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Holbein and Italian Art

This contribution attempts to analyze—on the basis of selected examples—Holbein's connections to Italian art. The questions I will ask concern Holbein's choice of models, his use of borrowed forms and motifs, and the manner in which such borrowings generated new inventions. My contribution is not, however, about "influence," for Holbein was an artist with a will of his own, and he did not subordinate himself to a single style, nor did he acknowledge styles as norms.[1] Rather he considered tasks and effects; the form, as the capacity to invent, is subordinate to the artistic task, the genre of the work, to the expectations of his patrons.[2] Hence the great difficulties involved in any attempt to point out his visual references; it is almost impossible to analyze his stylistic borrowings based on knowledge of his models. The borrowed forms and motifs only provided the substance from which Holbein selected his models according to different tasks and patrons. This assumption may be pragmatic, yet it enables us to explain phenomena that a history of style must qualify as disparate and eclectic.[3]

Drawing Techniques

On a sheet datable to 1499, now in the *Codex Atlanticus* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan), Leonardo wrote that the French artist Jean Perréal had introduced him to the use of colored chalks during his stay in Milan. Jean Perréal (about 1455–1530) came to Milan in 1499 with the French king Louis XiI.[4] Leonardo first applied this knowledge of a dry application of colors in his cartoon for a *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* of 1499 (fig. 1). Isabella's husband Francesco Gonzaga had in fact first requested a portrait from Jean Perréal. Bernardino Luini later adopted this technique in his drawing of a young woman with a fan now in the Albertina.[5] Both Leonardo and Luini used black, red, and yellow chalk, and there are also touches of white chalk in Luini's drawing. In Basel, Holbein used colored chalks for the first time in his portrait drawings for the *Meyer Madonna* of 1526. The drawing of Anna Meyer in Basel (fig. 2), the patron's daughter, is executed with black and colored chalks, with the background tinted a very bright green while the sitter's dress retains the color of the paper. The portrait not only documents Holbein's adoption of the technique, it also reveals his knowledge of this Leonardesque type of portrait, a knowledge also confirmed by a comparison of Luini's drawing with Holbein's *Portrait of Dorothea Kannengiesser* of 1526 (Kunstmuseum Basel).[6]

Holbein's first use of colored chalks goes back to 1524, when he drew the polychromed sculptures of Jeanne de Boulogne and Jean de Berry in Bourges.[7] The ease with which Holbein adapted the technique to his purposes is explained by the fact that he had always produced colored drawings, combining silver

point with red chalk or pen with watercolor, as seen in his early drawings from Basel.[8] It is unlikely that the technique of colored chalks was transmitted to Holbein by Jean Clouet and his circle in France, for it seems that Clouet only used black and red chalk.[9] Thus it appears that Holbein did not necessarily learn the new technique directly from the Clouets, but more probably from a member of the Leonardo circle in France, or from his epigones in Milan. It may be important that Leonardo's famous cartoon for the portrait of Isabella d'Este remained in Milan until 1860, when the Louvre bought it from Giuseppe Vallardi.[10]

In his portrait drawings, Holbein came to replace silver point and red chalk with colored chalks, while he continued to use pen and wash or watercolor for designs for stained glass or wall paintings.[11] In other words, Holbein inserted the new technique into his repertoire exclusively for the sake of portraiture.

Portrait Types

It was in France that Holbein adopted the courtly half-figure portrait that shows the sitter full face or slightly turned, in magnificent,

billowing dress. The model for the evolution of this portrait type was Jean Fouquet's *Portrait of Charles VII*. Jean Clouet—possibly collaborating with his son François—adopted the type in his impressive *Portrait of François I* in Paris (fig. 3), and so did two other artists, Joos van Cleve in his *Portrait of François I* of 1529–1530, now in Philadelphia, and Jan Gossaert in his *Portrait of a Gentleman* in Berlin.[12] Holbein first used this courtly type of portrait in London in 1527 in his *Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford*, the comptroller of the royal household, then in 1534/1535, in his *Portrait of Charles de Solier, Sieur de Morette*, the French ambassador in England, and again in his large *Portrait of Henry VIII*, known to us only in copies.[13]

With his mastery of the courtly portrait, Holbein broadened the range of his repertoire which, after 1526, was slowly adjusted to suit the needs of a European clientele in England, the Netherlands, France, and Milan.[14] His pictorial repertoire now included portrait types such as drawing in the newest French-Italian technique, the highly precise, life-like portrait for the English nobility and the German merchants in London, the portrait of the scholar in the Netherlandish pattern developed in his *Portrait of Erasmus of*

3. Jean Clouet, *Portrait of François I, King of France*, c. 1525, panel
Musée du Louvre, Paris

4. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1527, panel
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Rotterdam, probably the one sent to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1524, which was repeated in the portrait of the Archbishop in 1527 (fig. 4), and the French ruler portrait for the English king and the ambassadors of France, as well as the Italian monumental style for the paintings for the Steelyard.[15]

A New Ideal of Beauty

The Italian works of art in the possession of the French king François I confronted Holbein with a new ideal of beauty. Prior to 1524, the artist preferred the roundish face common in the regions on the upper Rhine (fig. 5). On his return from France to Basel, Holbein painted the small panel of *Venus and Cupid* (fig. 6) which represents his first use of the new ideal of beauty. In 1526 Holbein executed the only slightly larger picture of *Laïs Corinthiaca*, in which he followed the same ideal applied also to the Virgin's face in the *Darm-*

stadt Madonna (*Meyer Madonna*) of the same year. As the gesture of both the Virgin and Laïs have been seen as derivations from Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan, the new ideal has always been connected with Leonardo and his school.[16]

Perhaps it was a painting such as the *"Belle Ferronnière"* (fig. 7) in the collection of François I, ascribed to Leonardo but probably by Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, that provided the point of departure for Holbein's variations on female beauty.[17] Holbein was able to react to this bust-length picture of an unknown beauty of the Milanese court because he had a sound knowledge of the Northern portrait. However, Holbein did not exploit the combination of beautiful visage and balustrade for a portrait, but rather for a mythological representation—*Venus and Cupid*—and for the legendary Laïs, the lover of Apelles, in the *Laïs Corinthiaca*. In both pictures, Holbein has achieved a much more direct contact with the beholder than

Leonardo's or Boltraffio's portrait—the viewer is almost apostrophized by the figure. Another portrait, that of *Jeanne d'Aragon* by Raphael and Giulio Romano could have given some ideas to the young painter. The panel was presented by Cardinal Bibbiena, on behalf of Pope Leo X, to the French king François I in 1518.[18] With his small panels, Holbein probably attempted to establish a kind of painting that suited private collectors.

