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Holbein's Hand

The contributions to Holbein research undertaken for the large-scale Holbein symposia of 1997 held in Basel and Washington, DC, constitute a broad and multifaceted basis for subsequent work on Hans Holbein the Younger.¹ Appearing since then have been Katharina Krause's full-scale monograph on Hans Holbein the Elder, a catalogue from the exhibition in The Hague, and Jochen Sander's comprehensive investigation of Hans Holbein the Younger's activities in Basel.² With an essay published by myself and Pascal Griener in 1994 in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, and through our 1997 monograph, we have perhaps vexed established Holbein research while at the same time having an impact on more recent research in specific areas.³ An example is the imperfect of 'pingere', whose usage in Holbein's signatures we have linked to the introduction to Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*.⁴ It was not, however, a question of individual discoveries, such as the valuation of the *Tablet of Apelles* nor of the usage of 'pingebat'. The more fundamental questions touched upon this genius and his artistic utterances, upon the wit and the intellectual capacities of an artist in possession of undisputedly consummate technical skills, upon the relationship between patron and artist, upon the aims of the art, and the functions of the artistic products. The present contribution addresses one of these questions again: that of the artist's self-documentation.⁵

Hans the jester

In late 1515, Hans Holbein the Younger illustrated a copy of the *Encomium moriae – Stultitiae laus*, Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Praise of Folly*, belonging to Oswald Geisshüsler (Myconius), the Lucerne philologist who was active in Basel as a school master.⁶ Of the eighty-two marginal drawings, seventy-nine have been attributed to Hans and only three to his elder brother Ambrosius. One of the wittiest drawings is to be found at the point in the text where Moriae (Folly) praises the folly of the Christians, said to be pleasing to God, and as a parallel refers to the fact that the great lords too are pleased with

harmless numskulls, while remaining mistrustful of overly clever heads. Holbein's drawing shows the father, the elder brother Ambrosius at the centre wearing a royal crown, and Hans himself wearing a dunce's cap (cat. 20). Whether the father and the two sons have assumed the roles of Brutus, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony referred to in the text is left open. Of interest is the fact that Hans has accorded the role of 'princeps' to his elder brother (of about four years), while showing himself naked, with shaggy hair, and wearing a dunce's cap.⁷ The brothers are turned toward one another, and Ambrosius holds his brother's left hand with his own left hand.

It has long been known that Hans Holbein the Younger was left-handed, and that he was unable to use his right, at least for the purposes of artistic work. Holbein used this predisposition as a witty signature. It concerns the story of Mucius, the Roman hero who sought to slay the Etruscan ruler Porsenna, and who, having been taken prisoner, demonstrated the fearlessness of his people by burning his right hand in a fire, thereby acquiring the honorific 'Scaevola' (left handed). Holbein the Younger became preoccupied with this story for the first time in 1516 in a title surround for Johann Froben.⁸ Hans Holbein the Elder and his son were probably responsible for the façade paintings on the Hertenstein house in Lucerne, owned by Lucerne mayor Jacob von Hertenstein, whose designs followed Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*. There, at the centre of the uppermost row, just above the booty and trophy bearers, Holbein the Younger inserted the story of Mucius Scaevola as an encoded signature.⁹ The Roman hero surfaces again in the design for a stained glass window *Virgin and Child under a Renaissance Portico* (cat. 97) of around 1522/25, produced in the Holbein workshop. At the centre of the column on the left is a medallion where a crowned head is drawn in profile and inscribed with *MVCIVSZEFE*.¹⁰ Is this Mucius Scaevola again the stand-in for the young Holbein, who has now stripped off his dunce cap and taken over the crown (of his now deceased brother?) as his legacy?

Apelles

In the thirty-fifth book of his *Historia Naturalis*, Pliny the Elder tells of the contest between the painters Apelles from Kos and Protogenes from Rhodos to draw the finest line. Apelles, or so the story goes, travelled to Rhodos in order to personally inspect Protogenes' works in the light of reports he had heard of that artist's great fame.¹¹ Upon entering the workshop, he meets only an old servant woman, who is watching over a panel that has been freshly prepared for painting. When she asks Apelles his name, he replies: 'Him', while taking a brush in his hand and tracing a line in paint of the greatest fineness across the panel. When Protogenes returns, the old woman tells him what had transpired. Upon examining the fineness of the line, so the story continues, Protogenes' immediately exclaims that Apelles has been there, for such a consummate line can only have come from him. Then he takes a different colour and draws a still finer line through the one already there, and upon leaving says that if Apelles should return, he should be shown this new line and told that Protogenes is the one he seeks. And this is just what happens. Apelles returns and is shamed by his defeat, whereupon he draws through the existing lines, and in such a way that there is no longer any space for anything still finer. Protogenes concedes defeat, and hurries to the harbour in order to seek out his guest; it is decided that the panel should be preserved for posterity, to the astonishment of all, but especially the artists.¹² The panel with the three almost invisible lines was "more famous than any other work of art," Pliny writes. It ended up in Rome in Caesar's palace on the Palatine, where it was destroyed in a fire.

