdrawing in pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, and watercolor by another hand, 12.3 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: Later: "Meyster / Von" (upper left), "Roritzer / Regensp[...]" (cropped on the upper right margin), pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 5008

Figure number(s): 63, 151, 160

Portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 13.9 x 9.2 cm

Inscription: "haug," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 17660

Figure number(s): 176

Portrait of a nun from the Vetter family, probably Walpurga Vetter

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 16.2 x 13.7 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the "Kleiner Klebeband," fol. 32

Figure number(s): 73

Self-portrait of Hans Holbein the Elder

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, 13 x 10 cm

Inscription: "hanns / holbain / maler" (upper left margin), "1515" (top margin), "der alt" (upper right margin), all silverpoint

Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. nr. DE 897

Figure number(s): 69, 118

Portrait of an elderly woman

Silverpoint*, 6.6 x 5.8 cm

Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. nr. 1970.14

Portrait of a young woman

Silverpoint, white heightening, gone over with red pencil*, 13.6 x 10 cm

Inscription: "vo meminge (Memmingen)"*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2988

Portrait of Johannes von Wilnau (?)

Silverpoint, overdrawn in brush and ink*

Dessau, Staatliche Galerie, inv. nr. unknown

Portrait of Konrad Würffel

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground*, 12.2 x 9.1 cm

Inscription: Later inscription*

Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 23907

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint*, 13.1 x 9.5 cm

London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1885,0509.1612

Portrait of Sigmund Holbein

Silverpoint*, 13 x 9.6 cm

Inscription: "1512" (cropped on the top margin) "Sigmund holbain maler han[s] / pruder des alten" (cropped on the right margin), all silverpoint

London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915.987

Figure number(s): 120, 125, 214

Portrait of a young man

Silverpoint on tinted paper*, 13.4 x 8.9 cm
London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915.988

Portrait of a woman named Mechtilta

Silverpoint*, 13.4 x 10 cm
Inscription: "mechtilta" (upper left corner), pen and ink(?); "octimo" (cropped on the upper right margin), silverpoint(?)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. nr. Cod. F. 274 inf. n. 15
Figure number(s): 267

Portrait of an elderly man

Silverpoint on white chalk ground*, 15.2 x 10.3 cm
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. nr. Cod. F. 264 inf. n. 36

Two portraits of a woman, with studies of hands

Silverpoint on grey prepared paper*, 21 x 14.6 cm
Oxford, Christ Church, inv. nr. unknown

Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, 12.7 x 10 cm
Inscription: "ALT.VLRICH.SCHWARCZ" ("ARC" written over "RCZ"), silverpoint
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18898
Figure number(s): 82

Portrait of a young woman of the Bräsel(?) family

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, 14 x 10 cm
Inscription: Mostly illegible, pen and ink
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. RF 738

Portrait of a girl

Silverpoint, white highlights, gone over with brush and ink*, 15.4 x 10.2 cm
Inscription: Mostly illegible in photographs
Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts (Collection J. Masson), inv. nr. Mas.83

Portrait of a monk

Silverpoint, white highlights, sporadically overdrawn with red pencil*, 13.7 x 9.5 cm
Inscription: Mostly illegible in photographs
Private collection

Portrait and figure study of a young woman

Silverpoint*, 10.5 x 6.1 cm
Private collection

Portrait of a woman

Silverpoint, brush and black and brown ink, point of the brush and black ink, grey wash, heightened with white on brown prepared paper, 14.4 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: Illegible, pen and ink

Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. nr. 1991.182.18.a

Figure number(s): 212

Portrait of a man

Silverpoint*, 14.4 x 10.3 cm

Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. nr. 1991.182.18.b

Portrait of Hans Griebherr

Silverpoint, gone over*, 13.8 x 9.4 cm

Inscription: "her hans griessher zu / S. Ulrich," red chalk

Weimar, Klassik Stiftung, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. nr. KK 124

Portraits of Abbot Johannes Schrott (left) and a monk with a tonsure (right)

Silverpoint*, 15.4 x 10.3 cm

Weimar, Klassik Stiftung, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. nr. KK 125

Portrait of Clemens Sender

Silverpoint, overdrawn with brush and ink*, 11.4 x 9 cm

Inscription: "her clement zu.S. ulrich," pen and ink

Weimar, Klassik Stiftung, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. nr. KK 126

Portrait Drawings Attributable to Holbein's Workshop, Pupils, or Followers

Portrait of a woman

Silverpoint, lips tinted with red, 21 x 15.4 cm

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.206

Portrait of a girl named Anne

Silverpoint, gone over with pen and ink and red chalk, 21.2 x 15.4 cm

Inscription: "ANNE / 1518," silverpoint

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.207

Portrait of Abbot Konrad Mörlin

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, scratched highlights, 15.3 x 10.5 cm

Inscription: "Conrat morlin / abt zu Sanct / ulrich zu / augspurg," silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2526

Figure number(s): 134, 222

Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 10.1 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: "Abbt zu S ulrich der Schrot," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2527

Figure number(s): 100, 135

Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 14.1 x 9.9 cm

Inscription: "Abbt zu S. Ulrich zu augspurg," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2529

Figure number(s): 99, 137, 138

Portrait of Dr. Johannes Faber

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 12 x 9.3 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2530

Portraits of a man, Hans Griëßherr(?) (left), and Abbot Johannes Schrott (right)

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, 15.5 x 10.2 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2531

Portrait of Hans Griëßherr

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights, 13.7 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: "Her Hanns Griss[?]e..." pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2532

Figure number(s): 58

Portrait of Heinrich Grim

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, 9.6 x 7.4 cm

Inscription: "Her Heinrich Grim," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2533

Portrait of Abbot Peter Wagner

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash, 10.2 x 9.8 cm

Inscription: "Abbt zu ... dierhawbten" (top margin), pen and ink; "abt / der(?)..."
silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2540

Figure number(s): 139, 140

Portrait of Jörg (?) Hierlinger

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 14 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: Verso: "jerg hirling[e]r" (on bottom margin), silverpoint

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2542

Figure number(s): 106, 112, 146 (verso)

Portrait of Paul Grim

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 12.4 x 7.9 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2546

Figure number(s): 108, 113, 116

Portrait of Hans Schwarz

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, 12.9 x 8.2 cm

Inscription: "hans schwarcz stainmecz," pen and ink

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2554

Figure number(s): 110, 117, 128 viii

Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner

Silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, 11.9 x 10.3 cm

Inscription: "zunftmaisterin schwarcze[n]stainer / der frome frauwe ... d seiboldi / tochter," red chalk

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2555

Figure number(s): 269

Portrait of a girl

Silverpoint on a light grey ground, with traces of a red-tinted ground underneath (?), 8.8 x 7.1 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2581

Copy of a portrait of Leonhard Wagner

Silverpoint*, 14 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: "Der Her(r) lienhart hatt 115 schriften gmacht vnderschiedlich"*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2992

Copy of a portrait of Ulrich Artzt

Silverpoint, overdrawn in brush and ink*, 13.9 x 10.2 cm

Inscription: "Vlrich arczet burgerma(i)ster habtma des bunds"*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2993

Copy of a portrait of Burkhard Engelberg

Silverpoint, overdrawn in brush and ink*, 13.6 x 10.4 cm

Inscription: "Mayster Burghart Engelberg stainmitz werkma S. Vlrich kirch hie"*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2994

Copy of a portrait of Jakob Fugger der Reich

Silverpoint, white highlights, gone over*, 13.4 x 10 cm

Inscription: Later inscription*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb2995

Copy of a portrait of Abbot Peter Wagner

Silverpoint, overdrawn in brush and ink*, 13.7 x 9.9 cm

Inscription: "Her Petter Wagner apt zu Dierhaptent"*

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb3807

Portrait of a young man

Silverpoint, pen and ink*, 11.8 x 8.8 cm

Manchester, Collection of H. E. Schwabe

Copy of a portrait of Hans Griebherr

Silverpoint, overdrawn in brush and ink*, 11.9 x 9.1 cm

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. nr. KKSgb3808

Portrait of a woman

Silverpoint, colored with ochre, ink, and watercolors*, 28.2 x 18.1 cm

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. nr. 50

Portrait of a young man

Silverpoint, grey-green ground, 17.1 x 13.5 cm

Inscription: "MDXX" (upper left corner), silverpoint; illegible inscription in ink below

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18693

Copy of a portrait of Leonhard Wagner

pen and brown ink, 14 x 11.4 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 31285

Copy of a portrait of Frau Fischer

Silverpoint*, 13.6 x 10.1 cm

London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1854,0628.113

Portrait Drawings of Which Attributions to Holbein or His Workshop, Pupils, or Followers Are Questionable

Portrait of Heinrich Grim

Pen and ink with scumbling*, 11.6 x 8.7 cm

Inscription: "her hainrich grim zu .S. ulrich," pen and ink

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, inv. nr. Graph. I A 6

Portrait of a man

Black ink, black chalk, brown wash and gouache, grey wash and gouache, white highlights, 16.2 x 12.5 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. A214

Head study of a boy

Silverpoint, red-tinted ground, scumbling with bister, white highlights*, 13.3 x 9.6 cm

Paris, Rodrigues Collection?

Studies of two young men in profile, a figure study of a dwarf, a cityscape

Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. nr. unknown

Figures



Fig. 1. *Seven studies of hands*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.195)



Fig. 2. *Four studies of roses*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. U II 42)



Fig. 3. *Studies of two violins, two bows, and a chicken*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.202)



Fig. 4. *Sketch of a rabbit, with a few lines of faded text, and a later copy of the rabbit*, silverpoint, later drawing in pencil (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.188 verso)



Fig. 5. *Studies of two calves and a standing figure*, silverpoint (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 9 verso)



Fig. 6. *Virgin and Child*, silverpoint, pen and ink, white highlights (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.204)



Fig. 7. *Compositional sketch of the Fourteen Holy Helpers*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197 verso)



Fig. 8. *Sketches of a nude man falling from a horse (perhaps the Fall of Phaeton), a falling horse, a spilled cup (?), part of a capital, and part of a bird's wing (?)*, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2554 verso)



Fig. 9. *Sketches of a woman in armor with a sword (Justice?), a man in armor with a shield, an ornament with a putto, and a profile with a woman's bonnet, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2545 verso)*



Fig. 10. *Sketches of an ornamental garland with a putto and grotesque ornaments, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561 verso)*



Fig. 11. *Sketches of Saint Florian with a banner and a bucket, an ornamental garland, a putto, and a capital, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565)*



Fig. 12. *Sketches of architectural ornaments, silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2577 verso)*

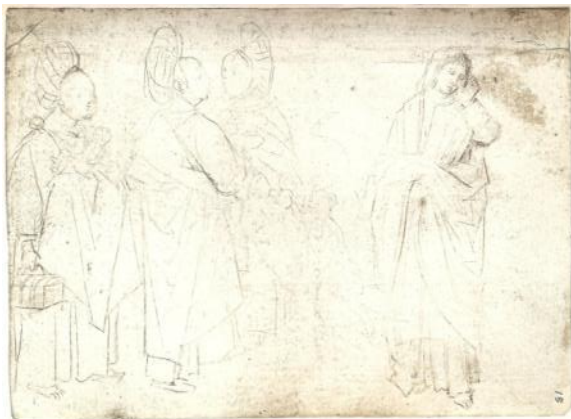


Fig. 13. *Sketches of three women with children and a mourning Saint John the Evangelist, silverpoint* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol.15v)



Fig. 14. *Sketches and notes* (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 8 verso)

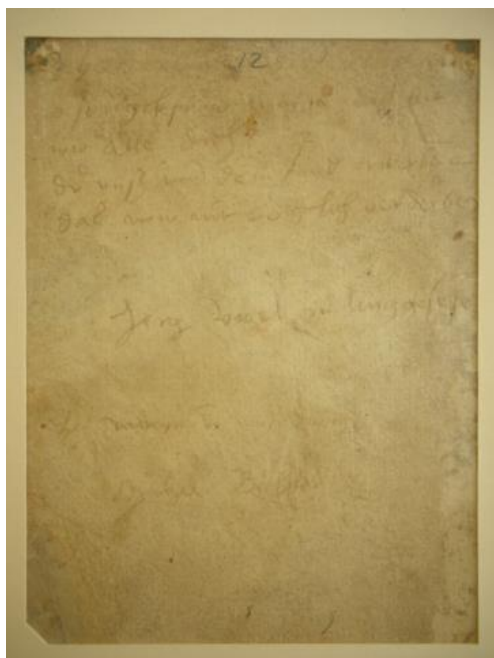


Fig. 15. *Notes* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194 verso)

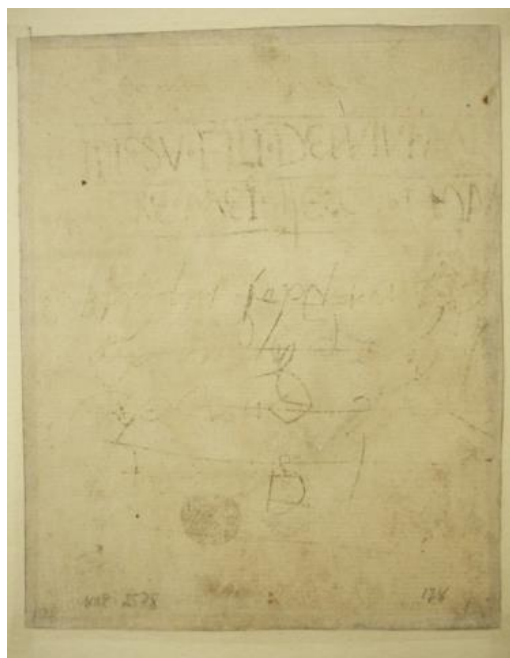


Fig. 16. *Notes and script* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2578 verso)



Fig. 17. Detail of Figure 149. Arrows indicate the direction of the brushstrokes for the ground application. The square highlights an embedded hair from the brush used for applying the ground.