Following his trip to France, Holbein was confronted with new questions concerning the problem of type and imitation. The *Venus and Cupid*, the *Laïs Corinthiaca*, and the Virgin Mary in the *Darmstadt Madonna* present a new type of beauty, yet this type is closer to the living model than the idealized figures in the paintings of Leonardo and Andrea del Sarto. The collector Bonifacius Amerbach believed the two small Basel paintings of Cupid and Laïs to be

5. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, c. 1522, silver point, red chalk, heightened with white
Musée du Louvre, Paris

6. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1524, tempera(?) on panel
Kunstmuseum Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung

7. Leonardo da Vinci or (probably) Giovanni Andrea Boltraffio, *Portrait of a Young Lady of the Milan Court: "La Belle Ferronnière,"* panel
Musée du Louvre, Paris

portraits—an assumption I would like to follow only insofar as Holbein probably used a live model here.[19] Yet Holbein's aim was not to preserve the likeness of an individual but to combine his skill in lifelike representation with a new formula of beauty.

Integration or Patchwork?

Some of the works that Holbein made in Basel present more complex problems, however. In these, the artist seems to have attempted a fusion of Southern and Northern patterns. One example is the frontispiece of the Basel Missal (fig. 8), a woodcut printed by Thomas Wolff in 1521. Here, Holbein followed the composition of the votive image that his father had painted for the wine merchant Ulrich Schwarz around 1508.[20] This is especially true of the arrangement of the *Intercessio* and the actions of the figures involved. At the same time, Holbein adopted the Italian triumphal arch which—despite all differences—derives, ultimately, from Masaccio's *Trinity* in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. There were many other artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Burgkmair,

8. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Intercession of Christ and the Madonna with God the Father*, title woodcut for *Missale Speciale* (Basel, 1521) Bibliothèque Cantonale, Porrentruy

and Hans Daucher, who at that time combined Southern with Northern forms. North of the Alps the first building to use the architectural vocabulary of the Renaissance, the Fugger Chapel of Saint Anna in Augsburg, unites Italian forms with a late Gothic vaulting.[21] In a drawing made in 1509 (*The Holy Family in the Hall*) Dürer placed a German Holy Family in a Renaissance building. This drawing served as a model for the altarpiece in the Church of the Assumption of Maria Schnee at Aufhausen, completed by Jörg Breu the Elder in Augsburg.[22] Dürer's baldachin seems to draw upon one main source, the ciborium designed by Michelozzo in S. Miniato al Monte in Florence (1452).[23] This work is clearly copied in a small model of painted architecture, the *Judgment of Salomon*, attributed to Conrad Appodeker, or Conrad Schnit as he was named in the documents attesting to his new membership in the guild "Zum Himmel" in Basel (1519).[24]

Around the year 1520 Holbein experimented with a number of possible combinations for the Madonna and Child, alone or sometimes with the Holy Family, against an architectural background. In the drawing *Maria lactans between Two Columns*[25] he pushed the Madonna further toward the edge of the image, and chose a low viewpoint. A perfectly symmetrical view of the Virgin between the columns is avoided by choosing an angled view. The contrast between the mother offering her breast to her child and the "framing" of the figures between two columns heightens, more than Dürer ever conceived it, the contrast between human closeness and divine distance. The drawing of the *Holy Family* dating to 1518/1519 exploits very similar devices.[26] Columns and entablatures thrust the niche is adorned with a shell and topped with a richly decorated pediment and a coffered arch. It has not been possible to trace any model for such an architectural presentation, even in Como or Venice. Holbein set aside the knowledge he had gained in Augsburg to follow the form of painted architecture typical of Filippino Lippi, in his fresco *The Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas* at S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.[27] This painted architectural décor contains all of the elements that are found articulated similarly in Holbein's drawing.
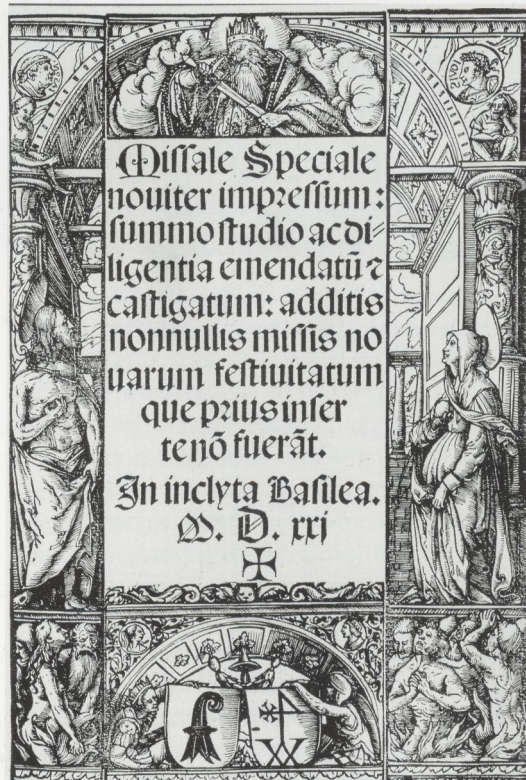
It is difficult to say if these arrangements, combinations, confrontations, and modernizations signify an altogether new orientation, or if they should be seen as attempts to integrate the imported vocabulary. With the *Solothurn Madonna* (fig. 9), painted in 1522 for the secretary of the Basel City Council Johannes Gerster and his wife, Holbein attempted to unite a Northern epitaph and a Southern *sacra conversazione* with the technical skills of early Netherlandish painting. The relation with the Northern epitaph featuring the enthroned Madonna, saints and donors may be illustrated with examples from the Mosel region, such as the *Vierge au Papillon* of 1459, or from among those in the cloister of Augsburg cathedral, such as the epitaph of Ulrich von Rechberg attributed to Michel Erhart.[28] Among the countless Italian examples of the *sacra conversazione* it is only Francesco del Cossa's *Pala dei Mercanti* of 1474 (Pinacoteca, Bologna)—once in the Merchants' Hall in Bologna—that bears significant compositional similarities to Holbein's *Solothurn Madonna:* witness the manner in which both paintings place the Madonna in front of an archway. The appearance of Cossa's *Pala* does not explain, however, the positioning of the saints in Holbein's painting. Here, it is necessary to refer also to Sebastiano del Piombo's organ shutters in San Bartolomeo di Rialto which Holbein must have known by 1517 when he used them as models in his design for a stained glass window with the Fleckenstein arms. These comparisons are strengthened by the fact that Holbein's patron, Johannes Gerster, is known to have traveled to Bologna; moreover, Dürer's *Feast of the Rose Garlands* was on display in the chapel of the German merchants in Venice, located also in San Bartolomeo di Rialto, near the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.[29] The solution presented by Holbein's *Solothurn Madonna* is a result of a synthesis of the Northern epitaph with the southern *sacra conversazione* in front of an archway, and with two saints taken from Italian, presumably Venetian models.