From the fifteenth century onward, Pliny's account of the improbable contest between Apelles and Protogenes became a celebrated anecdote, one oft repeated in the context of art theory.¹³ Together with other fragmentary accounts found in the works of Cicero and Quintilian, Pliny's reports about the painters of Antiquity were seen as traces of the lost art theory of the Greek and Roman painters. The contest between Apelles and Protogenes was interpreted variously: as a document of the keen competition between artists, as confirmation of the unsurpassable virtuosity of the artists of Antiquity, and as an instance of the identification of an artist's 'hand'. During the first third of the fifteenth century, Pliny's story about Apelles and Protogenes was initially regarded with scepticism. Both Leon Battista Alberti and Lorenzo Ghiberti attempted to interpret the story of the three lines: Alberti went in the direction of virtuosity, and justified his demand for contours using the finest lines; while Ghiberti, who referred to the contest with the words "a witless demonstration," related it to the competition between different perspectival compositions, hence attributing the requisite knowledge to the ancients.¹⁴

The third problem, that of the possibility of identifying a creator through a single painted line, was taken up only after the mid-

dle of the century, as Julius Schlosser has deduced. In 1924, he believed he had discovered a reminiscence of the Apelles-Protogenes anecdote in a passage contained in an architectural treatise of 1461/64 by Filarete (Antonio Averlino).¹⁵ Here, Filarete comments on the current problem of finding a distinguishable personal style in handwriting, in painting and in architecture. Filarete supports himself with the observation that despite flawless imitation, for example in portraiture, individual differences are recognisable among painters, and relates this by analogy to the differences in handwriting of different scribes.¹⁶ According to Schlosser, the contest concerning virtuosity is redirected toward the contemporary problem of how to identify an artist's individual 'hand'. In a different passage, in any event, Filarete explicitly mentions the context between Apelles and Protogenes (whom he confuses with Zeuxis) when referring to artistic virtuosity, in other words to the task of drawing a straight line with a brush without using mechanical aids.¹⁷

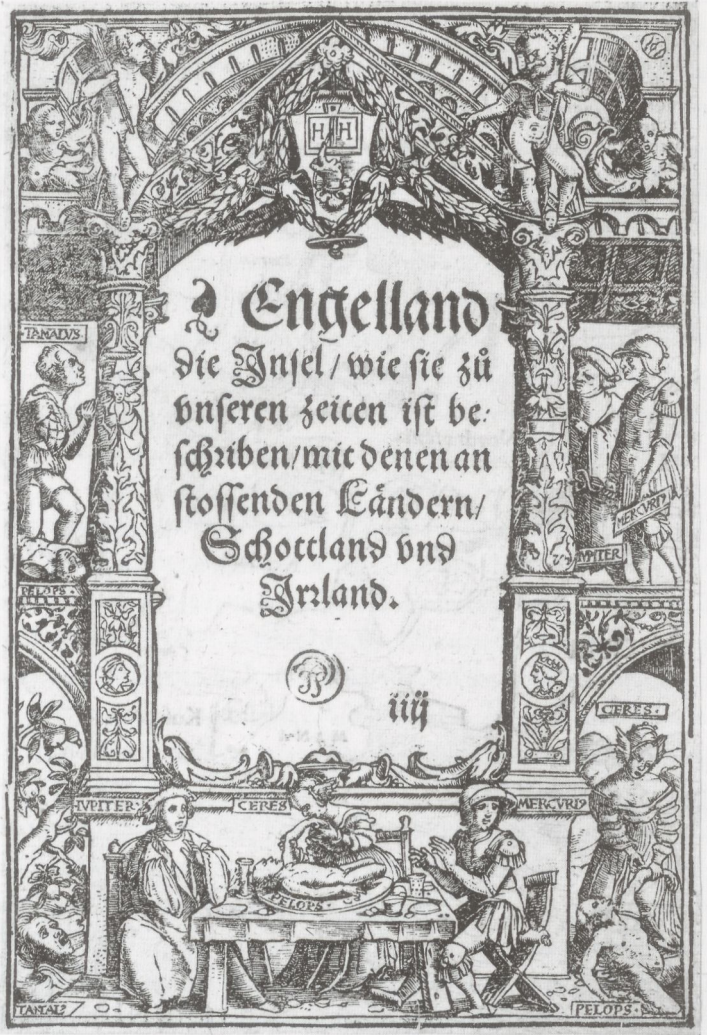
For Erasmus of Rotterdam, whom Holbein the Younger portrayed for the first time in the marginal drawings to Erasmus's edition of *Stultitiae laus* in 1515 (cat. 19), Pliny's story was important to the extent that it showed how Protogenes was able to identify the hand of Apelles from a single line. In his *Parabolae sive similia* of 1514, Erasmus used this instance of the recognition of another artist from a single line for the analogy according to which a man's powers of invention and understanding ("ingenium et prudentia") can be ascertained through his answer to a single question. In Erasmus's brief version of Pliny's tale, the hero is not Apelles, but instead Protogenes, for his ability to identify an artist he has never met solely through a single line: "In the same way that the painter Protogenes was able to recognise Apelles from a single line he had drawn, although he had never even met him, a man's powers of invention and understanding can be grasped by another man of intellect on the basis of a single reply."¹⁸