Fig. 18. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2572)



Fig. 19. *Death of the Virgin*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-brown tinted ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.215)



Fig. 20. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Boy with long hair, probably a young David*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white chalk, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)



Fig. 21. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Saints Sebastian, Lucy, and Catherine*, copied from the inner left wing of the *Hohenburger Altarpiece*, pen and ink, white highlights, on a red-tinted ground (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. nr. Graph. A E 386)



Fig. 22. *Saints Sebastian, Lucy, and Catherine*, from the inner left wing of the *Hohenburger Altarpiece* (Prague, Národní Museum, inv. nr. 271, 272)



Fig. 23. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Saint Thecla seated in a chair and viewed from behind*, copied from the center panel of *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)



Fig. 24. Detail, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura*, 1504 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nrs. 5332, 5333, 5334)



Fig. 25. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Pattern drawings of character types*, pen and ink, brush and wash, white highlights, on a red-tinted ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband”)



Fig. 26. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Pattern drawings of character types*, pen and ink, brush and wash, body color, on a red-tinted ground (University College London Museum, inv. nr. 1223)



Fig. 27. Detail of underdrawing in metalpoint for a manuscript illumination, *Book of Hours*, Provence, ca. 1440-1450 (New York, Morgan Library, MS M 358, fol. 17r)

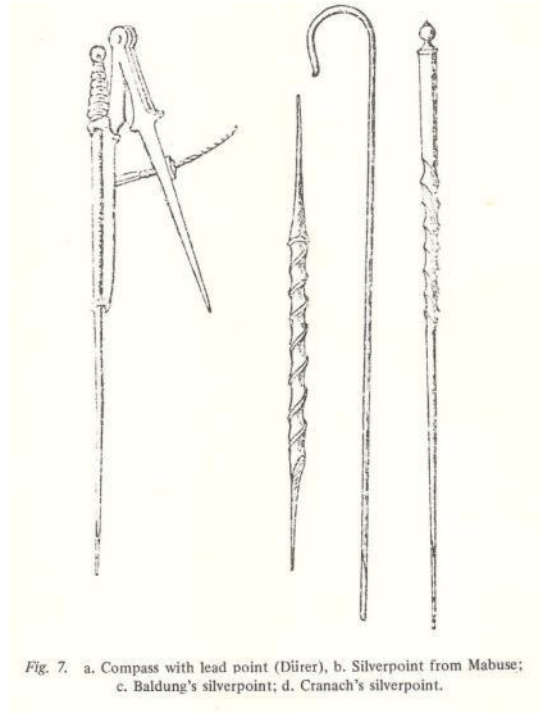


Fig. 7. a. Compass with lead point (Dürer), b. Silverpoint from Mabuse; c. Baldung's silverpoint; d. Cranach's silverpoint.

Fig. 28. Illustrations of metalpoints, from Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, trans. Winslow Ames (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), vol. 2, 61, fig. 7



Fig. 29. Modern example of a silverpoint (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett)



Fig. 30. Detail, Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. nr. 93.153)



Fig. 31. Hans Baldung Grien's silverpoint sketchbook ("Karlsruher Skizzenbuch") (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle)

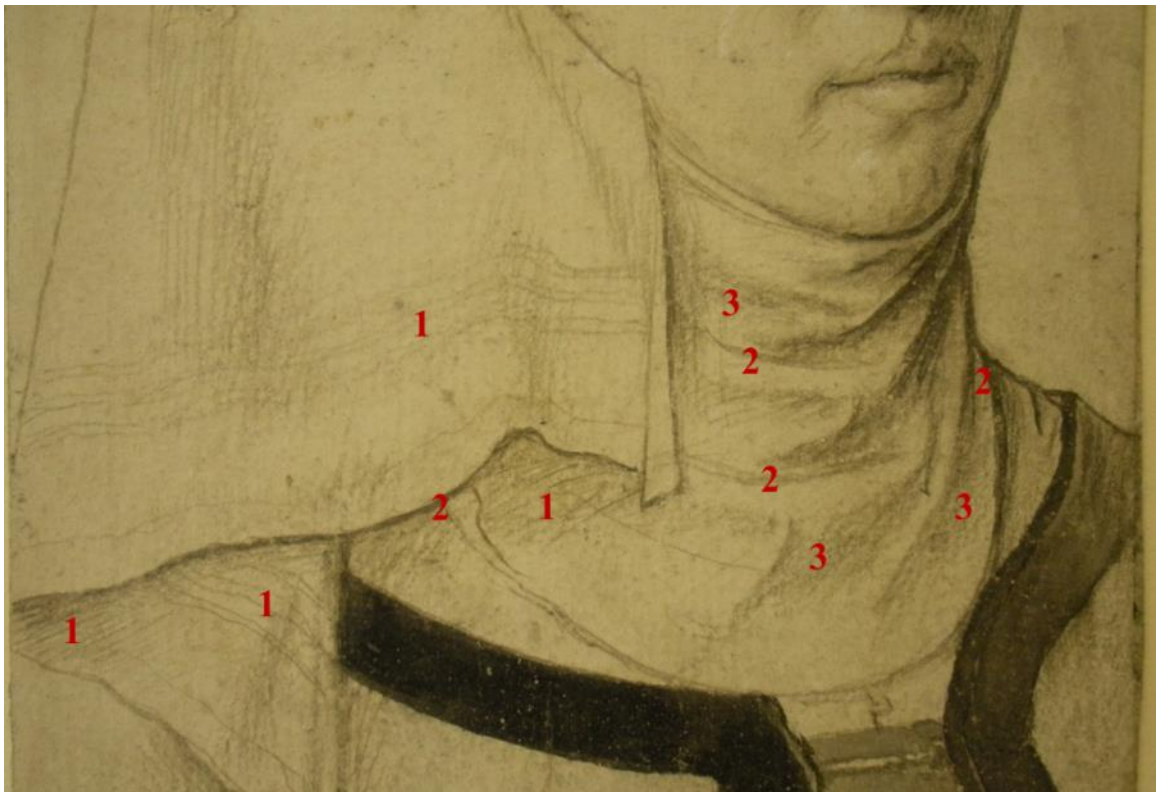


Fig. 32. Detail of Figure 211. **1** Fine lines done with a sharp point. **2** Thicker lines done with the wider part of the point. **3** Areas of shading done with the broad side of the tool.



Fig. 33. Detail of Figure 181



Fig. 34. Detail of Figure 49



Fig. 35. Detail, *Portrait of a Benedictine monk named Hans*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, incised for transfer (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2537)



Fig. 36. Detail of Figure 155



Fig. 37. Detail of Figure 207



Fig. 38. Detail of Figure 172



Fig. 39. Detail of Figure 251



Fig. 40. *Portrait of Hans Pflieger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2543)



Fig. 41. Detail of Figure 40



Fig. 42. Detail of Figure 40



Fig. 43. Detail of Figure 40



Fig. 44. Detail of Figure 174



Fig. 45. Detail of Figure 105



Fig. 46. *Portrait of Clemens Sender*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and two tonal values of grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2536)



Fig. 47. Detail of Figure 46



Fig. 48. Detail of Figure 109



Fig. 49. *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2525)



Fig. 50. View of Figure 49 in from the left in oblique lighting



Fig. 51. Detail of Figure 208



Fig. 52. Detail of Figure 158



Fig. 53. Detail of Figure 268



Fig. 54. Detail of Figure 247



Fig. 55. Detail of Figure 186



Fig. 56. Detail of Figure 183



Fig. 57. Detail of Figure 219



Fig. 58. Detail, *Portrait of Hans Griebherr*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2532)



Fig. 59. Detail, *Portrait of Hans Griebherr*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2539)



Fig. 60. Detail of Figure 271



Fig. 61. Detail of Figure 209



Fig. 62. Detail of Figure 184



Fig. 63. Detail of Figure 160



Fig. 64. Detail, *Portrait of Jörg Bock (?)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2574)



Fig. 65. Detail, *Portrait of Hans Berting*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2550)



Fig. 66. *Portrait of Jörg Bomheckel (?)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2579)



Fig. 67. *Saint Sebastian Altarpiece*, 1516 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 5352, 668, 669)



Fig. 68. Detail of Figure 67: Self-portrait of Hans Holbein the Elder



Fig. 69. *Self-portrait*, , silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. nr. DE 897)



Fig. 70. *Portraits of Ambrosius Holbein and Hans Holbein the Younger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2507)



Fig. 71. *Epitaph of the Vetter Sisters*, 1499 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 4669)



Fig. 72. Detail of Figure 71: Portraits of Walpurga, Veronika, and Christina Vetter



Fig. 73. *Portrait of a nun from the Vetter family, probably Walpurga Vetter*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, from the “Kleiner Klebeband,” fol. 32)



Fig. 74. *Adoration of the Magi and Circumcision, Kaisheim Altarpiece, 1502* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 721-736)



Fig. 75. *Portrait of a monk, silverpoint, overdrawing in brush and wash possibly by another hand* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 1v)



Fig. 76. *Portrait of a monk, silverpoint* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 3r)



Fig. 77. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol. 6v)



Fig. 78. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX fol. 7r / 1662.183)



Fig. 79. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstich-kabinett, inv. nr. Skizzenbuch U XX, fol.14v)



Fig. 80. *Schwarz Family Votive Portrait*, ca: 1508 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 1057)



Fig. 81. Detail of Figure 80: Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz

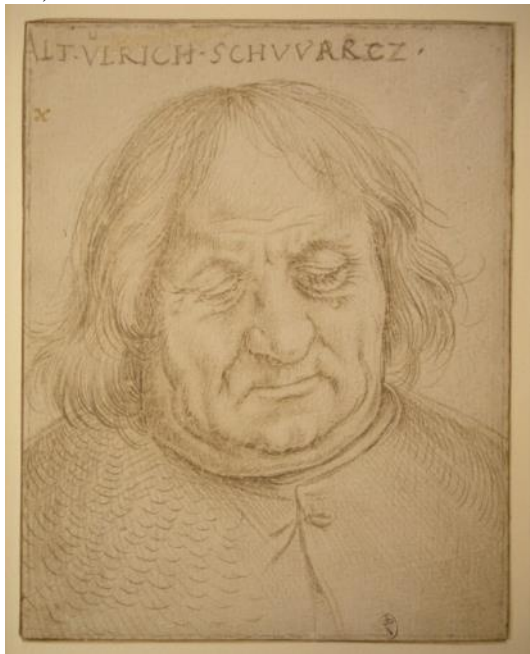


Fig. 82. *Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. nr. 18898)



Fig. 83. *Portrait of Ulrich Schwarz (?)*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk, with overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2578)



Fig. 84. Detail of Figure 80: God the Father



Fig. 85. Figure 83 flipped vertically

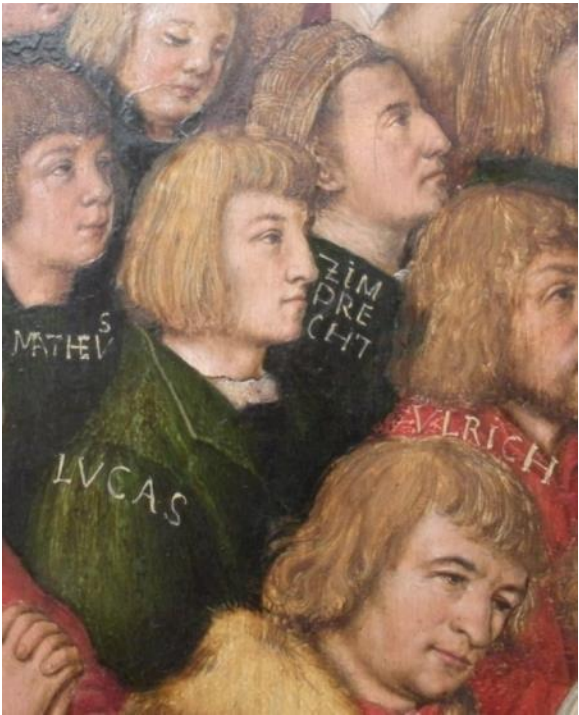


Fig. 86. Detail of Figure 80: Sons of Ulrich Schwarz



Fig. 87. *Portrait of Zimprecht Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.190)



Fig. 88. Details of Figure 80 and 87: Drawing of Zimprecht Schwarz superimposed on his image in the *Schwarz Family Votive Portrait*



Fig. 89. *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524)



Fig. 90. Detail of Figure 91



Fig. 91. *Fish Miracle of Saint Ulrich, Saint Katharine Altarpiece*, 1512 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5296)



Fig. 92. *Martyrdom of Saint Peter, Saint Katharine Altarpiece*, 1512 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 5364)



Fig. 93. Detail of Figure 92 flipped horizontally



Fig. 94. *Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2511)



Fig. 95. *Three portraits of Kunz von der Rosen*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2512)



Fig. 96. Detail of Figure 95



Fig. 97. Detail of Figure 96



Fig. 98. *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2528)



Fig. 99. *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2529)



Fig. 100. *Portrait of Abbot Johannes Schrott*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2527)



Fig. 101. *Portrait of Leonhard Wagner, with sketches and notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201)



Fig. 102. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Annunciation*, copied from the *Kaisheim Altarpiece*, pen and ink, brush and wash (formerly Vienna, Albertina [present location unknown])