An analogous attempt at integration can also be found in the eight parts of the *Passion Altarpiece* which dates from around 1524. The iconography of the *Passion Altarpiece* is extremely conventional: the division of the panels and the choice and arrangement

of the scenes differ very little from, for example, the outside of the altar that Holbein the Elder had painted in 1502 for the Cistercian church in Kaisheim near Donauwörth.[30] An unusual element of the Basel *Passion Altarpiece* is the use of lighting. Holbein chose to depict the first three scenes of the upper part as taking place at night, with various light sources. This interest on the part of the artist in repeated night scenes and their management corresponds with Albrecht Altdorfer's *Passion of Christ* on the wings of the former Sebastiansaltar, which was painted between 1509 and 1516 for the church of Saint Florian near Linz.[31] Most

9. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Solothurn Madonna*, 1522, tempera(?) on panel Kunstmuseum, Solothurn

made much clearer the effort involved in carrying the body by emphasizing the way the figures strain under the weight. Likewise both emphasize the limpidity of Christ's body and the scale of the rocky outcrop. The similarities to Raphael's work extend to the position of the body: the arm hanging limply and the rather forced position of the lower leg. Holbein includes a third man who is helping to carry the body, supporting Christ just under the right arm. The differentiation between the bearers and the group of mourners in Holbein's scene corresponds to the division of the subject in Mantegna's and Raphael's works. However Dürer's version must have provided some inspiration, especially since his sepulchre was closely imitated here.

The *Darmstadt Madonna* poses many difficulties, regarding Holbein's understanding of Italian art. It seems that no panel representing the Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist is to be found in the North before that date.[34] In the South the iconography was common, especially in Florentine and Lombard painting, from the middle of the fifteenth century onward.[35] In Milan, Leonardo produced his famous *Virgin of the Rocks* between 1483 and 1490: John the Baptist, the Virgin, and an angel pay homage to Christ. The panel was painted for the Confraternità della Concezione, and destined for the church of San Francesco Grande in Milan (1493), but was probably sold by Lodovico Sforza to the French king Louis XII. It is recorded in the royal collection in the time of François I.[36] It seems that a similar piece by the hand of Raphael had been secured by the king for Fontainebleau, the *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*.[37] It is possible that Holbein saw them during his travels in France in 1524; if not, he may have known drawings or engravings made after them.

Holbein tried to incorporate such new forms in his own painting, thereby implying that he was attempting to combine different patterns. The *Darmstadt Madonna* draws upon the iconography of the *Schutzmantelmadonna* (the Virgin as protector), that of the Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist, and that of the Virgin standing before her throne. Very good parallels may be found, which help to identify the elements

characteristic is the last scene in Holbein's *Passion Altarpiece*, the *Entombment* (fig. 10), which is based on two identifiable models. One of these was Andrea Mantegna's engraving *The Entombment* or possibly the reversed copy by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, and the other was Dürer's version of the episode in his *Small Woodcut Passion*.[32] Franz Kugler and Jacob Burckhardt recalled in 1847 the *Borghese Entombment* by Raphael, while Alfred Woltmann in 1866 referred to Mantegna's engraving, which had also been a model for Raphael.[33] Actually Holbein seems to have transformed Mantegna's rendering of the scene in the same way as Raphael had before him: both artists

combined. A small picture now in the Louvre, the *Madonna and Child Surrounded by Six Angels and Saint John the Baptist* combines the standing Madonna with the representation of the Virgin with Christ and Saint John.[38] Another piece offers even more striking features: the main altarpiece of the Chiesa del Collegio Papio in Ascona (1519), the central part of which was painted by Iohannes Antonius De Lagaia from Ascona. Here we have the *Madonna della Misericordia* standing in front of her throne in a magnificent room; two pilasters frame the space as well as an entablature. Arranged symmetrically on both sides of the Madonna, male and female figures place themselves under the protection of the Virgin who stands erect and whose head—as in Holbein's picture—nearly overlaps the border of the shell adorning the niche.[39]

Ascona, situated on the higher end of Lake Maggiore, was situated on the main line of traffic between North and South, exactly like Basel. For travelers, it was an important station for supplies on the way to northern Italy. The strategic position of Ascona, the similarities between Lagaia's panel and the *Darmstadt Madonna* are so striking that Holbein may have seen the panel, or at least have been indirectly acquainted with it; at any rate, in their attempt to combine two iconographies, the two artists reached similar results. The similarity between the positioning of the figures of the people of Ascona and of the Meyer family goes beyond mere coincidence. However, in one respect, Lagaia's *Madonna della Misericordia,* the *Pala Sforzesca* in Milan, and Filippo Lippi's *Pala Barbadori* all differ from the *Darmstadt Madonna:* Holbein's masterpiece is constructed and functions as an epitaph, according to the Northern tradition.[40]

Holbein's *Last Supper*—surviving only in fragmentary form—combines Leonardesque elements with grotesque figures such as Judas and also confronts Renaissance architecture with a Northern tower. The composition of the figure group relates both to Leonardo and to the *Last Supper* in Dürer's Large Passion Cycle of 1510. Apart from the three openings of the windows, the face of Christ, and the dispute of the apostles, however, Holbein took little from Leonardo. Not only did he create a completely different composition, but he also gave grotesque faces to Judas and to some of the other apostles. Holbein's *Last Supper* does not attempt to draw on an Italian model, but rather to transform it according to Northern requirements. Leonardo and Dürer might easily be taken as the principal points of reference for the program of the younger artist, yet such a conclusion would certainly not suffice to describe all of Holbein's ambitions.[41]

We have no certain documentary evidence that can help in dating Holbein's *Passion Altarpiece.* Woltmann first attributed it to the years before 1520, but in the second edition of his work he preferred to date it after the *Last Supper* and connected it with Leonardo and Mantegna rather than with Dürer. Before Woltmann, Kugler and Burckhardt preferred to maintain a date before 1520 for its composition. Their comparisons privileged painters of the Lombard and Roman schools. Their assessment of the painting runs as follows: "The whole betrays the character of intense detail studies, as if this time the artist had wished to provide the most complete and thoroughly developed image. That may explain the awkward, self-conscious and deliberate nature of this work which distinguishes it from his earlier and later works."[42]

If one dates the *Passion Altarpiece* after the journey to France in 1524 on grounds of artistic technique, an interesting question is raised: how can we explain Holbein's simultaneous but distinctive artistic orientations? The *Venus and Cupid* and the *Laïs Corinthiaca* point above all to the Lombard schools, while the stained-glass designs for the *Passion of Christ* are based on engravings by Martin Schongauer and Dürer. In the *Last Supper* Holbein takes Leonardo's painting as a starting point and adds Northern figures. The opening scenes of the *Passion of Christ* adopt an iconography concordant with the night scenes of the Northern schools; the final scene presents a variation on Mantegna's *Entombment* with elements of Dürer added. Thus it is that the *Passion of Christ* is of interest when compared with the *Last Supper:* in each work the artist takes a different starting point and achieves an integration of two very distinct patterns. The *Passion of Christ* aims to integrate Italian elements into a Northern framework while the

Last Supper adopts a Milanese pattern and peoples it with Northern figures.

Invention, Independence

It seems difficult, today, to define artistic dependence: although students often point to the models for a work of art, it is usually forgotten that such information must be complemented with the more difficult analysis of the artist's inventiveness in the use of such models. Holbein fits himself most probably to a kind of artist who depends on manual labor and inventive combination rather than inexplicable intuitions and ideas. To say this is not meant to deny artistic freedom or originality, but to give this faculty a more precise definition within a framework of visual references.