Transformed, the competition between Apelles and Protogenes is also present in a Nuremberg anecdote about a meeting between Albrecht Dürer and Giovanni Bellini in Venice. In the introduction to the Latin translation of Dürer's book on human proportions, which was published in 1532, the Greek scholar Joachim Camerarius transposed the competition for the finest line to Dürer and Bellini, to whose extraordinary esteem throughout Italy he gave special emphasis. The old Bellini asked the young German artist to make a gift of the brush with which he painted fine hair in his pictures. Camerarius interprets this to mean that Bellini had already conceded defeat in the contest to execute the finest line, and now granted the young Dürer the status of an Apelles. Bellini, in Camerarius' narrative, was of the opinion that Dürer must have used a special brush that enabled him to paint many fine hairs simultaneously with a single stroke. Dürer denied this, and as proof proceeded to execute a long, wavy lock of hair right before Bellini's eyes. Never, declared an astonished Bellini, would he have believed such a feat if he had not witnessed it with his own eyes.¹⁹

The 'tabula ansata'

For his representation of the panel upon which Apelles and Protogenes carried out their contest, Holbein the Younger used the 'tabula ansata', the 'tablet with a handle'. In the printer's device (cat. D. 26) designed in Basel by Hans Holbein the Younger for Valentinus Curio and used for the first time in 1521, the tablet of Apelles is presented on a large escutcheon held by four putti.²⁰ The escutcheon stands in an architectural setting with a portal that opens onto a low, vaulted room with an oculus. On the capitals of the turned columns are two helmeted figures who blow into a horn. Below, in an escutcheon bearing the tablet of Apelles, a hand, having pierced a band of clouds, traces the third line with a brush. Hand and brush throw a shadow onto panel and escutcheon. Such a framed tablet with a handle or eyelet integrated into the frame was incorporated by Holbein the Younger as early as 1519 into the *Portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach* (cat. 38). In this portrait, the tablet bears a Latin distich, which includes the names of both sitter and painter along with the date, that was composed by the sitter and meant to be 'spoken' by his likeness.²¹ Jochen Sander has called attention to a similar tablet in a similar setting in the *Portrait of a Young Man* of 1518 in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (cat. 37), which is attributed to Ambrosius Holbein.²² Here, the inscription is limited to the age of the sitter and the date of the work's execution.

Important here is the use of the tablet for the signature through which the artist announces himself, for here we can perceive the relationship to one interpretation of Apelles' tablet. Holbein's idea for the tablet hung on the tree and bearing a signature stems from Albrecht Dürer, who used the 'tabula ansata' (which came into use in Florence in the last decades of the fifteenth century) for the first time north of the Alps in the engraving *Adam and Eve* (also known as *The Fall of Man*; fig. page 276) of 1504. In 1943, Erwin Panofsky called attention to the fact that Dürer's tablet contains a reference to an engraving of Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of Nude Men* of around 1470–75. Panofsky assumed that Dürer owes the idea of setting both plastically modelled figures in front of "the shadowy darkness of a grove" to Italian prototypes, and that he acknowledges this debt with the 'citation' of the tablet – which would have been a thoroughly uncharacteristic act for the period around 1500.²³ It is important that we are dealing here with a tablet and not with a 'cartellino', that is to say, that the support for a signature is not a sheet of paper but instead a tablet that could serve for a painting – as with Protogenes, and now with Pollaiuolo as well as with Dürer – and could also bear the artist's signature, through which he could be directly identified as author. Antonio Pollaiuolo set the tablet into his engraving in order to introduce his full signature with name and place of origin: *OPVS / ANTONII.POLLA / IOLI.FLORENT / TINI*. Likewise, Dürer set his signature into the tablet in the engraving of *Adam and Eve* and reinforces it with his monogram: *ALBERT / DVRER /*