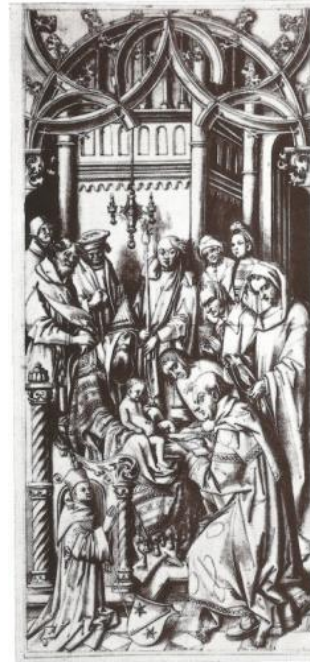


Fig. 103. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder, *Circumcision*, copied from the *Kaisheim Altarpiece*, pen and ink, brush and wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2065)



Fig. 104. *Annunciation*, *Kaisheim Altarpiece*, 1502 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nrs. 721-736)



Fig. 105. *Portrait of Jörg(?) Hierlinger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2541)



Fig. 106. Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Jörg(?) Hierlinger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2542)



Fig. 107. *Portrait of Paul Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2545)



Fig. 108. Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Paul Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2546)



Fig. 109. *Portrait of Hans Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2553)



Fig. 110. Assistant or pupil of *Portrait of Hans Schwarz*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2554)



Fig. 111. Detail of Figure 105



Fig. 112. Detail of Figure 106



Fig. 113. Detail of Figure 107



Fig. 114. Detail of Figure 108



Fig. 115. Detail of Figure 107



Fig. 116. Detail of Figure 108



Fig. 117. Detail of Figure 110



Fig. 118. Detail of Figure 69: Inscription under normal lighting (top) and ultraviolet light (bottom)



Fig. 119. Detail of Figure 70: Inscription 'holbain'

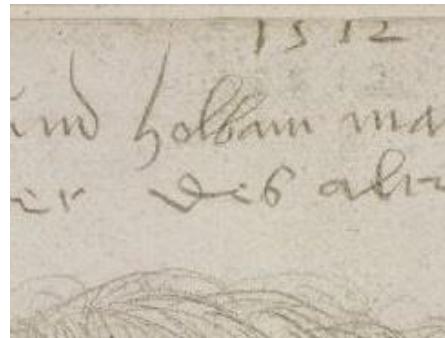


Fig. 120. Detail of Figure 214: Inscription 'holbain'

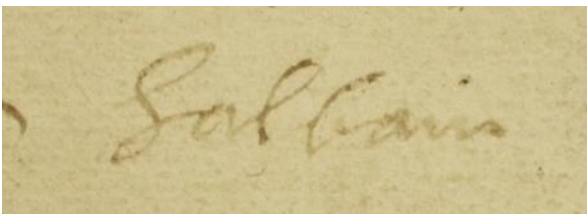


Fig. 121. Detail of Figure 213: Inscription 'holbain'

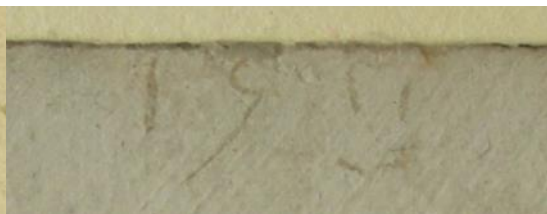


Fig. 122. Detail of Figure 70: Inscription '1511'



Fig. 123. Detail of Figure 70: Inscriptions '1511,' 'prosy,' 'holbain,' 'hanns' and '14'

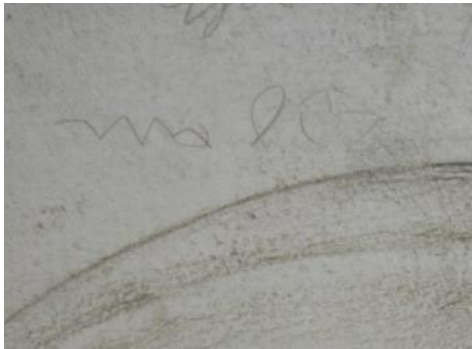


Fig. 124. Detail of Figure 162: Inscription: 'maler'

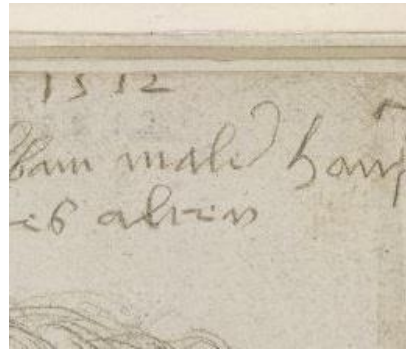


Fig. 125. Detail of Figure 214: Inscription: 'maler'

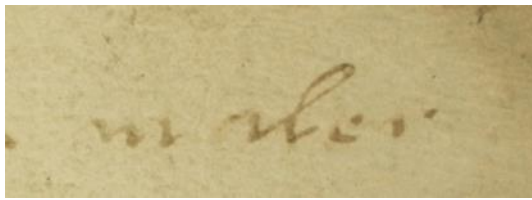


Fig. 126. Detail of Figure 213: Inscription: 'maler'



Fig. 127. Detail of Figure 70: Inscription "hanns"

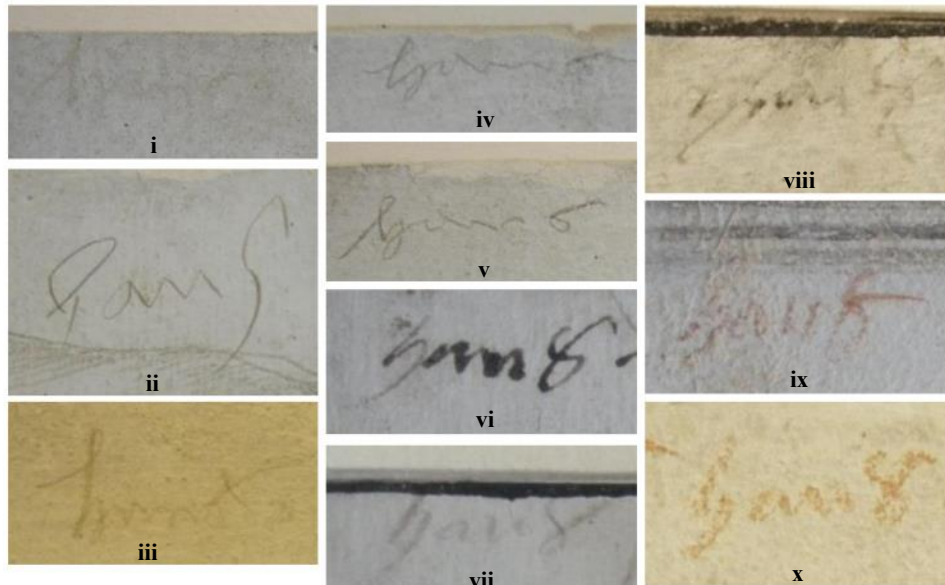


Fig. 128. Examples of inscriptions "han(n)s." **i** Basel 1662.184, silverpoint. **ii** Basel 1662.197, silverpoint. **iii** Basel 1662.199, silverpoint. **iv** Basel 1662.193, silverpoint. **v** Basel 1662.198, silverpoint. **vi** Berlin 2537, pen. **vii** Berlin 2553, pen. **viii** Berlin 2554, pen. **ix** Berlin 2548, red chalk. **x** Berlin 2551, red chalk.

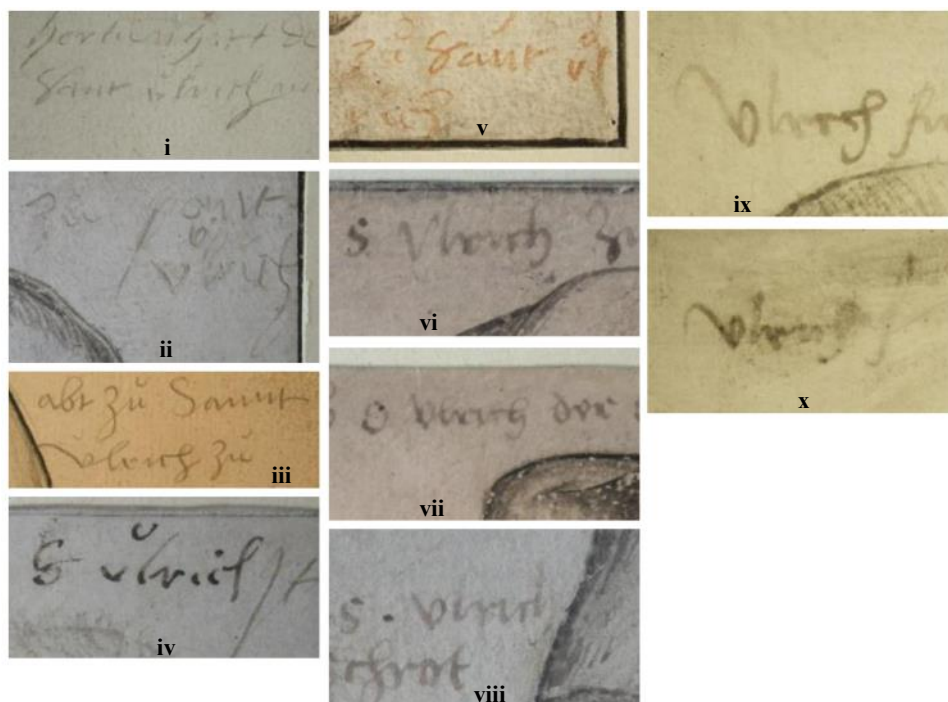


Fig. 129. Examples of inscriptions “U/ulrich.” **i** Berlin 2525, silverpoint. **ii** Berlin 2536, silverpoint. **iii** Berlin 2526, silverpoint. **iv** Berlin 2537, pen. **v** Berlin 2534, red chalk. **vi** Berlin 2529, brush. **vii** Berlin 2527, brush. **viii** Berlin 2528, brush. **ix** Berlin 2521, brush. **x** Berlin 2522, brush.



Fig. 130. Examples of inscriptions “A/ab(b)t” or “A/apt.” **i** Berlin 2540, silverpoint. **ii** Berlin 2527 verso, pen. **iii** Berlin 2529 verso, pen. **iv** Berlin 2526, silverpoint. **v** Berlin 2540, brush. **vi** Berlin 2527, brush. **vii** Berlin 2529, brush. **viii** Berlin 2528, brush.

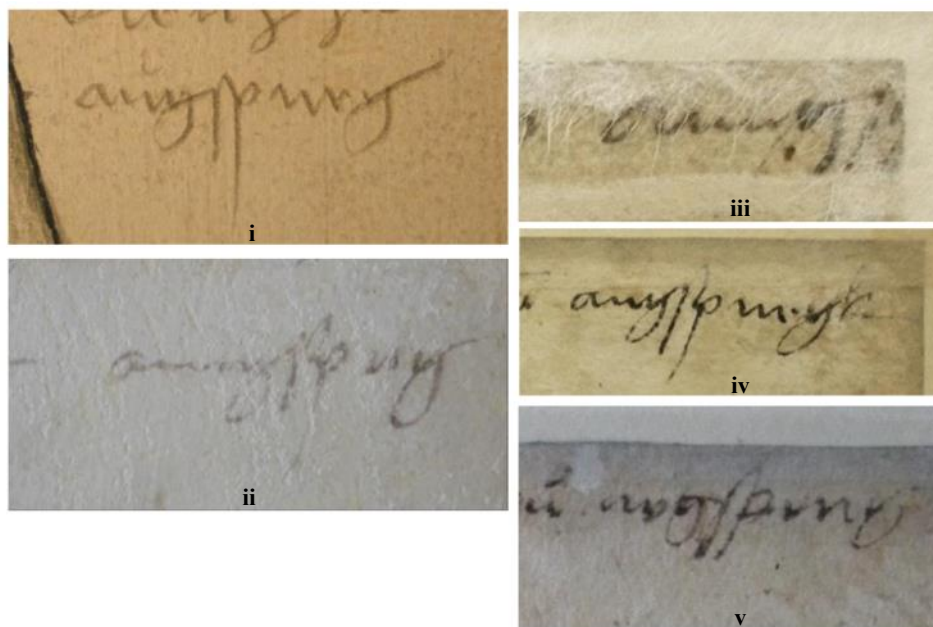


Fig. 131. Examples of inscriptions “augspurg(h).” **i** Berlin 2526, silverpoint. **ii** Berlin 2558, pen. **iii** Berlin 2517 verso, pen. **iv** Berlin 2518 verso, pen. **v** Berlin 2529 verso, pen.



Fig. 132. Examples of inscriptions “fuckher” or “fugker.” **i** Berlin 2517, brush. **ii** Berlin 2518, brush. **iii** Berlin 2519, brush. **iv** Berlin 2517 verso, pen. **v** Berlin 2520, brush. **vi** Berlin 2523, brush. **vii** Berlin 2521, brush.