A demonstration of artistic invention and fantasy is to be found in one of the margin drawings to the *Encomium Moriae* (Praise of Folly) by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Holbein depicted the mythological creature of the chimera as she was described in Horace's *De arte poetica* (fig. 11). Erasmus' character of the Moria (folly) pokes fun at the preachers' rhetorical art and the way in which they ape the ancient orators, baffling their listeners with overly subtle and abstruse theological arguments. She compares their foolish speeches, their wild combination of arguments and arbitrary use of associations, their lack of reason and logic with the chimera as described by Horace at the beginning of his *De arte poetica*: "If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse, and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there, so that what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish, could you, my friends, if favoured with a private view, refrain from laughing?"[43]

In the edition of the *Encomium* that Holbein illustrated with his margin sketches—the one published in Basel in 1515—only the first two words of Horace's text are quoted—*Humano capiti &c.* Holbein therefore must have consulted Horace's text for the description of the chimera although at the same time ignoring the author's refusal to accept such a fantastic artistic creation.[44] Contrary to both Horace's and Erasmus' readings, Holbein used the chimera as a sign of the painter's claim to fantastic inventions.

The small diptych *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and *The Virgin as Mater Dolorosa* demonstrates that the young artist allowed his rich fantasy to run free, even before the time when he completed the monumental decorations on the façade of the house Zum Tanz.[45] The diptych seems to constitute the earliest example of Holbein's free usage of various, somewhat arbitrary architectural forms, painted with the utmost precision. While proving his mastery of Italian architecture through the precise depiction of buildings—as in the design for a stained glass, the *Madonna and Child with Saint Pantalus*—he also allowed himself the greatest liberties in his architectural representations.[46]

The most important expression of such fantastic inventions can be seen in the architectural ornamentation on the façade of the house Zum Tanz (fig. 12) in Basel. These ornaments follow none of the established rules, nor do they correspond to any structural function. The façades are constructed in perspective for the viewer in the street, but this illusion is only a part of the effect to be achieved—that of bewildering the viewer by the means of architecture with no
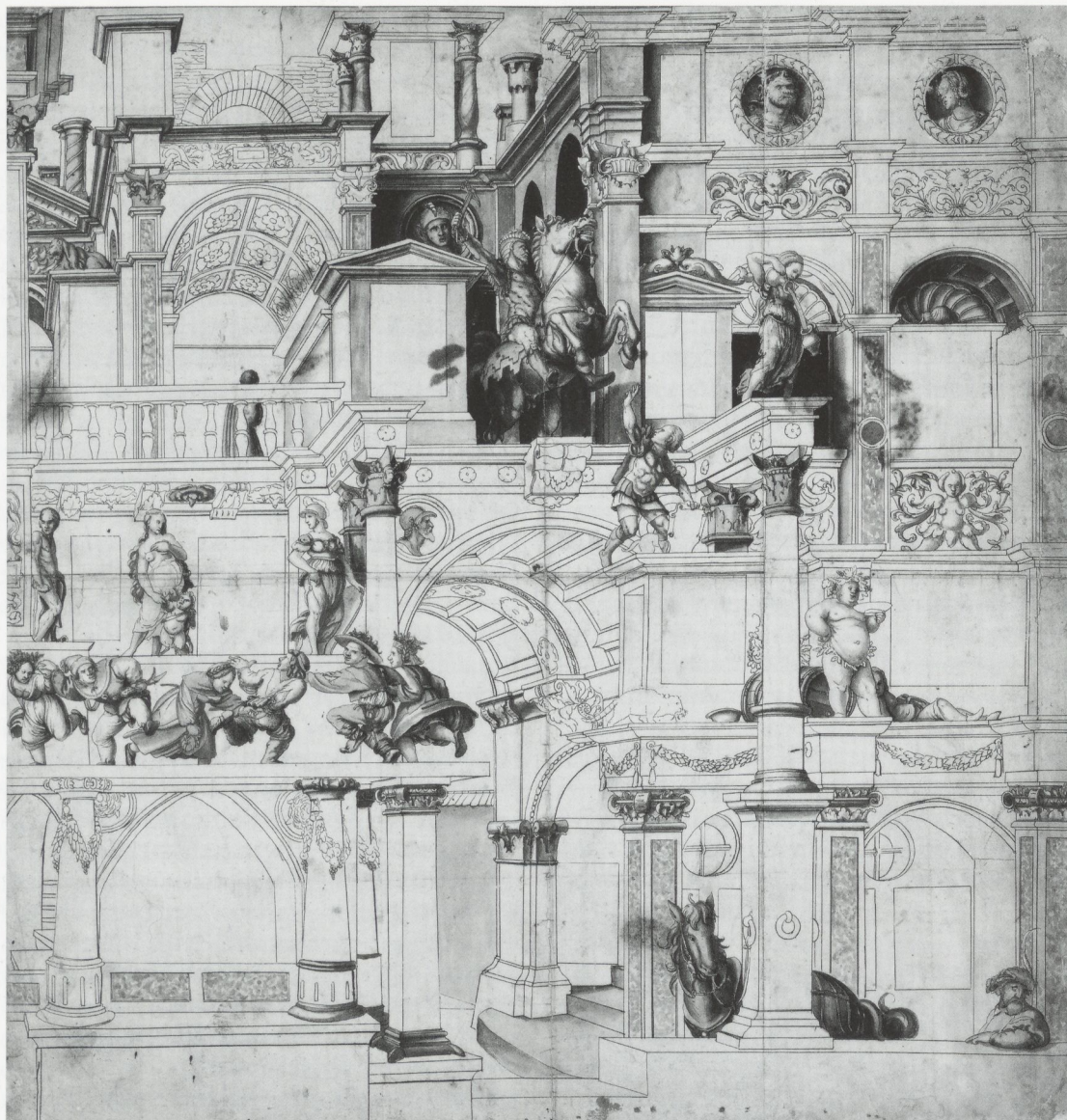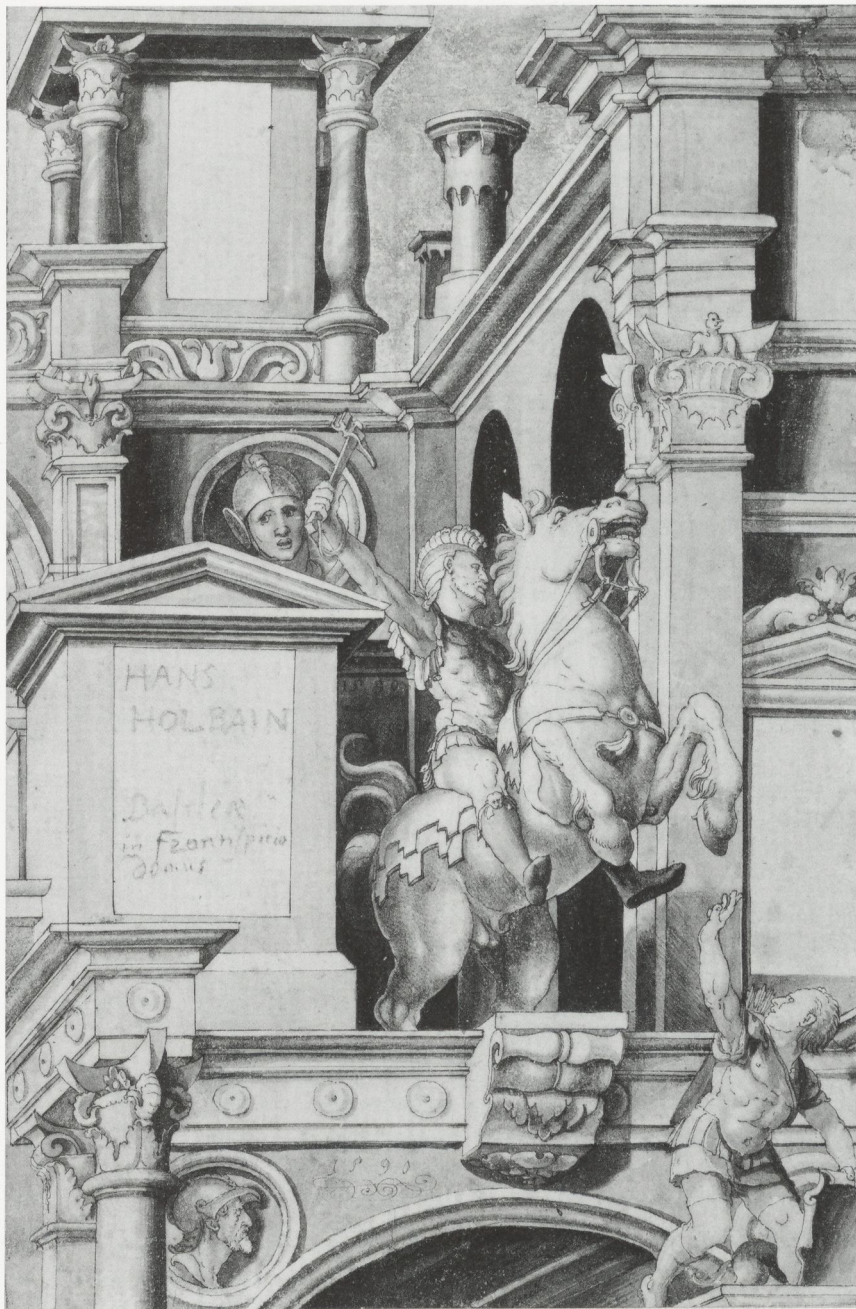

11. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Chimera*, pen border drawing on folio Q 4 verso of Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Encomium Moriae* (Basel, 1515) Kunstmuseum Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett

functional purpose. The architectural elements—triumphal arches, colonnades, balustrades, and aedicules—add their effect to that of the sculptures and figures, to propose a series of contrary movements, some jutting forward, others receding. Some arches, leading the viewer's eye backward, are angled away from protruding gabled pavilions designed as frames for the house's doors and windows. A pillar is planted in the middle of one of these arches. In front of this again, a horse with its rider rears, while beneath, between the wide, projecting architraves of the lower triumphal arch, a soldier standing on a pavilion has turned around, terrified. To

this motif of horror is added one of visual deception on the ground floor, where a dismounted rider is shown standing with his horse tethered next to him.[47] This whole assemblage, seemingly composed without any attention to rules, establishes a chimeric architecture as the product of artistic fantasy. To achieve it Holbein uses a masterly range of devices to produce a debouchment in the surface: illusionistic projections, reliefs, and lifelike figures.

When, in about 1523/1524, Holbein designed and painted the façade decorations on Zum Tanz, he decidedly distanced his solution from traditional south German and

13. Niklaus Rippel, copy after Hans Holbein the Younger, detail of "Leaping Rider" from *Façade of the House Zum Tanz*, 1590, pen and watercolor
Kunstmuseum Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett

elements. The *concetto* of architectural representation here relates to the idea of artistic whim and freedom as expressed in Horace's chimera—though the poet did not want to grant the power to represent such a creature to the painter. It is possible to name parallels ranging from Augsburg to Nuremberg, as well as Bramante's Vigevano which was perhaps more important for Holbein's concetto than any other visual source.

Holbein's unruly architectural fantasy consistently relates to the point of view of the beholder at street level; its aim is to achieve illusion, deception, fright, and astonishment. This aim is most saliently embodied in a concetto, the horseman who seems to jump down from the façade (fig. 13). This form stems from northern Italian façade painting. In 1516, Thomas Schmid used it for the interior decoration of the banqueting hall of the Saint Georgen monastery in Stein am Rhein, while Holbein adopted it in 1517/1519 for the façade of the Hertensteinhaus. In both cases, the scene shows Marcus Curtius.[49] In the house Zum Tanz, however, Holbein chose not to represent this Roman hero but painted a small dramatic scene with a horseman and foot soldier, the latter turning around in fright. The scene is analogous to the one painted by Pordenone in about 1520–1522 in *Christ before Pilate*, and also recalls Leonardo's designs for an equestrian monument.[50]

Thereafter there were few commissions that allowed Holbein to display his genius for wit and combinations of forms on a grand scale. Nevertheless, he did not renounce concetti and combinations, as is evident from the portrait *The Ambassadors*, from the *Triumph of Wealth* and the *Triumph of Poverty* for the London Steelyard, or from the mural at Whitehall Palace.

Any comparison of Holbein's paintings with Italian works opens up to further question his direct or indirect acquaintance with them. The problem is to assess the difference between the use of forms attesting a general knowledge of Southern practices, and the specific borrowings that should prove a direct acquaintance, in situ, with Italian works.[51] Around 1500 painters such as Hans Holbein the Elder and others had already imitated the miraculous picture of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome; around 1520,

Swiss façade paintings which he had still followed in the Hertenstein paintings in Lucerne of 1517. There is a good indication that, in 1522/1523, Holbein sought to improve his knowledge of architecture, as he seems to have known by then Cesare Cesariano's edition of Vitruvius, published in Como in 1521.[48] The representation of architecture on Zum Tanz defies all conventions, thus resulting in a fantastic, seemingly planless combination of architectural

graphic documents indicate a fashion (in southern Germany) for cycles of main altar and side altarpieces.[52] The connections between Augsburg and Venice were close, and we must assume that a precise knowledge of Italian art in the North was fostered by steady economic and artistic traffic between North and South—Jacopo de' Barbari, Albrecht Dürer, or Hans Burgkmair the Elder attest to this.[53] It seems that in Basel and in Lucerne Holbein developed further his knowledge of Italian forms and devices. His use of models, their appropriation through transformations and combinations, differs from that of most of his contemporaries only on a major point: he relied upon fantastic invention rather than method. Models, to him, were a means to an end, helping him to execute precise tasks. As such, they do not bear testimony to a new direction or a new aim in his artistic endeavors. Many factors should be taken into account in discussion of Holbein's connection to Italy. Above all, close analysis of the similarity of some of his works to Italian paintings yields interesting results; knowledge is required of how patterns and compositional schemes were spread through engravings, drawings, and paintings in Italian and Northern art. It is also possible to imagine how the artist traveled, according to the necessities of his work, and followed the well-known routes connecting North and South through Switzerland. Important also is Holbein's own understanding of the styles in fashion at the time; we have seen that he used them for specific purposes. Overall, it is most probable that Holbein went to Italy, at the time he was painting the façade of the Hertenstein house.[54]

