

Colored Drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger

OSKAR BÄTSCHMANN

When Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543) left Augsburg and arrived in Basel in 1515, he made portrait drawings using silverpoint, red chalk for the face, and some traces of black chalk for the nose, chin, or eyes.¹ Excellent examples are the pendant portrait drawings, both in the Kunstmuseum, Basel, of *Jakob Meyer zum Hasen*

(1482–1531), *Mayor of Basel* (Fig. 1),² and his wife, *Dorothea Kannengiesser* (d. after 1546; Fig. 2),³ made in preparation for Holbein's painted portrait diptych, dated 1516, in the same collection (Figs. 3–4).⁴ Inscribed at the upper left corner of Holbein's drawing of Jakob Meyer are color notes concerning the black of the sitter's eyes, the red of

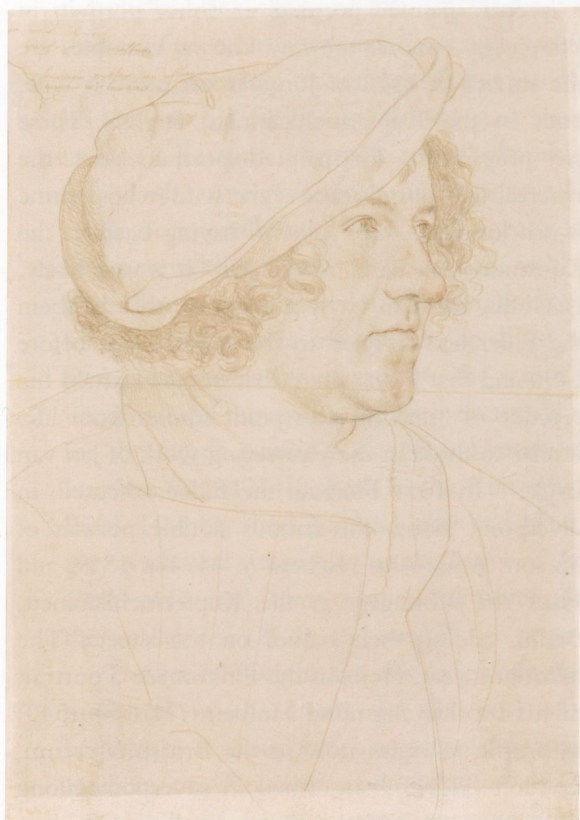


Figure 1 (left)

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Jakob
Meyer zum Hasen
(1482–1531),
Mayor of Basel

Basel, *Kunstmuseum*
Basel

Figure 2 (right)

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of
Dorothea
Kannengiesser
(d. after 1546),
Wife of Jakob
Meyer zum Hasen

Basel, *Kunstmuseum*
Basel

Figures 3–4 (left and right)

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen (1482–1531), Mayor of Basel, 1516

Portrait of Dorothea Kannengiesser (d. after 1546), Wife of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen, 1516

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel



his soft hat, and the golden brown of the eyebrows in relation to his hair and his white shirt.

The commission to paint the companion portraits of Jakob Meyer and his wife was by far the most important to date for the young painter, who had not yet been admitted as a master into the painter's guild in Basel. At this time, Jakob Meyer—moneychanger, merchant, publisher, real estate speculator, military commander, and mayor—was one of the mightiest men in Switzerland.⁵ The color notes in his portrait drawing are evidence that the sitter was not present during the execution of the painting and that Holbein had anticipated the absence of this busy, important patron. That same year Meyer became Basel's first civilian mayor, that is to say, he was elected by guilds from the tradesman class rather than by patricians or wealthy aristocrats (much to the chagrin of the powerful bishop). In 1521, however, accused of corruption and fraud, Meyer was overthrown and imprisoned for a short time.⁶

GERMAN AND DUTCH TECHNIQUES FOR COLORED DRAWINGS

For these two portrait drawings made in Basel, Holbein the Younger practiced German drawing techniques that he had learned in the successful Augsburg workshop of his father, Hans Holbein the

Elder (c. 1465–1524). Hans the Elder had produced a large number of portrait drawings, mostly in metalpoint, sometimes with a few touches of black and red chalk.⁷ Of some 150 metalpoint drawings by the father that survive, only a few were used to prepare painted portraits or donor portraits in altarpieces. Among the few known examples are the studies of 1512 of Jörg Fischer and his wife, both in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.⁸ These are preparatory for painted portraits, but the whereabouts of only that of the wife (whose name is not known)—are known, having been in the Kunstmuseum, Basel, since 1958.⁹ It is very likely, as Giulia Bartrum has pointed out, that Holbein the Elder had traveled to the Netherlands before 1490 and that it was there that he had learned the practice of “making silverpoint studies from life, similar to those in the pioneering work of Jan van Eyck.”¹⁰ In 1511 Holbein the Elder executed, in silverpoint alone, the famous double portrait of his sons Ambrosius Holbein (c. 1494–c. 1519) and Hans the Younger, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, adding their names on the sheet.¹¹ The following year, Holbein the Elder made a portrait of his brother Sigmund Holbein (1470[?]-1540) in profile to right, now in the British Museum, London (Fig. 5),¹² inscribed in silverpoint along the upper edge, *1512 / Sigmund holbain maler hans*

/ pruder des alten, and to this he added a few subtle touches of black ink and red chalk, as well as some opaque white.