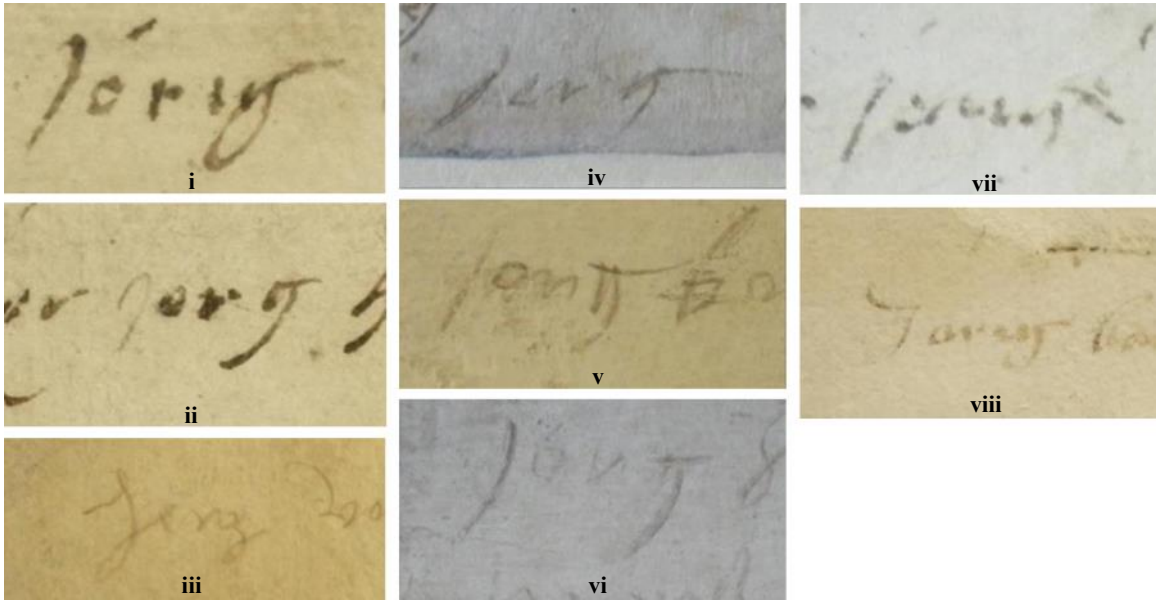


Fig. 133. Examples of inscriptions “jor(i)g” or “jerg.” **i** Berlin 2514, pen. **ii** Berlin 2515, pen. **iii** Basel 1662.194 verso, silverpoint. **iv** Berlin 2542, silverpoint. **v** Berlin 2574, silverpoint. **vi** Berlin 2544, silverpoint. **vii** Berlin 2579, pen. **viii** Berlin 2579 verso, pen.

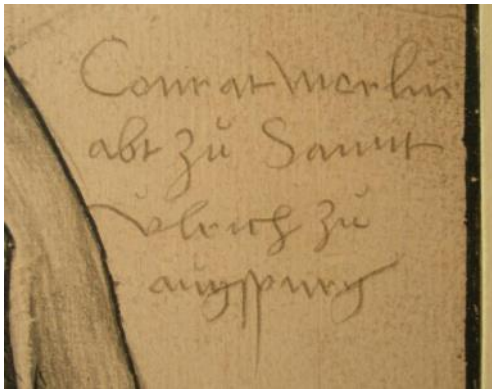


Fig. 134. Detail of Figure 222

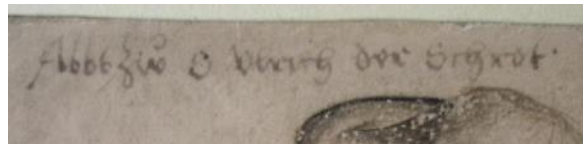


Fig. 135. Detail of Figure 100

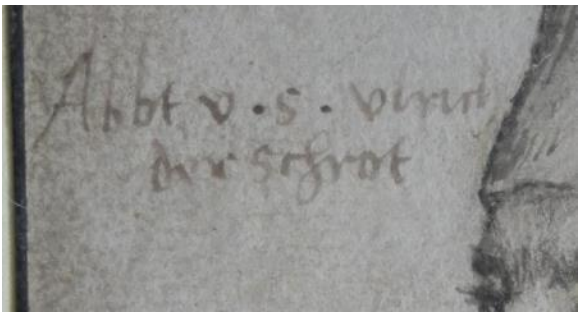


Fig. 136. Detail of Figure 98

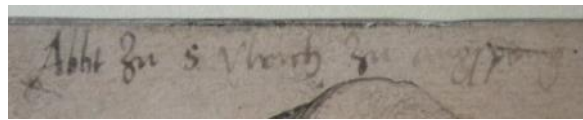


Fig. 137. Detail of Figure 99

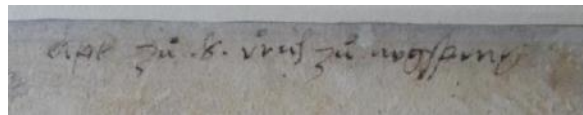


Fig. 138. Detail of Figure 99



Fig. 139. Detail, *Portrait of Abbot Peter Wagner*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2540)

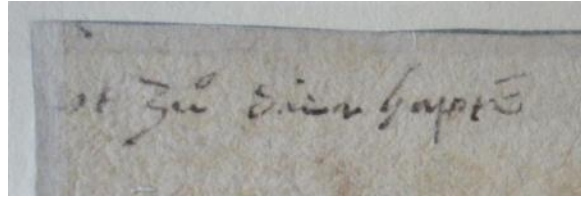


Fig. 140. Detail, Inscription: “[A]bt zu dierhaupt[n?],” pen (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2540 verso)

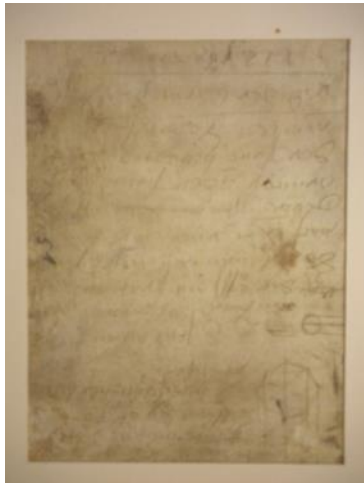


Fig. 141. *Notes and sketches*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.201 verso)

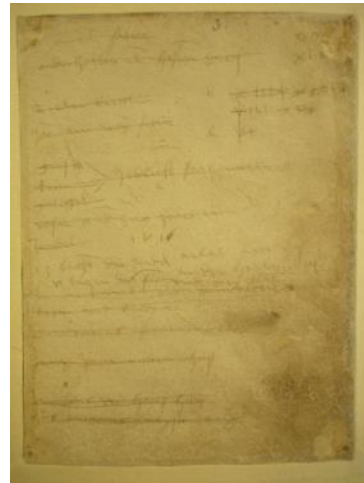


Fig. 142. *Notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196 verso)

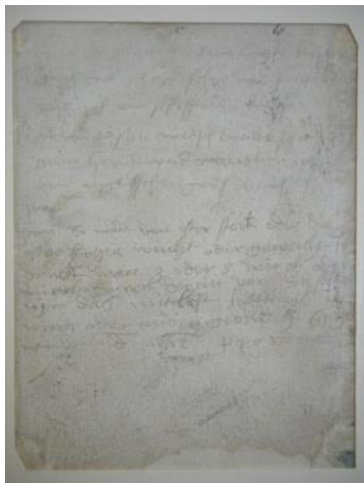


Fig. 143. *Notes*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.193 verso)



Fig. 144. *Verses from a poem (?)*, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2512 verso)

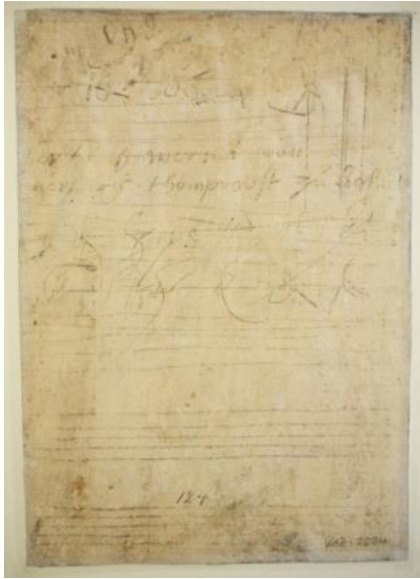


Fig. 145. Notes, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2524 verso)

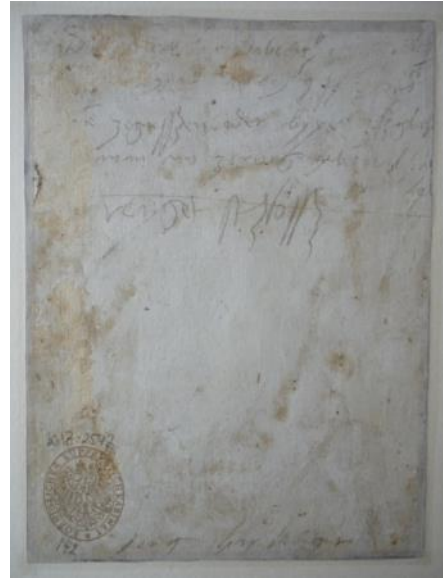


Fig. 146. Notes, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2542 verso)

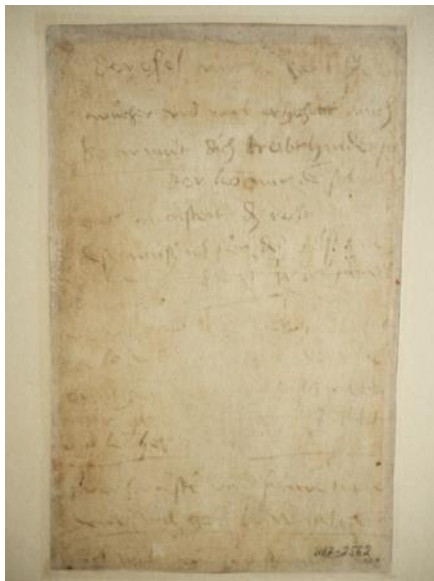


Fig. 147. Notes, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562 verso)

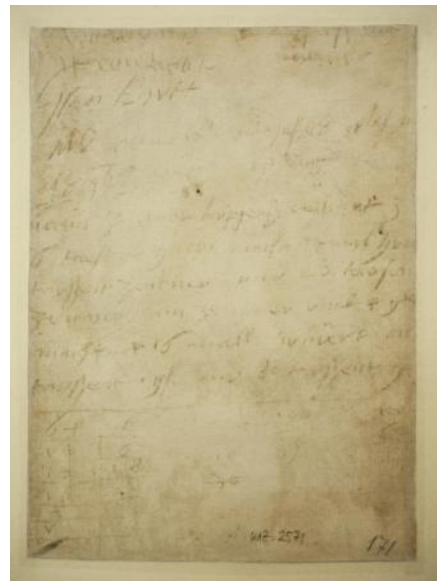


Fig. 148. Notes, silverpoint on a thin light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2571 verso)



Fig. 149. *Portrait of a girl*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2561)

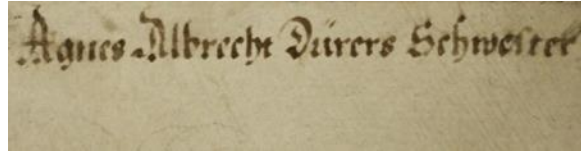


Fig. 150 Detail of Figure 149.

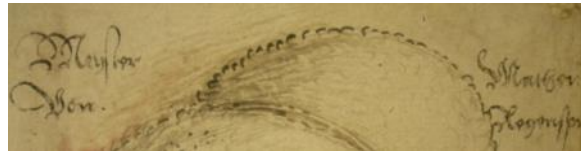


Fig. 151. Detail of Figure 160



Fig. 152. *Portrait of Maximilian I*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509)



Fig. 153. *Figure study of Maximilian I from behind, or a horseman in the emperor's entourage*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2509 verso)



Fig. 154. Copy of Charles II, Duke of Burgundy (later Charles V), after a Netherlandish portrait, silverpoint on a light grey ground, with later pencil additions (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510)



Fig. 155. Copy of a falcon on a left hand, after a Netherlandish portrait of Charles II, Duke of Burgundy (later Charles V), silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2510 verso)



Fig. 156. Portrait of Ulrich Artzt, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2513)



Fig. 157. Portrait of Ulrich Artzt, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 1)



Fig. 158. *Portrait of Burkhard Engelberg*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2569)



Fig. 159. *Portrait of Hans Nell*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2548)

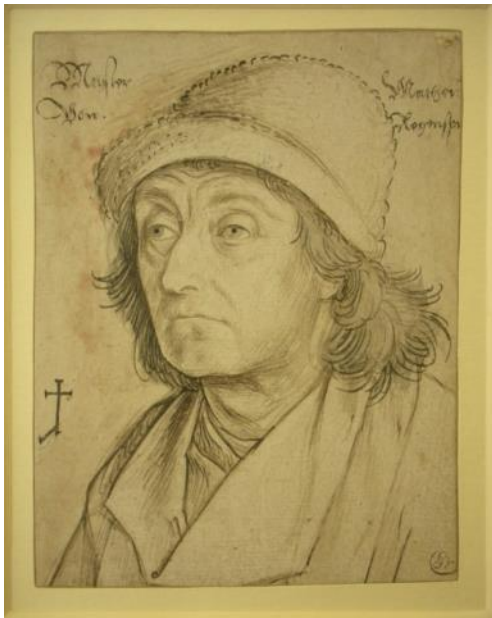


Fig. 160. *Portrait of Matthäus Roritzer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground; overdrawing in pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, and watercolor by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 5008)



Fig. 161. *Portrait of Jörg Seld*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. nr. 1532)



Fig. 162. *Portrait of Hans Schlegel*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.193)

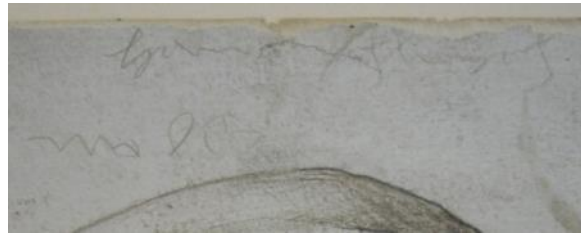


Fig. 163. Detail of Figure 162



Fig. 164. *Portrait of Hans Herwart*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198)

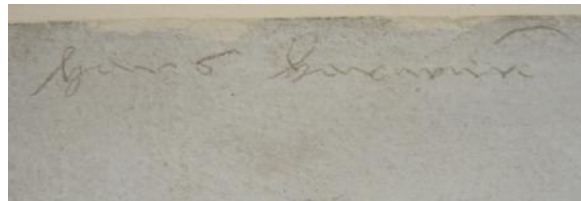


Fig. 165. Detail of Figure 164



Fig. 166. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2566)