For more than 150 years now, the question of Holbein's journey has not been advanced. In the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*, Franz Kugler and Jacob Burckhardt proceed with great caution in their discussion of the "influences of the Italian manner": "Where some elements crop up in his early work, it is enough to assume that Holbein became acquainted with prints by Mantegna's school; for the later period, one does well to accept the idea of a stay in Italy, even a short one, at least in northern Italy, inasmuch as features reminiscent of Leonardo are all too evident."[55] Burckhardt returned to that ques-

tion in his *Lectures* of 1891 and inferred that Holbein might have traveled in Lombardy in 1517: at that time, the leading interests of the artist were the study of perspective, Italian architecture, and especially of Lombard ornaments.[56] However, a mere comparison of Holbein's works with Italian paintings or sculpture does not provide enough evidence to prove that point: the corpus of Italian engravings was large enough, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to furnish Holbein with plenty of patterns. John Rowlands himself does not exclude a journey to Italy, but is inclined to limit that experience to the period when the young artist was working in Lucerne.[57]

The first important journey made by the young artist in 1515 from Augsburg to Basel is typical of the wanderings of young apprentices. The journey through France (1524) was an attempt to find a position as a court painter with François I; however, he never spurned other sources of income, designing models for woodblock carvers or goldsmiths. Lyon was an important center for printing and banking, and the Ravensburg firm, to which Jakob von Hertenstein belonged, as well as the Tucher from Nuremberg had warehouses in Lyon. In 1526, Holbein departed for England through Antwerp, another important economic and artistic center. The artist made that journey on the recommendation of Erasmus, and with the hope of succeeding where he had failed in France. As we see, after leaving Augsburg, he does not seem to have traveled ever for leisure or to further his artistic education, but rather on assignment, or in the expectation of receiving one.

The close similarities between the *Solothurn Madonna* and particular works by Cossa and Sebastiano del Piombo, between the *Darmstadt Madonna* and Italian models, and his derivation of Italian architectural forms pose the problem of Holbein's knowledge of Italian art afresh. Nevertheless, these links do not indicate which of the two awkward hypotheses is fitting—that of direct contact with Italy, or that of mediated acquaintance with Italian forms and devices which circulated between South and North.

Until now, settling this issue has remained impossible, due to a lack of documents. It is astonishing to find that a significant docu-

ment, dated 1538 and published by Eduard His as early as 1870, should never have been discussed properly in this respect.[58] The text is a contract drawn up for Holbein, at the instigation of the mayor and council of Basel, probably before his last departure for England. The city council obviously tried to convince the artist to remain in the city. A yearly salary of 50 gulden was promised to him, in addition to payments for all his works. According to the terms of this proposed contract, Holbein was allowed to maintain contact with his other patrons—kings, princes, aristocrats, and cities—but he was not permitted to leave Basel for extensive periods abroad. All of his commissions were to be executed in Basel itself. There is a further, interesting clause: "Those works of art he will execute here [in Basel], once, twice or three times, as long as they are always executed under our patronage and with our permission, not behind our backs; he may sell those works to foreign patrons in France, England, Milan or in the Netherlands." It is absolutely clear that the contract makes precise reference to the conditions posed by the artist himself, who wanted the freedom to maintain contact with his existing patrons. The lawyers of the city council mention only a limited, restrictive number of geographical areas covered by the agreement—most certainly, those places that he already knew from personal experience, and where his patrons were living. We know for certain that Holbein traveled and worked in France, in England, and in the Low Countries, where he also bought his panels ready to be painted. Thus, on the strength of this document, it may be assumed that Holbein also traveled in the duchy of Milan.

NOTES

1. For a critical use of the historiographic concept of "influence," see Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1985), 58–62; Oskar Bätschmann, *Einführung in die kunstgeschichtliche Hermeneutik* (Darmstadt, 1984), 98–102; 110–112 (4th ed. 1994).

2. Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (London, 1997), 13–35.

3. Owing to a predominantly stylistic approach to his achievements, Holbein has been labeled an eclectic artist. Thus, for example, Franz Kugler and Jacob Burckhardt formulated the young artist's dilemma in 1847: "All those works are of very different styles; he was a precocious talent, quick at changing his way of executing his works; he took into account many influences from different sides, until, enriched by all those borrowings, he found his original direction again." Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grossen*, 2d ed. Jacob Burckhardt, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1847), 2:273.

4. Leonardo da Vinci, *Codex Atlanticus*, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, fol. 247; see Leonardo da Vinci, *The Literary Works*, 2 vols., ed. Jean Paul Richter [1883]; reprint, *The Notebooks*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), 1:315, no. 612.

5. Bernardino Luini, *Young Woman with a Fan*, c. 1520–1524, black and colored chalks, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 59 (L. 174); Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina* (Vienna, 1992), 32–33; see the corresponding painting in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

6. Christian Müller, *Die Zeichnungen von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren und Ambrosius Holbein*, Kupferstichkabinett der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel, vol. 3, pt. 2A (Basel, 1996), no. 154, 103–104, pl. 15.

7. Müller 1996, 99–100.

8. Müller 1996, 67–69.

9. Peter Mellen, *Jean Clouet: Complete Edition of the Drawings, Miniatures, and Paintings* (London, 1971), 24–36, 213; see also the miniature, no. 128, 233.

10. Giuseppe Vallardi, *Disegni da Leonardo da Vinci posseduti da Giuseppe Vallardi* (Milan, 1855), 66. The sitter was identified as Isabella d'Este by Charles Yriarte in 1888. Leonardo executed two painted portraits probably using the same cartoon; both are lost.

11. See, for example, Holbein's ten stained glass designs for a *Passion of Christ*, about 1526, executed in pen and washes; Müller 1996, 109–115; or the last sketches for the Council Chamber of the Rathaus in Basel, 1530, executed in pen, watercolor, and gray and brown washes; Müller 1996, 93–94. For the sketch of *The Triumph of Wealth* in 1532–1533, Holbein used pen, brown and black washes, and

white heightening; *Dessins de Dürer et de la Renaissance germanique dans les collections publiques parisiennes.* [exh. cat., Musée du Louvre] (Paris, 1991), 160–161.