1 Title Surround with the Story of Tantalus and the Curio Device, 1521, woodcut by Hans Herman, Basel, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. X.2136

NORICVS / FACIEBAT / [Monogram AD (legature)] 1504. Thereafter, Dürer ceased inscribing the tablet with his full signature in his engravings. The engraving of *Nemesis* of 1504 bears only his monogram, and the engraving *Family of Satyrs* of 1505 bears monogram and year, as do other engravings such as *St. Jerome in his Study* of 1514. On the other hand, Dürer used large altarpieces such as the *Heller Altarpiece* of 1509 and the *Landauer Altarpiece* of 1511 for the extraordinary conjunction of self-portrait and tablet with signature. In both works, as can be seen in a copy of the *Heller Altarpiece* by Jobst Harrich and in the *Landauer Altarpiece*, on view in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Dürer places his own entire figure in the landscape, accompanied by a signature tablet with an elaborate text.²⁴

Apparently, only the young Holbein used the 'tabula ansata' as the bearer for his signature and for the tablet of Apelles (in the printer's device and the title surround for Valentinus Curio). The question is whether the artist and the printer-publisher related

themselves to the same or to differing interpretations of this emblem. According to Frank Hieronymus, Valentinus Curio was able to relate to the anecdote according to the interpretation of Erasmus in terms of “the quality of his authors and his editions.” Christian Müller tends to agree with this view, and to back away from the idea of connecting the device with Holbein.²⁵ But Holbein’s genius or inventive wit is detectable precisely in the way in which he was able to take up an interpretative possibility (with Erasmus) provided by his client, and simultaneously to create a kind of artist’s signature for himself. This would correspond to what Erasmus formulated in his *Parabolae* in praise of Timanthes, who in all of his works intimated more than what he explicitly depicted, which gives rise to the conclusion that an oration is better the more ideas and the less narration it contains, the greater sense and the fewer words.²⁶

That Holbein adopted the tablet of Apelles as his own emblem was probably evident already in the sixteenth century. An unidentified individual subsequently inscribed Holbein’s signature in the Apelles tablet in a print. In the title surround containing the story of Tantalus and Pelops, which may have come from Holbein’s ‘circle’, the escutcheon with the tablet of Apelles hangs from a pediment, surrounded by garlands and a wreath. In a copy of the oft-used title surround (fig. 1), the initials *HH* have been inscribed on the tablet in black ink.²⁷ While this ‘Holbein-Apelles’ signature cannot be dated, it may be taken as confirmation of the association of Holbein with Apelles.

This connection of Holbein with Apelles can be conceived according to the model mentioned by Erasmus. His book *Parabolae sive similia* of 1514 sets out an indivisible sequence of analogies or parallels between Antiquity, early Christianity, and the Modern Age. Serving as examples from Antiquity are Apelles, Protogenes and Timanthes: Apelles, who regarded a day that produced no line as wasted, and Protogenes, with his outsized facility, unable to remove his hand from the tablet, for which he was rebuked by the rhetoricians, who praised Timanthes, on the other hand, for suggesting more in his paintings than what was actually visible.²⁸ It is a question of a collection of instructive analogies which take up events or dicta drawn from early Christianity or ancient Greece in order either to derive lessons from them or else to create parallels with events of the Early Modern period.

Among the images summoned by such correspondences or similarities is the equation of the ‘old Apelles’ with a second or new Apelles; this idea came into use in Italy around 1450, and north of the Alps after 1500, when it was taken up by Albrecht Dürer’s learned friends to refer to that Nuremberg artist.²⁹ As with Holbein (whether the association was with Mucius Scaevola, Apelles or Zeuxis), it was not question of identification, but instead of the panegyric enunciation of similarities.