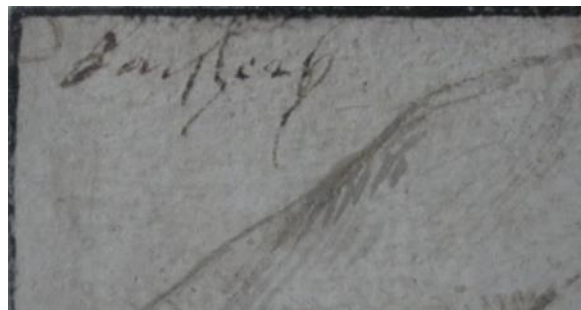


Fig. 167. Detail of Figure 166



Fig. 168. Friedrich Hagenauer, *Portrait medal of Wolfgang Breischuch II*, 1527 (Herzogenburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift)

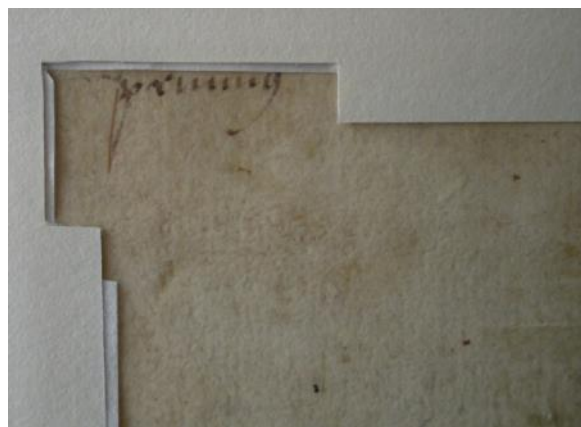


Fig. 169. Inscription on the verso of Figure 166



Fig. 170. *Portrait of Jörg Saur*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2544)



Fig. 171. *Portrait of Jörg Saur* (Zürich, Kunsthaus, on loan from a private collection)



Fig. 172. *Portrait of Jörg Fischer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2564)



Fig. 173. Peter Decker (1823-76), *Drawing after a lost portrait of Jörg Fischer by Hans Holbein the Elder* (Cologne, private collection)



Fig. 174. *Portrait of Frau Fischer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2558)



Fig. 175. *Portrait of Frau Fischer at Age 34*, dated 1512 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1958.7)



Fig. 176. *Portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 17660)



Fig. 177. *Portrait of a man, likely of the Haug family* (Norfolk, VA, Chrysler Museum, inv. nr. 71.485)



Fig. 178. *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2517)

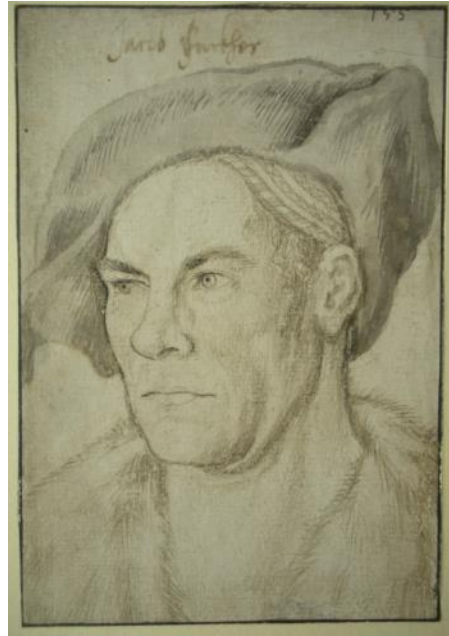


Fig. 179. *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2518)



Fig. 180. *Portrait of Raymund Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2519)



Fig. 181. *Portrait of Ulrich Fugger the Younger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2521)



Fig. 182. *Portrait of Anton Fugger*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2520)



Fig. 183. *Portrait of Anna Thurzo-Fugger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, scratched highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2516)



Fig. 184. *Portrait of Veronika Fugger-Gassner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and brown wash, watercolor (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2522)



Fig. 185. *Portrait of Georg Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2514)



Fig. 186. *Portrait of Georg Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white highlights, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2515)



Fig. 187. *Portrait of Christoph Thurzo*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph. I A 2)



Fig. 188. *Epitaph of the Walther Sisters*, dated 1502 (Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 4680, 4681, and 4682)



Fig. 189. Giovanni Bellini, *Portrait of Jörg Fugger*, 1474 (Pasadena, Norton Simon Art Foundation, inv. nr. M.1969.13)



Fig. 190. Thoman Burgkmair (and Hans Burgkmair the Elder?), *Double Portrait of Jakob Fugger and Sibylla Artzt*, ca. 1498 (London, Schroder Collection)



Fig. 191. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, chiaroscuro woodcut

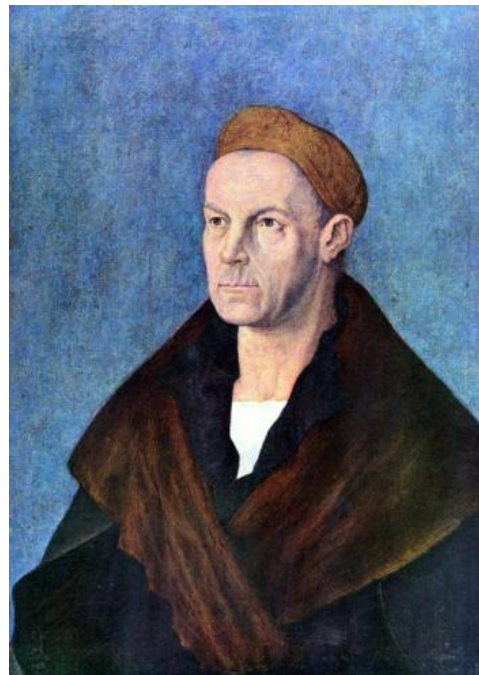


Fig. 192. Albrecht Dürer and workshop, *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*, ca. 1520 (Staatsgalerie Augsburg, Katharinenkirche, inv. nr. 717)



Fig. 193. Hans Schwarz, *Portrait medal of Jakob Fugger*, bronze, 1518 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nr. Med6291)



Fig. 194. Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Děčín Castle, Czech Republic)



Fig. 195. Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Allentown, PA, Allentown Museum of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. nr. 1961.46)



Fig. 196. Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. nr. Bx E 533)



Fig. 197. Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Anton Fugger* (location unknown)



Fig. 198. Hans Maler zu Schwaz, *Portrait of Ulrich Fugger the Younger* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 14.40.630)



Fig. 199. Hans Tirol, *Investiture of the Elector of Saxony by Emperor Maximilian II on the Weinmarkt, Augsburg*, hand-colored woodcut, 1566 (Fugger residence on the left)



Fig. 200. Fugger residence, 36-38 Maximilianstraße, Augsburg, 1892



Fig. 201. Fugger residence, postwar reconstruction, 36-38 Maximilianstraße, Augsburg, 2007



Fig. 202. *Hans Fugger with his two wives, Klara Widolf and Elisabeth Gfattermann, with their family crests*, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 18)



Fig. 203. Jakob Fugger and Sibylla Fugger-Artzt with their family crests, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 46)



Fig. 204. Family crest of the lineage of Fugger von der Lilie, from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 11)



Fig. 205. Text page from the *Geheimes Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 9460, fol. 341)



Fig. 206. *Portrait of Hans Aytelhe*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.199)



Fig. 207. *Portrait of a man named Hans*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2563)



Fig. 208. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and three values of grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2571)



Fig. 209. *Portrait of Adolf Dischmacher*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.196)



Fig. 210. *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2575)



Fig. 211. *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2573)



Fig. 212. *Portrait of a woman*, silverpoint, brush and black and brown ink, point of the brush and black ink, grey wash, heightened with white on brown prepared paper (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Woodner Collection, inv. nr. 1991:182:18:a)



Fig. 213. *Portrait of Sigmund Holbein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, black chalk overdrawing by another hand (?) (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2508)



Fig. 214. *Portrait of Sigmund Holbein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk* (London, British Museum, inv. nr. 1895,0915:987)

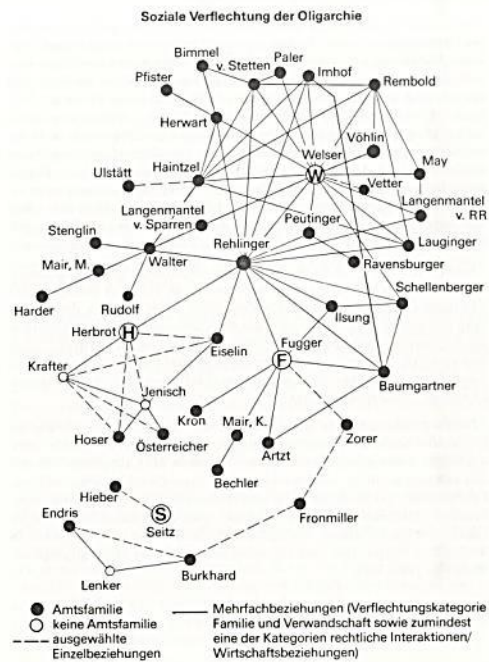


Fig. 215. Diagram of the social integration of the Augsburg oligarchy, from Katarina Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Zur sozialen Verflechtung der Augsburger Bürgermeister und Stadtpfleger, 1518-1618*, Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg (Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1986), 131



Fig. 216. *Portrait of Johannes Faber*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.189)



Fig. 217. *Portrait of Philipp Adler*, dated 1513 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. G 1981.1)



Fig. 218. *Portrait of Hans Grießherr*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2538)



Fig. 219. *Portrait of Heinrich Grim*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2534)



Fig. 220. *Portrait of Matthias Umhofer*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.188)



Fig. 221. *Portrait of Jörg Winter*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, later overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2535)



Fig. 222. *Portrait of Abbot Konrad Mörlin*, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, brush and two values of grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2526)

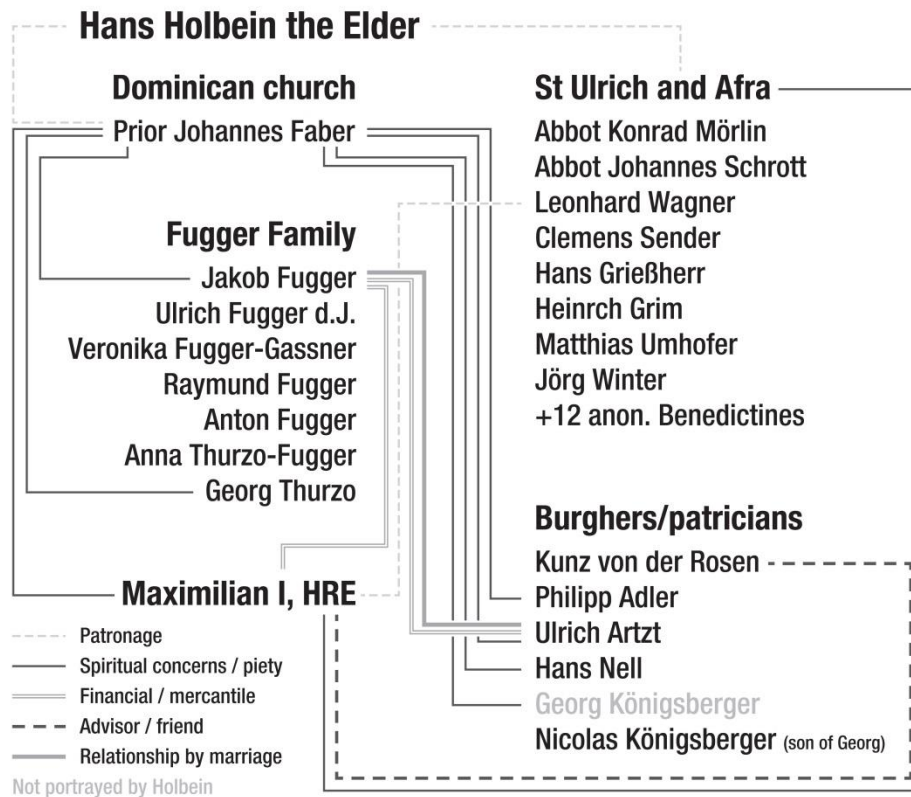


Fig. 223. Diagram of a portion of Hans Holbein the Elder's social and professional network (© Jonathan J. Carlson)

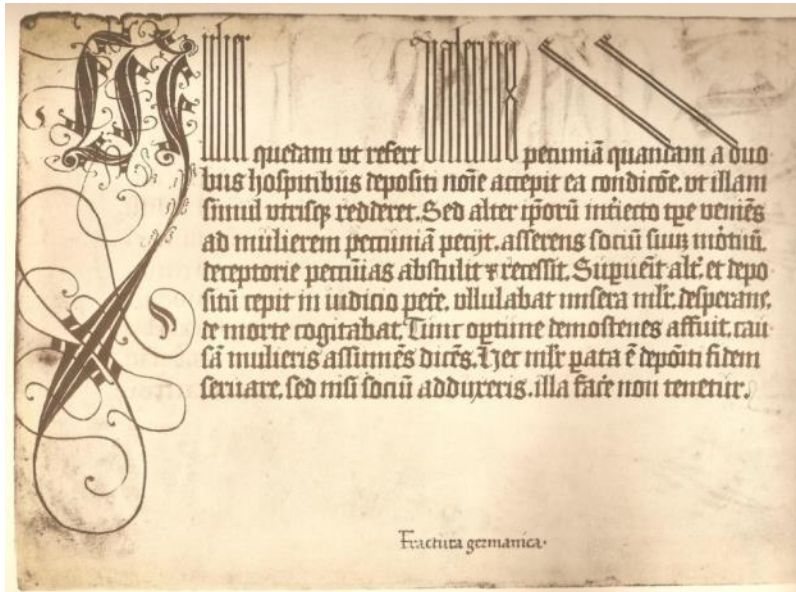


Fig. 224. Leonhard Wagner, *Fractura germanica*, page from *Proba Centum Scripturarum* (Augsburg, Bischöfliche Ordinariatsbibliothek, fol. 16v)