12. Mellen 1971, 49–50; no. 141, 237–239; see also the drawing, no. 31, 218; Cécile Scailliérez, *François Ier et ses artistes dans les collections du Louvre,* Monographies des musées de France (Paris, 1992), 42–43 (Jean and François Clouet, c. 1520). Cécile Scailliérez, *Joos van Cleve au Louvre,* Dossiers du Département des Peintures 39 (Paris, 1991), 96–99. H. Pauwels et al., *Jan Gossaert genaamd Mabuse* [exh. cat., Museum Boymans—van Beuningen Rotterdam, and Groeningemuseum Brugge] (Rotterdam and Bruges, 1965) 215–216, dated between 1525 und 1530; see also Gert von der Osten, "Studien zu Jan Gossaert," in Millard Meiss, ed., *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky,* 2 vols. (New York, 1961), 454–476; *Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Gemäldegalerie,* catalogue of the exhibited paintings (Berlin, 1975), no. 586 A, 180; Janet Cox-Rearick, *Chefs-d'oeuvres de la Renaissance. La collection de François I* (Paris, 1995), 8–11.

13. John Rowlands, *Holbein: The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (London and Boston, 1985), 133; no. 53, 141–142; no. L 14 c, 226.

14. Holbein's European clientele is documented in 1538 through a draft of a contract between Hans Holbein and the City Council of Basel (Basel, Staats-archiv Basel Stadt, Bestallungsbuch, letter dated Basel, 16 October 1538); for a reprint see Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 211–212.

15. For the wall paintings in the London Steelyard and for an analysis of the different types of portraits, see Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 82–87, 134–145, 149–193.

16. *Sammeln in der Renaissance. Das Amerbach-Kabinett,* 5 vols. [exh. cat., Öffentliche Kunstsammlung and Historisches Museum] (Basel, 1991): Elisabeth Landolt et. al., "Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach," 145 (Inventar D); the two paintings *Venus and Amor* and *Laïs Corinthiaca* are not pendants, see Basel 1991, 23–24; Rowlands 1985, 63–64, 131; Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, "Hans Holbeins 'Laïs Corinthiaca,'" *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1984), 22–34.

17. Cox-Rearick 1995, 144–146.

18. Scailliérez 1992, no. 42, 111, compare with no. 31, 92–93, and no. 33, 96–97; Cox-Rearick 1995, 214–217.

19. Basel 1991, 145 (Inventar D).

20. *Staatsgalerie Augsburg. Städtische Kunstsammlungen,* vol. 1: *Altdeutsche Gemälde. Katalog,* 2d ed. (Munich, 1978), 76–82.

21. Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* (Munich, 1994).

22. Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers,* 4 vols. (Berlin, 1936–1939), 2:133–134; Ute

Nortrud Kaiser, *Der skulptierte Altar der Frührenaissance in Deutschland,* 2 vols. (Bamberg, 1978) 2:526. The changes occurring during the execution are limited to the opening of the right side and to details such as the coffered ceiling.

23. On Michelozzo's work for San Miniato al Monte: Miranda Ferrara and Francesco Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolomeo* (Florence, 1984), 243–245, with the remark on Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco in Santa Maria Novella; Harriet McNeal Caplow, *Michelozzo,* 2 vols. (New York and London, 1977), 1:444–452.

24. Kunstmuseum Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, inv. 1531. Bernd Konrad, "Die Wandgemälde im Festsaal des St. Georgen-Klosters zu Stein am Rhein," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte* 69 (1992), 75–111, especially 94–97; Rowlands 1985, no. R 15, 231; the attribution of that panel by Koegler (1923) has met with great resistance: *Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel* [exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Basel] (Basel, 1960), 186–187.

25. Müller 1996, 78–79; Basel 1991: Zeichnungen no. 105, 35; Hanspeter Landolt, "Zu Hans Holbein d.J. als Zeichner," in *Festschrift to Erik Fischer: European Drawings from Six Centuries* (Copenhagen, 1990) 263–277. On the iconography, see Günter Bandmann, "Höhle und Säule auf Darstellungen Mariens mit dem Kind," in *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten* (Cologne, 1970), 130–148.

26. Müller 1996, 77–78.

27. Katharine B. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 79–96; Gail L. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel: Renaissance Art in Rome* (Kirksville, Mo., n.d.).

28. Karl Kosel, *Der Augsburger Domkreuzgang und seine Denkmäler* (Sigmaringen, 1991).

29. For a detailed discussion and for Holbein's patron, see Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein. Die Solothurner Madonna. Eine Sacra Conversazione im Norden.* (Basel, 1998). Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer. Das malerische Werk* (Berlin, 1971), 187–199.

30. Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere* (Munich, 1960), 63–64; *Alte Pinakothek München, Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden* (Munich, 1983), 248–250.

31. Franz Winzinger, *Albrecht Altdorfer. Die Gemälde* (Munich and Zurich, 1975), 15–24, 78–82.

32. Suzanne Boorsch et al. *Andrea Mantegna* [exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art and Royal Academy of Arts] (New York and London, 1992), nos. 38 (Mantegna, *Entombment,* c. 1472), 39 (second state), 40 (reversed copy by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, c. 1509).

33. Kugler and Burckhardt 1847, 2:279–281; Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1866–1868), 1:246, remarked on the use of Johannes in Holbein's *Christ on the Cross.* On Raphael's *Borghese Entombment,* see Hubert Locher, *Raffael*

und das Altarbild der Renaissance. Die "Pala Baglioni" als Kunstwerk im sakralen Kontext (Berlin, 1994). Raphael's picture was in the church of San Francesco a Prato (Perugio) until it was stolen by Scipione Borghese in 1608. Engravings after the painting are known only from the middle of the seventeenth century on. A French engraving was made in the sixteenth century, probably after Luca Penni's picture inspired by that of the master: Raphaël et l'art français. [exh. cat., Grand Palais] (Paris, 1983), 310, fig. 53; The Illustrated Bartsch, ed. Walter L. Strauss, 75 vols. (New York, 1978–), 33:301.

34. Before Holbein, only three drawings from the German school may be found that develop this Italian theme; Albrecht Dürer drew in 1511/1513 the Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, perhaps later adding a sketch for architecture. Around 1518/1519 Dürer returned to the same subject in a large-scale drawing; Winkler 1936–1939, 3:9–10, 17–18; Walter L. Strauss, The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer, 6 vols. (New York, 1974), 3:1278, 1782. A drawing in chalk, attributed to Grünewald and dated 1519, shows the Child with the Madonna and behind them the young Saint John the Baptist; Eberhard Ruhmer, Grünewald Drawings: Complete Edition (London, 1970), 92–93, pl. 33. Corresponding panels by Dürer or Grünewald do not exist; after Holbein, however, Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Baldung Grien adopted such a motif; Gert von der Osten, Hans Baldung Grien. Gemälde und Dokumente (Berlin, 1983), 227–229; Hans Körner, "Hans Baldungs 'Muttergottes mit der Weintraube,'" Pantheon 66 (1988), 50–60; Lucas Cranach the Elder (workshop), Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, 1551, Schlossmuseum, Gotha.

35. Other examples: Bernardino de' Conti, Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, 1522, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, inv. 5506; see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Giovanni Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," Art Bulletin 37 (1955), 85–101; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Giovanni Battista: A Supplement," Art Bulletin 43 (1961), 319–326; Alexandre Masseron, Saint Jean Baptiste dans l'art (Paris, 1957).

36. Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks, 1483; collection of François I, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 777. Cox-Rearick 1972, 14–21, especially 15–16.