2 Niklaus Manuel Deusch, *St. Luke Painting the Madonna (St. Anne Altarpiece)*, 1515, Bern, Kunstmuseum

Cicero

The hand of Apelles in Holbein’s printer’s device for Valentinus Curio is remarkable in several respects: in the cloud strip below, in the position of the brush, and in its movement forward from the picture surface (cat. D. 26). The cloud strip characterises the hand as divine – recognisable here is the idea of the ‘*manus divina*’, which could be attributed to artists around 1500.³⁰ This idea cannot be reconciled with the unnatural, cramped position of the fingers: the middle finger is stretched out, the others bent, and the brush appears as an extension of the middle finger. No one could possibly paint in such a manner. The way in which a God-fearing artist held the brush is shown by Niklaus Manuel in his depiction of St. Luke on the wing of the *St. Anne Altarpiece* of 1515 (fig. 2), that is to say, with the thumb, index and middle fingers.³¹ Holbein took a marked-

ly less pious approach, albeit one still moving within the sphere of classical learning, as Matthias Winner has remarked with his typically acute combination of visual observation and literary insight.³² For the Latin word for paintbrush ('penicillus', 'Pinsel' in German) and penis, asserts Marcus Tullius Cicero in *Ad familiares*, share an etymological provenance, and with the first published edition of Cicero's letters in 1467 in Rome by the German printers Sweynheym and Pannartz, the Quattrocento took up this similarity just as readily as it did the long-familiar analogy between artistic and natural acts of (pro)creation, which had been subjected to numerous retellings and additions ever since a witty riposte attributed to Giotto.³³

As far as I can see, the young Holbein did not venture to visually translate the primarily literary metaphors of painting and procreation. Here, we should inquire about the painter's interest in his depiction of Apelles in a marginal drawing to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (cat. 13). Holbein shows the celebrated painter in the act of painting a Venus (Aphrodite), which seems incompatible with the text. For at this point, the *Stultitia* discusses the calamity that lies in the fact that people refuse to allow themselves to be deceived. That it is not a question of things or of circumstances, but instead of appearances, and the notion that these can bring greater happiness than realities, is demonstrated in the *Stultitia* by a panel that is covered with red and yellow, and is taken for an original by Apelles or Zeuxis: "If someone views with rapture a panel that has been covered with red and yellow, because he believes that Apelles or Zeuxis must have painted it, is he not happier than someone who has acquired an expensive original by one of these artists, and has perhaps not even half as much joy when viewing it?"³⁴ Understandably, Holbein does not react to these reflections from Erasmus' *Stultitia* on the opposition between the delighted self-deceiver and the disappointed art lover. Instead, he shows Apelles in the act of painting an image of Venus, thereby making explicit the nature of artistic intention by means of this small marginal drawing: Apelles is involved in bringing the Venus on the tablet to a living condition in allowing her to step forth, in creating her through his labours with the brush, not unlike the way in which Prometheus created living men through art and through the theft of fire, or the sculptor Pygmalion converted a statue into a living woman through a miracle enacted by the goddess Venus.

Holbein gives this metaphor of procreation explicit expression in his *Portrait of Derich Born* (fig. 3) of 1533.³⁵ Painted to look as though it were carved into the stone balustrade upon which the young merchant (who resembles the figure in Titian's so-called *Ariosto*) rests his right arm, we find the following inscription: *DERICHVS SI VOCEM ADDAS IPSISSIMVS HIC SIT / HVNC DVBITVS PICTOR FECERIT AN GENITOR / DER BORN ETATIS SVAE 23 ANNO 1533* – ("If you were to add the voice, then you would find Derich himself, so that you would wonder who had fashioned him: the artist or the Creator. Born is shown here aged 23 years in the year 1533"). This parable, which has already



3 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Derich Born*, 1533, 60.3 × 45.1 cm, ROYAL COLLECTION © 2006 HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

been invoked many times, here corresponds to an argument for the artist's heightened performance in the imitation of the living – without the voice.

Zeuxis

An additional correspondence with a celebrated painter of Antiquity, namely Zeuxis, was suggested to the young Holbein by Erasmus, whom Holbein portrayed in 1523. Referring to himself, Erasmus invoked the labours of Hercules as an analogy. This 'Zeuxis Heracleotes' (i.e., coming from Heracleia), as Pliny referred to him, achieved fame through his 'bold brush', and particularly celebrated were his depictions of a Penelope, an athlete, a Zeus, a Hercules and a Juno, among others. Zeuxis too engaged in a contest, now with Parrhasios, and he too was compelled to acknowledge defeat. Zeuxis, with his lifelike depiction of grapes, was only able to deceive the birds, while Parrhasios himself deceived his opponent with his

painted curtain.³⁶ The analogies Erasmus-Hercules and Holbein-Zeuxis formed the ingenious template for Holbein's *Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (fig. page 96), painted in 1523 and intended for the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham.