Fig. 225. Leonhard Wagner (script designer), Jost de Negkar (woodcutter), Johann Schonsperger (printer), Jörg Breu the Elder (draftsman), Page from the *Prayerbook of Maximilian I*, ink on vellum, printed 1513 (Besancon, Bibliothque Municipale, fol. 75v)



Fig. 226. Leonhard Wagner (script), Page from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 3r)

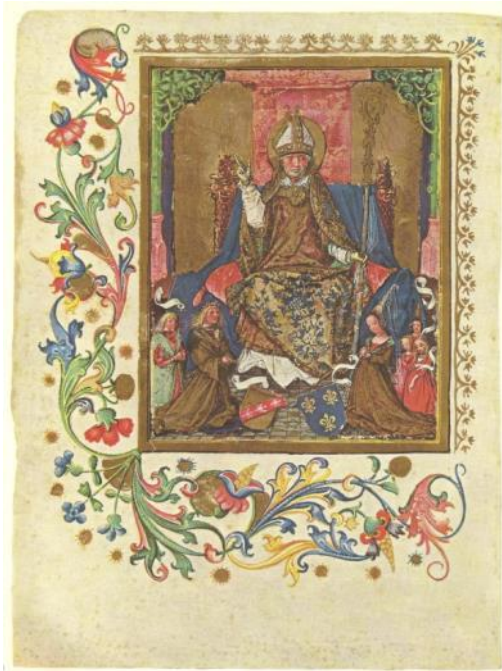


Fig. 227. *Saint Simpertus*, from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 1v)



Fig. 228. *Saint Simpertus with a child attacked by a wolf*, from *Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30044, fol. 39v)



Fig. 229. Detail of Figure 67



Fig. 230. Daniel Hopfer, *Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 24.68.1)



Fig. 231. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Kunz von der Rosen*, details from the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, woodcut



Fig. 232. Hans Schwarz, *Portrait medal of Kunz von der Rosen*, bronze (Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. nr. 1957.14.1179)



Fig. 233. Hans Schwarz, *Model for portrait medal of Kunz von der Rosen*, boxwood (Berlin, Münzkabinett)



Fig. 234. Matthäus Schwarz, *Matthäus Schwarz at seven years old accompanies Kunz von der Rosen during Carnival*, from the *Trachtenbuch*, 18th-century copy (original folio lost) (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek)



Fig. 235. Detail of of Figure 95 rotated and juxtaposed with a detail of Figure 230



Fig. 236. Portraits of Hans Holbein the Younger and Ambrosius Holbein, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2560)

Table 2.1 A quantification of sumptuary laws

Location	Date 12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.	17th c.	18th c.
France	1	4	5	6	13	19	1
England	1	0	5	4	20	1	—
Italian cities (except Florence & Venice)	2	7	16	24	12	17	1
Florence	—	2	13	10	7	21	—
Venice	—	1	8	11	17	28	2
Spain	—	7	7	2	16	4	2
Switzerland			3	0	3	3	2
Germany				3	7	7	2
Scotland				7	12	12	1
North America						9	1

Fig. 237. Table of a quantification of European sumptuary laws, 12th-18th centuries, from Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996), 29, table 2.1



Fig. 238. Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: January-March*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.1)



Fig. 239. Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: April-June*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.2)



Fig. 240. Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: July-September*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.3)



Fig. 241. Anonymous, *Augsburger Monatsbilder: October-December*, ca. 1530 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 1990/185.4)



Fig. 242. Anonymous, *Augsburger Geschlechtertanz*, ca. 1500 (Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximilianmuseum, inv. nr. 3821)



Fig. 243. *Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.194)



Fig. 244. *Portrait of Zimprecht Rauner*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, overdrawing in pen and black ink by another hand (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2549)



Fig. 245. *Portrait of a young man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2568)



Fig. 246. *Portrait of a man named Hans Schm[...]*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.197)



Fig. 247. *Portrait of Jörg Saur*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk, white chalk highlights, scratched highlights (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph.I A 4)



Fig. 248. *Portrait of Jörg Schenck zum Schenckenstein*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2547)



Fig. 249. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2562)



Fig. 250. Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait*, dated 1498 (Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. nr. P02179)



Fig. 251. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush with black ink and grey wash, white chalk highlights, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2567)



Fig. 252. *Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2552)



Fig. 253. *Portrait of Nicolas Königsberger*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2551)



Fig. 254. *Portrait of Martin Höfler*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, red chalk (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2523)



Fig. 255. Daniel Hopper, *Three Landsknechte (German Soldiers)*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 51.501.394)



Fig. 256. Daniel Hopper, *Five Landsknechte (German Soldiers)*, etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nr. 51.501.395)



Fig. 257. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, red chalk (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.198 verso)



Fig. 258. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2565)



Fig. 259. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph.I A 9)



Fig. 260. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground with traces of a red-tinted ground underneath (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, inv. nr. Graph.I A 3)



Fig. 261. *Portrait of a man*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2570)



Fig. 262. *Portrait bust of Jakob Fugger*, bronze, based a marble bust of 1807-47 at Walhalla (Augsburg, Fuggerei)



Fig. 263. Deutsche Bundespost, Postage stamp honoring Jakob Fugger, 1959



Fig. 264. Attributed to the Master of the Monogram TK, *Portrait of a man (Georg Thurzo?)*, 1518 (Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. nr. 213 [1930.44])



Fig. 265. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Portrait of Barbara Schellenberger* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richart Museum, inv. nr. 0850)



Fig. 266. Detail, *Study of man's woven haircap*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 17660 verso)



Fig. 267. *Portrait of a woman named Mechtilta*, silverpoint on a light grey ground (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. nr. Cod: F: 274 inf: n: 15)



Fig. 268. *Portrait of Anna Laminit*, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2559)



Fig. 269. Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner, silverpoint on a red-tinted ground, pen and black ink, white chalk highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2555)



Fig. 270. Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2556)



Fig. 271. Portrait of Zunftmeisterin Schwarzensteiner, silverpoint on a light grey ground, pen and black ink, brush and grey wash, scratched highlights (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 2557)



Fig. 272. Hans Schwarz, Portrait medal of Anna Pfinzing, bronze, 1519 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. nr. Med610)



Fig. 273. Detail of Figure 238: View inside a patrician or merchant household



Fig. 274. Matthäus Schwarz, Frontispiece of the *Trachtenbuch* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen)



Fig. 275. Hans Holbein the Younger, Marginalia from Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, pen and black ink, 1515 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett)



Fig. 276. Detail of Figure 24: Baptism of Saul (Paul) with portraits of Hans Holbein the Elder and his sons, Ambrosius and Hans

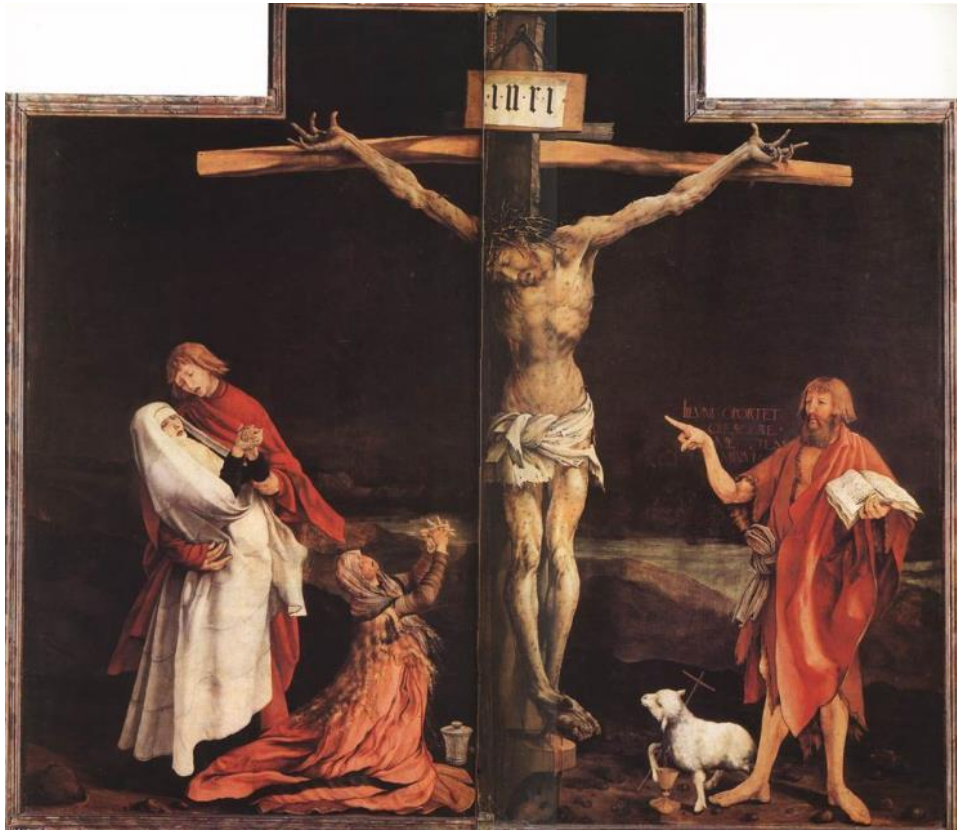


Fig. 277. Matthias Grünewald, *Crucifixion*, from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden)



Fig. 278. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Double Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and Dorothea Kannengießer*, 1516 (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. nr. 312)



Fig. 279. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen*, silverpoint on a white ground, red chalk, traces of black chalk, 1516 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1823.137)



Fig. 280. Detail of Figure 279



Fig. 281. Detail of Figure 166



Fig. 282. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Mary Wooten, Lady Guildford*, chalk, 1527 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nr. 1662.35)



Fig. 283. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford*, 1527 (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection)



Fig. 284. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Mary Wooten, Lady Guildford*, 1527 (Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. nr. 1:1943)



Fig. 285. Detail of Figure 174



Fig. 286. Detail of Figure 282



Fig. 287. Detail of Figure 282

Bibliography

- Acton, David, and Joan Wright. "With Pen and Brush – Ink as a Drawing Medium." In *Master Drawings from the Worcester Art Museum*, 8-16. Worcester, New York: Worcester Art Museum, Hudson Hills Press, 1998.
- Ainsworth, Maryan W. "'Paternes for Phiosioneamyas': Holbein's Portraiture Reconsidered." *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1044 (1990): 173-186.
- Balk, Thomas. "Der heilige Ulrich in der spätmittelalterlichen Kunst." In *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973: Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung; Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, edited by Manfred Weitlauff, 483-548. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27. Weihenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993.
- Barthes, Roland. *The Fashion System*. Translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1990.
- Bartl, Anna, et al. *Der "Liber illuministarum" aus Kloster Tegernsee: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar der kunsttechnologischen Rezepte*. Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Kunsttechnik und Konservierung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum. Nuremberg, Stuttgart: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.
- Bätschmann, Oskar. "Holbeins künstlerische Beziehungen zu Italien und Frankreich." In *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, edited by Matthias Senn, 131-150. *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*. Basel: Schwabe, 1997.
- . *Hans Holbein d. J.* Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2010.
- . "The Use of Colored Chalks for Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger." Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, New York, 29 March 2014.
- Bätschmann, Oskar, and Pascal Griener. *Hans Holbein*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.
- . *Hans Holbein*, rev. and expanded 2nd ed. London: Reaktion Books, 2014.
- Baur, Veronika. *Kleiderordnungen in Bayern vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs München. München: Kommissionsbuchhandlung R. Wölfle, 1975.
- Belfanti, Carlo Marco. "The Civilization of Fashion: At the Origins of a Western Social Institution." *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (2009): 261-283.
- Bellot, Josef. "Das Benediktinerstift St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg und der Humanismus." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 84 (1973): 394-406.
- Biow, Douglas. *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Birbari, Elizabeth. *Dress in Italian Painting, 1460-1500*. London: J. Murray, 1975.
- Bischoff, Franz. *Burkhard Engelberg, "Der vilkunstreiche Architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister": Burkhard Engelberg und die süddeutsche Architektur um 1500, Anmerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und zur Arbeitsweise spätgotischer*

- Steinmetzen und Werkmeister*. Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen, edited by Historischer Verein für Schwaben Augsburg: Wißner, 1999.
- Blendinger, Friedrich. "Ulrich Artzt." In *Lebensbilder aus dem bayerischen Schwaben*, edited by Götz von Pölnitz, 88-131. Munich: M. Hueber, 1958.
- Bock, Elfried, ed. *Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett*. Vol. 1 of *Die deutschen Meister: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen, mit 193 Lichtdrucktafeln*, edited by Max J. Friedländer. Berlin: Julius Bard, 1921.
- Boehn, Max von. *Menschen und Moden im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, nach Bildern und Stichen der Zeit*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1923.
- . *Menschen und Moden im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, nach Bildern und Stichen der Zeit*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1923.
- Bonnet, Anne-Marie. *Die Malerei der deutschen Renaissance*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2010.
- Boockmann, Hartmut, ed. "*Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel*": *Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*. Berlin, Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Hirmer, 1994.
- . "Lebensgefühl und Repräsentationsstil der Oberschicht in den deutschen Städten um 1500." In "*Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel*": *Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, edited by Hartmut Boockmann, 33-47. Berlin, Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Hirmer, 1994.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital." In *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, edited by Reinhard Kreckel, 183-198. Göttingen: Otto Schartz, 1983.
- . "The Forms of Capital." Translated by Richard Nice. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241-258. New York, Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Wheels of Commerce*. Vol. 2 of *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th - 18th Century*. Translated by Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.
- Brooke, Iris. *English Costume in the Age of Elizabeth: The Sixteenth Century*. 2nd ed. London: A. & C. Black, 1977.
- Brunner, Wolfgang. "Städtisches Tanzen und das Tanzhaus im 16. Jahrhundert." In *Alltag im 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu Lebensformen in mitteleuropäischen Städten*, edited by Alfred Kohler and Heinrich Lutz, 45-64. Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1987.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1958.
- . *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. Bibliothek der Geschichte und Politik, edited by Horst Günther. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989.
- Burke, Peter. "The Presentation of Self in the Renaissance Portrait." In *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, 150-167, 251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . "The Renaissance, Individualism and the Portrait." *History of European Ideas* 21, no. 3 (1995): 393-400.