37. Raphaël et l'art français 1983, 81–84: "La Belle Jardinière a sans doute appartenu à François Ier" (81); Scailliérez 1991, 104–105; Cox-Rearick 1995, 179–181; compare with Raphael or Gian Francesco Penni, The Virgin with the Veil, Raphaël et l'art français 1983, 111–114; and the other versions of the Madonna with the two children by Raphael: Madonna on the Grass, 1506, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Madonna del Cardellino, 1507, Uffizi, Florence. See also the engraving by Agostino Veneziano, a member of the Raphael circle, with a Madonna in half-length with the two children, a variation after the Madonna Aldobrandini of 1510; Grazia Bernini Pezzini et al., Raphael invenit. Stampe da Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'istituto nazionale per la grafica. [exh. cat., Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica (Rome, 1985), 210.

38. This painting was bought in 1861 as a work by Filippo Lippi; since Berenson's reattribution, it has been downgraded to a picture of the Florentine school; S. Cornu, Catalogue des tableaux, des sculptures de la Renaissance et des majoliques du Musée Napoléon III (Paris, 1862), no. 204; Bernard Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places: Florentine School, 2 vols. (London, 1963), 1:211.

39. On the church of Santa Maria della Misericordia in Ascona, see Virgilio Gilardoni, I monumenti d'arte e di storia del canton Ticino (Basel, 1979), 2:152–154; La pittura in Italia, il Cinquecento, ed. Giuliano Briganti, 2 vols. (Milan, 1988) 1:78.

40. Pinacoteca di Brera. Scuole lombarda e piemontese 1300–1535 (Milan, 1988), pl. 145, 325–330.

41. For Holbein's ambitions, see Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 13–35.

42. Kugler and Burckhardt 1847, 2:279–280: "Das Ganze trägt den Charakter angestrengten Einzelstudiums, als hätte der Künstler diessmal das Vollendetste und Durchgebildetste geben wollen, und hieraus mag sich am besten das Befangene, Bewusste und Absichtliche erklären, was diese Passion von seinen frühern und spätern Werken unterscheidet."

43. Horace, De arte poetica 1–4: "Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam / iungere si velit et varias inducere plumas / undique conlatis membris, ut turpiter atrum / desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne, / spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?" Horace, Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 450–451.

44. Basel 1991: Zeichnungen, 33–34; Müller 1996, 62; Erika Michael, The Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger for Erasmus' "Praise of Folly" (New York and London, 1986).

45. Rowlands 1985, 126; Basel 1991: Die Gemälde, 20; Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 70–77, 129–134.

46. On the drawings for stained glass, dating from 1519/1520 for the most part, see Müller 1996, 71–74.

47. Emil Maurer, "Holbein jenseits der Renaissance. Bemerkungen zur Fassadenmalerei am Haus zum Tanz in Basel," in Emil Maurer, Fünfzehn Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Malerei (Basel 1982), 123–133; Christian Klemm, "Der Entwurf zur Fassadenmalerei am Haus 'Zum Tanz' in Basel. Ein Beitrag zu Holbeins Zeichnungsoeuvre," in Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, 29 (1972), 165–175.

48. Müller 1996, 95; Holbein used the Caryatum Porticus in Di Lucio Vitruuio Pollione De architectura libri dece . . . , trans. Cesare Cesariano, (Como, 1521), book 1, pl. 6.

49. Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 120–123.

50. See Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 70–77, 120–122. Charles E. Cohen, *The Art of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone*, Cambridge Studies in the History of Art, ed. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1996), 1:169–221; Caterina Furlan, *Il Pordenone* (Milan, 1988), 97–116; Caterina Furlan, "Il Pordenone, Raffaello e Roma. Un rapporto rivisitato (1515–1522)," in *La Madonna per San Sisto di Raffaello e la cultura piacentina della prima metà del cinquecento*, Atti del Convegno, Piacenza, 1983, ed. Paola Ceschi Lavagetto (Parma, 1985), 85–112.

51. Robert Salvini, "Congetture su Holbein in Lombardia," in *Fra Rinascimento, Manierismo e Realtà. Scritti di Storia dell'arte in memoria di Anna Maria Brizio*, ed. Pietro C. Marani (Florence, 1984), 85–93.

52. Peter Strieder, "Hans Holbein d.Ä. und die deutschen Wiederholungen des Gnadenbildes von Santa Maria del Popolo," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1959), 252–267.

53. Alfred Weitnauer, *Venezianischer Handel der Fugger nach der Musterbuchhaltung des Matthaeus Schwarz*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte 3 (Munich and Leipzig, 1931); Norbert Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und frühen Renaissance*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte 10 (Munich, 1952); Andrew J. Martin, "Motive für den Venedigaufenthalt oberdeutscher Maler. Von Albrecht Dürer bis Johann Carl Loth," in *Venedig und Oberdeutschland in der Renaissance. Beziehungen zwischen Kunst und Wirtschaft*, ed. Bernd Roeck et al., Studi. Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Studienzentrums in Venedig 9 (Sigmaringen, 1993), 21–30; Jay A. Levenson, *Jacopo de' Barbari and Northern Art of the Early Sixteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981).

54. Theodor von Liebenau, *Hans Holbeins d.J. Fresken am Hertenstein-Hause in Luzern nebst einer Geschichte der Familie Hertenstein* (Lucerne, 1888); Werner Lauber, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere und Luzern*, Luzern im Wandel der Zeiten 22 (Lucerne, 1962); Claudia Hermann et al., *Hans Holbein der Jüngere und das Hertensteinhaus* [exh. cat., Historisches Museum Luzern] (Lucerne, 1992).

55. Kugler and Burckhardt 1847, 2:278: "Wo früher Einzelnes dergleichen vorkömmt, da genügt noch die Annahme, dass Holbein Kupferstiche der Schule Mantegna's vor Augen gehabt; für die folgende Zeit dagegen wird man wohl einen wenn auch kurzen Aufenthalt im Süden, wenigstens in Oberitalien zugeben müssen, insofern gerade die Anklänge an Leonardo da Vinci allzu augenfällig sind."

56. Jacob Burckhardt, "Holbein & die italienische Renaissance," Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, MS. PA 207, 164.

57. Rowlands 1985, 29–30. The scholars who are inclined to accept the idea of his journey to Italy are normally criticized by fellow art historians who quote Karel van Mander, *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche Schilders* (Alckmaer, 1604); for a critical reading of van Mander, see Jürgen Müller, *Concordia Pragensis. Karel van Manders Kunsttheorie im Schilder-Boeck. Ein Beitrag zur Rhetorisierung von Kunst und Leben am Beispiel der rudolfinischen Hofkünstler*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 77 (Munich, 1993); Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 199–201.

58. Staatsarchiv Bassel-Stadt, Bestallungsbuch, 16. October 1538; Eduard His, "Die Basler Archive über Hans Holbein den Jüngeren, seine Familie und einige zu ihm in Beziehung stehende Zeitgenossen," *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1870), 113–173, especially 131–132; for this document, see also Bätschmann and Griener 1997, 211–212.