In the portrait for William Warham, in contrast to the other two Erasmus portraits in the Louvre and in Basel, which show the scholar in the act of writing, here we see Erasmus with his hands at rest.³⁷ They lie on a closed book with open straps, which is offered to the portrait's recipient (or the viewer in general). The volume bears a gilt edging with the Greek title *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΙ ΠΟΝΟΙ* (*The Labours of Hercules*) and the author's name in majuscule: *ERASML.ROTERO[DAMI]*. The allusion is to the author's Herculean literary labours. To the left stands a Renaissance pilaster, which, like the capital with the Sirens, was inspired by Cesare Cesariano's 1521 edition of Vitruvius; in its shadow is an additional pilaster. Matthias Winner interpreted the pair of pilasters as the 'Columnae Herculis', the Columns of Hercules at the End of the World.³⁸ Visible to the right of a half-opened (or half-closed) curtain, and behind this in the corner is a console supporting a shelf on which two books lie. On top of these sits an empty glass carafe, and another leather-bound book leans against it. This volume bears the date on its cover and a distich along the edge, presumably composed by Erasmus, which names the artist in connection with an idea going back to Antiquity, one used by Pliny for Zeuxis, and by Plutarch for Apollodorus. When completed, it reads: *ILLE EGO IOANNES HOLBEIN, NON FACILE VLLVS / IAM MICHI MIMVS ERIT, QVAM MICHI MOMVS ERIT* – ("I am Johannes Holbein, who is more likely to have slanderers than imitators").³⁹ Pliny attributed this declaration to Zeuxis, and connected it with an image of an athlete, which perhaps inspired Erasmus to propose the similarity between Zeuxis and his portraitist Holbein: "he also executed ... an athlete, which so delighted him that he set below it verses that have remained famous ever since, which state that it would doubtless be easier for someone to belittle this image than to imitate it."⁴⁰

For the portraits in the Louvre and in Basel, Holbein drew two studies of a left and a writing right hand on one sheet (cat. 86), and

on another, Erasmus' right hand alongside his portrait (cat. 87).⁴¹ These are the sole studies of hands from Holbein the Younger known to us. Several studies of hands by his father have survived, though these were executed not in connection with portraits, but instead with paintings containing figural ensembles.⁴² For the younger Holbein and his patron, the half-figure portrait incorporating hands was the principal pictorial schema. Yet it was only in the Erasmus portraits of 1523 that the hands became important supplements to the face. Previously, the hands had been used as bearers of attributes (as for example in the *Portrait of Jacob Meyer zum Hasen* (cat. 25) of 1516, or in the *Portrait of Benedict von Hertenstein* (cat. 30) of 1517). With the Erasmus portraits, the hands became parts of the expression and of the action. The further development of this portrait type strives to characterise an individual by means both of space and of objects denoting the sitter's occupation, as in the *Portrait of the Astronomer Nikolaus Kratzer* of 1528 (fig. page 70) and the *Portrait of Georg Gisze* of 1532 (fig. page 101).⁴³ Holbein exploited the half-figure portrait in all its variants, but only once did he repeat this arrangement of the hands: his *Portrait of William Warham* of 1527 (fig. page 103) shows the hands in the same position as in the Erasmus portrait that Warham had received (fig. page 96).⁴⁴

Evidently, Holbein took up the proposal for the Zeuxis analogy offered by Erasmus, who regarded Dürer, as is well-known, as a genuine second Apelles, even though he was disappointed with the portrait engraving of himself executed by the Nuremberg artist.⁴⁵ But Holbein himself also appropriated the story of Zeuxis and his contest with Parrhasios. The fateful curtain is half opened, and behind it the new Zeuxis displays his mastery: the rendering of a glass vessel that vies in perfection with depictions of such objects by the Netherlandish artists.⁴⁶ To be sure, Holbein accepted Erasmus's distich for his signature, but not the implicit similarity with the defeated Zeuxis. This he refuted through his curtain, and through a modern contest involving the imitation of a glass vessel (not of grapes) by his perfect hand.