- . “Individuality and Biography in the Renaissance.” In *Die Renaissance und die Entdeckung des Individuums in der Kunst*, edited by Enno Rudolph, 65-78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- . “Imagining Identity in the Early Modern City.” In *The Art of Urban Living*. Vol. 1 of *Imagining the City*, edited by Christian Emden, Catherine Keen and David Midgley, 23-37. Cultural History and Literary Imagination. Bern: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Bushart, Bruno. *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*. Augsburg: J.P. Himmer, 1965.
- . “Hans Holbein – Vater und Sohn.” In *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, edited by Matthias Senn, 151-168. *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*. Basel: Schwabe, 1999.
- Buskirk, Jessica. “Portraiture and Arithmetic in Sixteenth-Century Bavaria: Deciphering Bartel Beham’s Calculator.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 35-80.
- Calkins, Robert G. “Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours.” *Gesta* 17, no. 1 (1978): 61-70.
- Campbell, Lorne, et al., eds. *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*. London: National Gallery, 2008.
- Campbell, Lorne. “The Making of Portraits.” In *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, edited by Lorne Campbell, et al., 32-45. London: National Gallery, 2008.
- Cassin-Scott, Jack, and Ruth M. Green. *Costume and Fashion in Colour, 1550-1760*. Poole: Blandford Press, 1975.
- Cennini, Cennino d’Andrea. *The Craftsman’s Handbook (Il Libro dell’Arte)*. Translated by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. New York: Dover, 1933.
- Chapuis, Stéphanie. “Richter und Röcke: Frauen und Kleiderordnungen in Augsburg im 16. Jahrhundert.” Master’s thesis, University of Lyon, 2005.
- Christensen, Sigrid F. *Die männliche Kleidung in der süddeutschen Renaissance*. Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1934.
- Christiansen, Keith, and Stefan Wepplmann, eds. *Gesichter der Renaissance: Meisterwerke Italienischer Portrait-Kunst*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- , eds. *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.
- Cuneo, Pia N. *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, ca. 1475-1536*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998.
- Dietz, Stephanie, et al. “Die Graue Passion von Hans Holbein d. Ä. – Material und Technik.” In *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die Graue Passion in ihrer Zeit*, edited by Elsbeth Wiemann, 107-121. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010.
- Dillis, Thomas Aquinas. “Johannes Faber.” In *Lebensbilder aus dem bayerischen Schwaben*, edited by Götz von Pölnitz, 93-112. Munich: M. Hueber, 1956.

- Dirlmeier, Ulf. *Untersuchungen zu Einkommensverhältnissen und Lebenshaltungskosten in oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters, Mitte 14. bis Anfang 16. Jahrhundert*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Heidelberg: Winter, 1978.
- Dirr, Pius. "Eine Gedächtnisschrift von Johannes Faber über die Erbauung der Augsburger Dominikanerkirche." *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 34 (1908): 164-178.
- Dormeier, Heinrich. "Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung: Die 'Wirklichkeit' der Augsburger Monatsbilder." In "*Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel*": *Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, edited by Hartmut Boockmann, 148-221. Berlin, Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Hirmer, 1994.
- Dülmen, Richard van. *Gesellschaft der frühen Neuzeit: Kulturelles Handeln und sozialer Prozeß: Beiträge zur historischen Kulturforschung*. Edited by Hubert Christian Ehalt and Helmut Konrad. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 1993.
- Eichberger, Dagmar, and Lisa Beaven. "Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria." *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (1995): 225-248.
- Eines Ersamen Rahts der Statt Augspurg der Gezierd und Kleydungen halben auffgerichte Policeyordnung*. Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1582.
- Eisenbart, Liselotte Constanze. *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums*. Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Göttingen, Berlin, Frankfurt: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1962.
- Fairholt, F. W. *Costume in England: A Dress from the Earliest Period until the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1860.
- Falk, Tilman. *Das 15. Jahrhundert, Hans Holbein der Ältere und Jörg Schweiger, die Basler Goldschmiederrisse*. Vol. 1 of *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Kupferstichkabinett Basel*. Basel: Schwabe, 1979.
- Fink, August. *Die Schwarzschen Trachtenbücher*. Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1963.
- Finkelstein, Joanne. *The Fashioned Self*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Floerke, Hanns. *Die Moden der Renaissance*. Munich: G. Müller, 1924.
- Foister, Susan. *Holbein and England*. Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . *Holbein in England*. London: Tate, 2006.
- Franck, Jakob. "Rosen, Kunz von der." In *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 195-197. Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1889.
- Frick, Carole Collier. *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing*. The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science. Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

- Fugger, Hans Jakob, Clemens Jäger, and Jörg Breu the Younger. *Das Ehrenbuch der Fugger*. Edited by Gregor Rohmann. 2 vols. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, vol. 39. Augsburg: Wißner, 2004.
- Geffcken, Friedrich Peter. "Soziale Schichtung in Augsburg 1396 bis 1521: Beitrag zu einer Strukturanalyse Augsburgs im Spätmittelalter." Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1983.
- . "Geschlechtertanz." In *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, edited by Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013, www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de.
- . "Mehrer." In *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, edited by Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013, www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de.
- Geffcken, Peter, and Katarina Sieh-Burens. "Herwart II." In *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, edited by Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013, www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de.
- Gerhard von Augsburg. *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich, lateinisch-deutsch, mit der Kanonisationsurkunde von 993*. Edited by Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse. Editiones Heidelbergenses. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993.
- Gieraths, Paul-Gundolf. "Faber, Johannes Augustanus." In *Neue deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 4, 721. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1959.
- Glaser, Curt. *Hans Holbein der Ältere*. Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1908.
- Goldman, Paul. *Looking at Prints, Drawings, and Watercolours: A Guide to Technical Terms*. rev. ed. London, Los Angeles: British Museum, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. 1980. Reprint, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Groebner, Valentin. "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574." *Representations*, no. 66 (1999): 100-121.
- Guicharnaud, Helene, and Alain Duval. "La Contribution des Techniques de Laboratoire à l'Étude des Dessins: Le Cas d'un Dessin d'Hans Holbein l'Ancien." *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 55, no. 2 (2005): 55-59.
- Haag, Sabine, et al., eds. *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die Deutsche Porträt um 1500*. Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- Häberlein, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Häberli, Sabine. "Biography: Hans Holbein the Younger, Augsburg 1497/98 – London 1543." In *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*, edited by

- Christian Müller, 10-13. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006.
- Habich, Georg. *Die deutsche Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1. Munich: Bruckmann, 1929.
- Hale, J. R., ed. *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis through Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France, and Italy, 1517-1518*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, vol. 150. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979.
- Halls, Zillah. *Women's Costumes 1600-1750, London Museum*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1969.
- Halpern, David. *Social Capital*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2005.
- Herald, Jacqueline. *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500*. London, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Bell & Hyman, Humanities Press, 1981.
- Hess, Peter. "The Poetics of Masquerade: Clothing and the Construction of Social, Religious, and Gender Identity in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*." In *A Companion to the Works of Grimmelshausen*, edited by Karl F. Otto, Jr., 299-331. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003.
- His, Édouard. *Feder- und Silberstift-Zeichnungen in den Kunstsammlungen zu Basel, Bamberg, Dessau, Donaueschingen, Erlangen, Frankfurt, Kopenhagen, Leipzig, Sigmaringen, Weimar, Wien*. Nuremberg: Soldan, n.d.
- Hugelshofer, Walter. "Hans Holbein the Elder (c. 1465-1524), Portrait of an Ecclesiastic." *Old Master Drawings* 4 (1930): 30-31.
- Hughes, Diane Owen. "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy." In *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, edited by John Bossy, 69-99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hunt, Alan. *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996.
- Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Jecmen, Gregory, and Freyda Spira. *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings 1475-1540*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2012.
- John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. "The Saguaro Seminar: About Social Capital." www.hks.harvard.edu/programs/saguaro/about-social-capital (accessed 26 June 2013).
- . "The Saguaro Seminar: About Social Capital: FAQs." www.hks.harvard.edu/programs/saguaro/about-social-capital/faqs (accessed 29 May 2013).
- Kadushin, Charles. "Networks and Circles in the Production of Culture." *American Behavioral Scientist* 19, no. 6 (1976): 769-84.
- . *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Kapr, Albert. *Fraktur: Form und Geschichte der gebrochenen Schriften*. Mainz: Verlag Hermann Schmidt, 1993.

- Kastenholz, Richard. *Hans Schwarz: Ein Augsburger Bildhauer und Medailleur der Renaissance*. München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001.
- Keupp, Jan Ulrich. *Die Wahl des Gewandes: Mode, Macht und Möglichkeitssinn in Gesellschaft und Politik des Mittelalters*. Mittelalter-Forschungen. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010.
- Killerby, Catherine Kovesi. *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Kirstein, Ulrich. "Engelberg." In *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, edited by Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013, www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de.
- Klemm, Christian. "Die Identifikation des Basler Bildnisses einer 34jährigen Frau von Hans Holbein dem Älteren." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 48, no. 1 (1991): 49-54.
- Kneschke, Ernst Heinrich. "Schenck v. Schenckenstein." In *Neues Allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, 136. Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1868.
- Knipe, Penley. "Grounds on Paper: An Examination of Eight Early Drawings." Conservation Certificate thesis, Harvard University Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, 1998.
- Kodlin-Kern, Elisabeth. "Die Bildniszeichnungen Hans Holbeins d. Ä.: Ein Deutungsversuch ihres künstlerischen Gehaltes." Dissertation, University of Basel, 1953.
- Koerner, Joseph Leo. *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Krämer, Gode. "Die vier Augsburger Monatsbilder: Stilfragen, Datierungs- und Zuschreibungsprobleme." In *"Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel": Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, edited by Hartmut Boockmann, 222-232. Berlin, Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, Hirmer, 1994.
- . "Holbeinhaus." In *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, edited by Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, and Rudolf Frankenberger. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2013, www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de.
- Kranz, Annette. *Christoph Amberger, Bildnismaler zu Augsburg: Städtische Eliten im Spiegel ihrer Porträts*. Bildnismaler zu Augsburg. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2004.
- . "Zum 'Herrn mit der Peltzmütze' von Hans Holbein dem Älteren: Das Bildnis des Augsburger Kaufmanns Philipp Adler." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (2006): 175-195.
- Krause, Katharina. "Hans Holbein der Ältere: Studien nach dem Leben im Altar- und Motivbild." *Städel-Jahrbuch* 16 (1997): 171-200.
- . "Hans Holbein d. Ä. und Hans Burgkmair – Alternativen in der Augsburger Malerei um 1500." In *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997, Zeitschrift für schweizerische*

- Archaeologie und Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Matthais Senn, 111-122. Basel: Schwabe, 1999.
- . *Hans Holbein der Ältere*. Munich, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002.
- . “Hans Holbein der Ältere und die ‘Herren’ von Sankt Ulrich und Afra.” In *Benediktinerabtei St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1012-2012): Geschichte, Kunst, Wirtschaft und Kultur einer ehemaligen Reichsabtei*, edited by Manfred Weitlauff, 843-855. Augsburg: Verlag des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, 2012.
- Krause, Stefan. “Auf Äußerlichkeiten Achten. Form und Funktion Deutscher Porträts um 1500.” In *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die Deutsche Porträt um 1500*, edited by Sabine Haag, et al., 245-248. Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- Krönitz, Johann Georg, and Johann Wilhelm David Korth. “Stadtknecht.” In *Oekonomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus- und Landwirthschaft und der Kunstgeschichte in alphabetischer Ordnung*, 784. Berlin: Pauli, 1837.
- LaMar, Virginia A. *English Dress in the Age of Shakespeare*. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958.
- Landolt, Hanspeter, ed. *Das Skizzenbuch Hans Holbeins des Älteren im Kupferstichkabinett Basel, im Auftrag der Kommission der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel beim Anlass des 500 Jährigen Bestehens der Universität*. Olten, Lausanne, Freiburg: Urs Graf, 1960.
- . “Die Zeichnungen Hans Holbein des Älteren: Versuch einer Standortbestimmung.” Unpublished manuscript, Bibliothek Kunstmuseum Basel, 1961.
- Lehner, Julia. *Die Mode im alten Nürnberg: Modische Entwicklung und sozialer Wandel in Nürnberg, aufgezeigt an den Nürnberger Kleiderordnungen*. Nürnberger Werkstücke zur Stadt- und Landesgeschichte. Edited by Rudolf Endres, Gerhard Hirschmann and Kuno Ulshöfer. Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1984.
- Leitch, Stephanie. “Burgkmair’s Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print.” *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 2 (2009): 134-159.
- Lemire, Beverly, ed. *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*. The History of Retailing and Consumption. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Leonardo da Vinci. *Treatise on Painting (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270)*. Translated by A. Philip McMahon. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.
- Lieb, Norbert. *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und frühen Renaissance*. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte. Edited by Götz Freiherrn von Pölnitz. Munich: Schnell and Steiner, 1952.
- Lieb, Norbert, and Alfred Stange. *Hans Holbein der Ältere*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1960.