- 1 Coll. Basel 1997; Coll. Washington 1997.
- 2 Krause 2002; Exhibition catalogue: The Hague 2003; Sander 2005.
- 3 Bächtshmann/Griener 1994, pp. 626–650; Bächtshmann/Griener 1997.
- 4 On signatures, cf. Louisa C. Matthew, 'The Painter's Presence: Signatures in Venetian Renaissance Pictures', in: *Art Bulletin* 80, 1998, pp. 616–648.
- 5 Cf. the question of the symposium record: *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, Matthias Winner (ed.), Weinheim 1992.
- 6 Müller 1996, nos. 10–91, pp. 50–66.
- 7 On identification, together with a discussion of the older literature, cf. Müller 1996, no. 83, p. 65.
- 8 Müller 1997, no. 13, p. 241.
- 9 Bächtshmann 1989, pp. 2–4; Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, pp. 23–24, pp. 65–71.
- 10 Bächtshmann/Griener 1994, p. 636; Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, pp. 22–24; Müller 1996, no. 278, pp. 146f. Christian Müller draws attention to the fact that the inscription on the medallion is probably to be interpreted less as a composite, partially rotated signature (*zef für fecit*), and should instead be read as a shortened version of *Mucius Scaevola*.
- 11 Pliny 1978, pp. 35, 81, pp. 64f. Of Apelles and Protogenes, it is said that: "avidus cognoscendi opera eius fama tantum sibi cogniti."
- 12 Pliny 1978, pp. 35, 81–83, pp. 64–67.
- 13 Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Die Legende vom Künstler. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch*, Vienna 1934, pp. 98f.; Hans van de Waal, 'The *linea summae tenuitatis* of Apelles', in: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 12, 1967, pp. 5–32; Martin Warnke, 'Praxisfelder der Kunsttheorie. Über die Geburtswehen des Individualstils', in: *Idea. Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstschule*, Werner Hofmann and Martin Warnke (eds.), 1, 1982, Munich 1982, pp. 54–71.
- 14 Leon Battista Alberti, 'De Pictura', 31, in: Alberti, *Malkunst* 2000, pp. 246–247; [Lorenzo Ghiberti] *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, Julius von Schlosser (ed.), 2 vols., Berlin 1912, vol. 1, pp. 24f.: "una debile demonstratio."
- 15 Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna 1924, p. 139.
- 16 Filarete 1972, vol. 1, p. 28: "Che se uno tutte le fabbricasse, come colui che scrive o uno che dipigne fa che le sue lettere si conoscono, e così colui che dipigne la sua maniera delle figure si conosce, e così d'ogni facultà si conosce lo stile di ciascheduno; ma questa è altra pratica, nonostante che ognuno pure divaria o tanto o quanto, benché si conosca essere fatta per una mano."
- 17 Filarete 1972, vol. 2, p. 643.
- 18 Erasmus of Rotterdam 1975, p. 244, nos. 380–382: "Quemadmodum Protogenes Pictor Apellem ex unica linea cognovit, nunquam alioqui visum, ita ex uno responso ingenium et prudentiam viri deprehendit, qui sit ipse sapiens." Cf. Exhibition catalogue: Basel 1984, Buchillustration, no. 389, pp. 407f.
- 19 *Dürer 1956–1969*, vol. 1, p. 309: "Et arrepto uno ex propositis penicillo, longissimos et flexulos crines quales mulierum maxime sunt, constantissima ordine et ratione inspectante et stupente Bellino produxit, qui postea multis confessus fuit, nullius mortalium sermonem eius rei, quam oculis vidisset, fidem sibi facere potuisse." Alistair Smith, 'Dürer and Bellini, Apelles and Protogenes', in: *Burlington Magazine*, 114, 1972, pp. 326–329. Joachim Camerarius, who had been recommended to Nuremberg in 1526 as a Greek scholar by his teacher Philipp Melanchthon, may have heard about this triumph directly from Dürer; or else Melanchthon, whom Dürer portrayed in 1526 in Nuremberg, may have told him of it.
- 20 Exhibition catalogue: Basel 1984, Buchillustration, no. 389, pp. 407–408; Bächtshmann/Griener 1994; Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, pp. 13–35; Müller 1997, nos. 119–121, pp. 308–309.
- 21 Sander 2005, pp. 123–125.
- 22 Colin Eisler, *Paintings in the Hermitage*, New York 1990, pp. 465f.; Sander 2005, p. 141, note 11.