- Litz, Gudrun, ed. "Familienbüchlein Spengler [1468-1570]." In *Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534): der Nürnberger Ratsschreiber im Spannungsfeld von Humanismus und Reformation, Politik und Glaube*, edited by Berndt Hamm, 348-402. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Lutz, Heinrich. "Arzt, Ulrich." In *Neue deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 1, 405-406. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1953.
- Marquard, Reiner. *Mathias Grünewald und die Reformation*. Berlin: Frank and Timme, 2009.
- Martin, John Jeffries. *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*. Early Modern History: Society and Culture. Edited by Rab Houston and Edward Muir. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Martin, Kurt. *Skizzenbuch des Hans Baldung Grien, "Karlsruher Skizzenbuch,"* 2 vols. Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1950.
- Massing, Jean Michel. "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans." *RES* 27 (1995): 39-51.
- Maué, Hermann. "Schwarz, Hans." In *Grove Art Online/Oxford Art Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007-2014. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T076926> (accessed 4 November 2014).
- Mayr-Harting, Henry. *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- McDonald, Mark P. "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India." *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2003): 227-244.
- Meder, Joseph. *The Mastery of Drawing*. Translated by Winslow Ames. 2 vols. New York: Abaris Books, 1978.
- Metzger, Christof. *Daniel Hopper, ein Augsburger Meister der Renaissance: Eisenradierungen, Holzschnitte, Zeichnungen, Waffenätzungen*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009.
- . "Daniel Hopper, Kunz von der Rosen, ca. 1510-15." In *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, edited by Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, 309, cat. nr. 87. Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Portrait of Kunz von der Rosen, Daniel Hopper." <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/360205> (accessed 7 August 2013).
- Michael, Erika. *Hans Holbein the Younger: A Guide to Research*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities. New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1997.
- Michel, Eva, and Maria Luise Sternath, eds. *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*. Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012.
- Miller, Maureen C. "Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era." *Church History* 72, no. 1 (2003): 25-52.
- Millidge, Shirley. "Metalpoint." In *Grove Art Online/Oxford Art Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007-2014. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T057444> (accessed 28 November 2009).

- Morrall, Andrew. *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture, and Belief in Reformation Augsburg*. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.
- Müller, Christian, ed. *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006.
- . “Hans Holbein the Younger as Draughtsman.” In *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*, edited by Christian Müller, 20-34. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006.
- Munns, Jessica, and Penny Richards, eds. *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*. Newark, London: University of Delaware Press, Associated University Presses, 1999.
- . “Introduction: ‘The Clothes That Wear Us’.” In *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, edited by Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, 9-32. Newark, London: University of Delaware Press, Associated University Presses, 1999.
- Nadolny, Jilleen. “European Documentary Sources before c. 1550 Relating to Painting Grounds Applied to Wooden Supports: Translation and Terminology.” In *Preparation for Painting: The Artist’s Choice and Its Consequences*, edited by Joyce H. Townsend, et al., 1-13. London: Archetype, 2008.
- National Gallery of Art. “Hopfer, Daniel, Kunz von der Rosen.” <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/collection/art-object-page.30470.html> (accessed 7 August 2013).
- Neuchterlein, Jeanne. *Translating Nature into Art: Holbein, the Reformation, and Renaissance Rhetoric*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Pächt, Otto. *Vita Sancti Simperti: Eine Handschrift für Maximilian I.* Jahrgabe des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1964.
- Panofsky, Erwin. “Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification.” *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (1942): 39-54.
- Parshall, Peter. “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance.” *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993): 554-579.
- Pfeifer, Wolfgang, and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. “Sekretär.” *Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, www.dwds.de (accessed 13 July 2014).
- Pokorny, Erwin, and Eva Michel. “‘Conterfet auff papier.’ Bildniszeichnungen der Dürerzeit.” In *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die Deutsche Porträt um 1500*, edited by Sabine Haag, et al., 163-184. Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- Pollard, John Graham. *Renaissance Medals, Volume Two: France, Germany, the Netherlands, and England*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2007.
- Pölnitz, Götz Freiherr von. “Fugger, Jakob der Reiche.” In *Neue deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 5, 710-14. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1961.

- Posset, Franz. *Renaissance Monks: Monastic Humanism in Six Biographical Sketches*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions. Edited by Andrew Colin Gow. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Price, David. *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Reade, Brian. *The Dominance of Spain*. London: G.G. Harrap and Co., 1951.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang, ed. *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Prosopographie Wirtschaftlicher und Politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.
- Richardson, Catherine, ed. *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*. The History of Retailing and Consumption. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Riello, Giorgio, and Peter McNeil, eds. *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Ries, Markus. "Heiligenverehrung und Heiligsprechung in der Alten Kirche und im Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklung des Kanonisationsverfahrens." In *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973: Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung; Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, edited by Manfred Weitlauff, 143-167. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27. Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993.
- . "Mörli, Konrad." In *Neue deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 17, 680. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1994.
- Riether, Achim. "Daniel Hopfer, Kunz von der Rosen." In *Dürer – Cranach – Holbein: Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die deutsche Porträt um 1500*, edited by Sabine Haag, et al., 242. Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- Roberts, Jane. *Holbein and the Court of Henry VIII: Drawings and Miniatures from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1993.
- Roskill, Mark, and John Oliver Hand. *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception*. Studies in the History of Art. Washington, New Haven, and London: National Gallery of Art, Yale University Press, 2001.
- Roth, Michael. *Matthias Grünewald: Zeichnungen und Gemälde*. Ostfildern, Berlin: Hatje Cantz, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008.
- Rublack, Ulinka. *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . "The First Book of Fashion." Interview, University of Cambridge, 1 May 2013, www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/the-first-book-of-fashion (accessed 5 June 2014).
- Sander, Jochen. *Hans Holbein d. J.: Tafelmaler in Basel, 1515-1532*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2005.
- . "The Artistic Development of Hans Holbein the Younger as Panel Painter during his Basel Years." In *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515-1532*,

- edited by Christian Müller, 14-19. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel Verlag, 2006.
- Saywell, Edward. "Behind the Line: The Materials and Techniques of Old Master Drawings." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (1998): 7-39.
- Schad, Martha. *Die Frauen des Hauses Fugger von der Lilie (15.-17. Jahrhundert)*. Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989.
- Schawe, Martin. *Staatsgalerie Augsburg: Altdeutsche Malerei in der Katharinenkirche*. Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 2001.
- Schilling, Edmund. *Zeichnungen der Künstlerfamilie Holbein*. Frankfurt am Main: Prestel Verlag, 1937.
- . *Drawings by the Holbein Family*. Translated by Eveline Winkworth. New York, Basel: Macmillan, Holbein-Verlag, 1955.
- Schmidt, Rolf. *Reichenau und St. Gallen: Ihre literarische Überlieferung zur Zeit des Klosterhumanismus in St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg um 1500*. Vorträge und Forschungen. Edited by Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1985.
- Schütz, Karl. "Das Unsichtbare Sichtbar Machen. Deutsche Porträts um 1500." In *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Die Deutsche Porträt um 1500*, edited by Sabine Haag, et al., 13-19. Vienna, Munich: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Hirmer Verlag, 2011.
- Sell, Stacey, and Hugo Chapman, eds. *Drawing in Silver and Gold: Leonardo to Jasper Johns*. London, Washington, Princeton: British Museum, National Gallery of Art, Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Sender, Clemens, and Friedrich Roth. "Die Chronik von Clemens Sender von der ältesten Zeiten der Stadt bis zum Jahr 1536." In *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, edited by Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1-404. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894.
- Senn, Matthias, ed. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997, Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*. Basel: Schwabe, 1999.
- Shaw, Henry. *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*. 2 vols. London: H.G. Bohn, 1958.
- Sieh-Burens, Katarina. *Oligarchie, Konfession, und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Zur sozialen Verflechtung der Augsburger Bürgermeister und Stadtpfleger, 1518-1618*. Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg. Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1986.
- Silver, Larry. *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- . "Civic Courtship: Albrecht Dürer, the Saxon Duke, and the Emperor." In *The Essential Dürer*, edited by Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 130-148. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

- . “The ‘Papier-Kaiser’: Burgkmair, Augsburg, and the Image of the Emperor.” In *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, edited by Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, 91-99. Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 2012.
- Simmel, Georg. “Fashion.” *The International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-55.
- . *Philosophie der Mode*. Berlin: Pan Verlag, 1905.
- Smith, Jeffrey Chipps. *Nuremberg, a Renaissance City, 1500-1618*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- , ed. *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1985.
- . *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- . “A Creative Moment: Thoughts on the Genesis of the German Portrait Medal.” In *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, edited by Stephen K. Scher, 177-99. New York: American Numismatic Society, 2000.
- . “The 2010 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: Albrecht Dürer as Collector.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2011): 1-49.
- Söll-Tauchert, Sabine. *Hans Baldung Grien (1484/85-1545): Selbstbildnis und Selbstinszenierung*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2010.
- Soussloff, Catherine M. *The Subject in Art: Portraiture and the Birth of the Modern*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Spira, Freyda. “Originality as Repetition / Repetition as Originality: Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470-1536) and the Reinvention of the Medium of Etching.” Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006.
- Stanford, Charlotte A. *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral’s Book of Donors and Its Use (1320-1521)*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Steinhausen, Georg. “Über den Plan einer zusammenfassenden Quellenpublikation für die deutsche Kulturgeschichte.” *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 5 (1898): 439-450.
- Stewart, Alison G. *Before Bruegel: Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery*. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Teget-Welz, Manuel. *Martin Schaffner: Leben und Werk eines Ulmer Malers zwischen Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*. Forschung zur Geschichte der Stadt Ulm. Ulm, Stuttgart: Stadtarchiv Ulm, Kommissionsverlag W. Kohlhammer, 2008
- Tietze-Conrat, E. “When Was the First Etching Made?” *The Print Collector’s Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1940): 166-177.
- Thursty, B. Ann, ed. *Augsburg During the Reformation Era: An Anthology of Sources*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2012.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Translated by Gaston du C. de Vere. 10 vols. London: Philip Lee Warner, The Medici Society, 1912-1914.

- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*. New York, London: Macmillan, 1899.
- Velten, Hans Rudolf. "Hofnarren." In *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Bilder und Begriffe*, edited by Werner Paravicini, 65-69. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005.
- Volz, Peter, and Hans Christoph Jokisch. *Emblems of Eminence: German Renaissance Portrait Medals, the Age of Albrecht Dürer: The Collection of an Art Connoisseur*. Translated by Andrew Jenkins. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008.
- Wagner, Leonhard. *Proba Centum Scripturarum: Ein Augsburger Schriftmusterbuch aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Vol 1. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1963. Facsimile.
- Wallace Maze, Daniel. "Giovanni Bellini: Birth, Parentage, and Independence." *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2013): 783-823.
- Wasson, John M. *Early Drama, Art, and Music Documents: A Paleography Handbook*. Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993.
- Watrous, James. *The Craft of Old Master Drawings*. Madison, Milwaukee, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957.
- Wehmer, Carl. *Leonhard Wagners Proba Centum Scripturarum: Begleittext zur Faksimileausgabe der Proba, eines Augsburger Schriftmusterbuches aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1963.
- Weiss, August. *Das Handwerk der Goldschmiede in Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1681*. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1897.
- Weitlauff, Manfred, ed. *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973: Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung; Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27. Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993.
- . "Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg (923-973): Leben und Wirken eines Reichsbischofs der ottonischen Zeit." In *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 870-973: Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung; Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, edited by Manfred Weitlauff, 69-142. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27. Weißenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1993.
- Welch, Evelyn. *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2009): 241-268.
- Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*. 2 vols. Augsburg: Augsburgischer Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1980.
- Wetering, Ernst van de. "Lost Drawings and the Use of Erasable Drawing Boards and 'Tafeletten'." In *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work*, 46-73. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.
- Wiemann, Elsbeth, ed. *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die Graue Passion in ihrer Zeit*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010.

- Wiesflecker, Hermann. *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*. Vienna, Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991.
- Wilhelm, Johannes. *Augsburger Wandmalerei, 1368-1530: Künstler, Handwerker und Zunft*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg. Augsburg: Mühlberger, 1983.
- Woltmann, Alfred. *Holbein und Seine Zeit*. 2 vols. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1866-68.
- . “Die Beiden Hans Holbein.” *Westermann’s illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte für das gesammte geistige Leben der Gegenwart* 32 (1872): 79-99.
- . *Holbein and His Time*. Translated by F. E. Bunnètt. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872.
- . *Hans Holbein’s des Aelteren Silberstift-Zeichnungen im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*. Nuremberg: Sigmund Soldan, 1884.
- Wood, Christopher S. *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*. London: Reaktion Books, 1993.
- . *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Woods, Kim W. “Holbein and the Reform of Images.” In *Viewing Renaissance Art*, edited by Kim W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson and Angeliki Lymberopoulou, 249-86, 301-02. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, The Open University, 2007.
- Zander-Seidel, Jutta. *Textiler Hausrat: Kleidung und Haustextilien in Nürnberg von 1500-1650*. Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990.
- . “Ready-to-Wear Clothing in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: New Ready-Made Garments and Second-Hand Clothes Trade.” In *Per una storia della moda pronta: Problemi e ricerche: Atti del V Convegno internazionale del CISST, Milano, 26-28 Febbraio 1990*, edited by Centro Italiano per lo Studio della Storia del Tessuto, 9-16. Florence: Edifir Edizioni, 1991.
- Zedler, Johann Heinrich. “Scherge.” In *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 677. Leipzig, Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1742.
- Zeitz, Lisa. “Grosser Kleiner Klebeband.” *Arsprototo*, 2011, 20-25.
- Zimmermann, Eduard. *Augsburger Zeichen und Wappen*. Vol. 2. Augsburg: Hieronymus Mühlberger, 1970.