- 23 Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1943, 2nd edition 1945, vol. 1, pp. 84–87: "The Northern master acknowledged his debt by a direct 'quotation' which, at the same time, amounts to a subtle challenge."
- 24 Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer, Das malerische Werk*, Berlin 1971, nos. 115K, 118, pp. 222–226, 228–230.
- 25 Exhibition catalogue: Basel 1984, Buchillustration, pp. 407–408; Müller 1997, no. 119, p. 308.
- 26 Erasmus of Rotterdam 1975, p. 244: "Ut laudatur in hoc Timanthes, quod in omnibus eius operibus plus semper intelligitur quam pingitur, ita optimum orationis genus, in quo plurima cogitationi relinquuntur, pauca narrantur, et plus inest sensuum quam verborum." – Cf. the edition *Erasmii Roterodami Parabolarum sive Similium liber*, Strasbourg 1514, fol. G 1 verso; a corresponding direction in Alberti, 'De Pictura', 42, in: Alberti, *Malkunst* 2000, pp. 270–273.
- 27 Müller 1997, no. 27, p. 246.
- 28 Erasmus of Rotterdam 1975, p. 244; Erasmus of Rotterdam 1514, fol. G 1 verso.
- 29 Bächtshmann/Griener 1994.
- 30 Martin Warnke, 'Der Kopf in der Hand', in: *Zauber der Medusa. Europäische Manierismen*, exh. cat., Wiener Künstlerhaus, April 3 to July 12, 1987, Werner Hofmann (ed.), Vienna 1987, pp. 55–61; Alberti, *Malkunst* 2000, pp. 72–77; on the cloud band as an attribute of the divine hand, cf. Bächtshmann/Griener 1994.
- 31 *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Maler, Dichter, Staatsmann*, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Bern, 22 Sept. to 2 Dec., 1979, Bern 1979, no. 71, pp. 224f.
- 32 In the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* in Rome on 28 October 2004, connected to a reference to the hand of Christ with outstretched middle finger in the painting *The Dead Christ in the Tomb* of 1521.
- 33 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *An seine Freunde, lateinisch und deutsch*, H. Kasten (ed.), Munich [etc.] 1989, 9, 25 (22), pp. 544–551; cf. Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting*, Princeton, NJ, 1996, pp. 241–249; Ulrich Pfisterer, 'Künstlerliebe. Der Narcissus-Mythos bei Leon Battista Alberti und die Aristoteles-Lektüre der Frührenaissance', in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64, 2001, pp. 305–330. – Cf. the all too brief discussion of 'personal metaphors' in Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern 1948, pp. 139–142.
- 34 Erasmus of Rotterdam, 'Morias Encomion sive laus stultitiae', in: *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 8 vols., W. Welzig (ed.), Darmstadt 1995, vol. 2, pp. 106f.
- 35 Rowlands 1985, no. 44, p. 139; Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, p. 31–33.
- 36 Pliny 1978, 35, 61–66, pp. 52–57.
- 37 Rowlands 1985, nos. 15, 16, pp. 129–130; Sander 2005, pp. 178–184, 439.
- 38 Winner 2001, pp. 160–162.
- 39 Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, pp. 30, 211, notes. 55–57; cf. William S. Heckscher, 'Reflections on Seeing Holbein's Portrait of Erasmus at Longford Castle', in: *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, 2 vols., London 1967, vol. 1, pp. 128–148.
- 40 Pliny 1978, 35, 63: "fecit [...] et athletam; adeoque in illo sibi placuit, ut versum subscriberet celebrem ex eo, invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitaturum."
- 41 Exhibition catalogue: Paris 1991, nos. 142, 143, pp. 156–157; Sander 2005, pp. 171–173.
- 42 Krause 2002, ill. 143, pp. 167f.
- 43 Rowlands 1985, nos. 30, 38, pp. 134–135, 137; on the analogies with the portraits of Quentin Massys, Jan Gossaert and Bernard van Orley, cf. Bächtshmann/Griener 1997, pp. 180–181; Sander 2005, pp. 167f., 294.
- 44 Rowlands 1985, no. 27, pp. 133, 134. It is possible that a replica of this portrait still exists, which would have been sent to Erasmus, but it cannot be documented.
- 45 Cf. Erasmus' obituary for Dürer, in: *Dürer 1956–1969*, vol. 1, pp. 296–297; cf. Erwin Panofsky, 'Nebulae in pariete, Notes on Erasmus' Eulogy on Dürer', in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14, 1951, pp. 34–41; Panofsky 1969, pp. 200–227.
- 46 Winner 2001, p. 165; Sander 2005, pp. 167–178.