The portrait drawings by Hans the Elder are executed on relatively small supports, with dimensions that are approximately 120/130 mm by 80/90 mm. Unlike these, the earliest extant portrait drawings by Hans the Younger, the studies of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and his wife (see Figs. 1–2), are drawn in a larger format of approximately 280/290 mm by 190/200 mm. The heads in these drawings are on the same scale as the painted portraits, which means that Holbein must somehow have transferred the designs to the prepared limewood panels, although no traces of transfer can be found in the prepared ground of the silverpoint studies.¹³ Already during his early career in Basel, Holbein the Younger had developed an economical method for executing drawn and painted portraits, which he would use regularly for the portraits painted later in England.

During his first Basel years, Holbein the Younger used silver- or metalpoint, touched with red chalk, black chalk, or ink, strictly for portrait studies. For other purposes, he employed other Northern drawing techniques. For instance, for his designs for façades or stained-glass windows in Basel, he turned to pen and black ink, with gray wash, over preliminary indications in black chalk, occasionally with some added watercolor.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that these designs are in a much larger format as compared to the portrait drawings, for the designs were intended to be given to the glass painter who would execute the stained-glass windows. As shown by the two extant drawings for the façade paintings on Haus Hertenstein in Lucerne (c. 1517–18), both in the Kunstmuseum, Basel, Holbein used pen and gray and black ink, gray wash, and watercolor on the larger of the pair (309 x 444 mm),¹⁵ but omitted the watercolor on the smaller one (212 x 164 mm).¹⁶

The series of eight apostles (originally twelve), preserved in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, belongs to a group of chiaroscuro drawings that Holbein the Younger made between 1518 and 1522.¹⁷ These drawings were executed with pen



and black ink, with opaque white heightening and dark gray wash, on gray-brown prepared paper. More colorful is his drawing of the *Holy Family*, in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Fig. 6),¹⁸ made c. 1519 on a very large sheet (427 x 308 mm), using the same chiaroscuro technique of pen and black ink, with gray wash and opaque white, but on this occasion on a reddish-brown prepared ground. The purpose of this ambitious drawing is unknown, but the oblique orientation of the figures and the architecture seems to exclude the possibility that it could have served as a design for a painting.

A relatively large number of drawings in different chiaroscuro techniques on colored grounds are known by Holbein the Younger and contemporary artists, such as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and

Figure 5

HANS HOLBEIN
THE ELDER

Portrait of the
Artist's Brother
Sigmund Holbein
(1470[?]-1540),
1512

London, British
Museum



Figure 6

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Holy Family,
c. 1519

Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel

Albrecht Altdorfer (c. 1480–1538).¹⁹ For example, the Swiss painter Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (c. 1484–1530) used the chiaroscuro technique for the first time about 1513–14 for the drawing of the *Mocking of Christ* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.²⁰ In the years just before c. 1518–20 Niklaus Manuel produced nine more chiaroscuro drawings and a painted imitation of this drawing

technique on a wood panel (recto and verso).²¹ Urs Graf (c. 1485–1528) from Solothurn worked mostly in Basel, where in 1512 he became a member of the Goldsmith's Guild, and produced approximately 180 drawings.²² Graf, the most bizarre draftsman of his time, preferred pen and black or brown ink and executed only a few drawings on gray- or red-colored paper, dated

1514–16.²³ This chiaroscuro drawing technique had already been described by Cennino Cennini (c. 1360–before 1427) by about 1400 in his *Libro dell'Arte* in chapter 15: “Come dèi pervenire al disegno in carta tinta” (“How you should advance to drawing on tinted paper”).²⁴ In such cases, the colored technique probably indicates that the drawings were not intended to serve as preparatory studies but were meant to function as autonomous works of art for sale.²⁵

FRENCH OR ITALIAN TECHNIQUES FOR COLORED DRAWINGS?

One of the most famous humanist scholars in Europe, Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466/69–1536), lived in Basel between late October 1521 and 1529. In 1523 he had already commissioned Holbein the Younger to paint portraits that he intended to send to his friends in England and France. In June 1524 Erasmus wrote to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), Dürer’s friend in Nuremberg: “I recently sent two portraits of myself to England, painted by a very skillful artist. This same also carried me off to Gallia.”²⁶ Erasmus never mentioned Hans Holbein by name as the “very skillful artist,” and nothing is known about the original destination or the whereabouts of the portrait that the painter took to France. Unfortunately, the portrait itself seems to have disappeared, for, according to John Rowlands, it is evidently not the *Portrait of Erasmus* now in the Louvre, Paris, since this was documented in the collection of the Scottish scholar Sir Adam Newton, 1st Baronet (d. 1630), Dean of Durham Cathedral, and was acquired by Louis XIV (1638–1715) only at the Jabach sale in 1671.²⁷

In terms of Holbein the Younger’s production of colored drawings, the journey to France was pivotal. It was there in 1523 or 1524—when he accompanied one of the two painted portraits of Erasmus—that he learned the technique of using colored chalks, abandoning silverpoint and red chalk for his portrait drawings. (For his designs for stained-glass panels, wall paintings, jewelry, and table fountains, he continued to use pen, gray wash, and watercolor.) Holbein adopted the new colored chalk technique for the first time



in two drawings in which he copied statues by Jean de Cambrai (fl. c. 1375–1438) of *Jeanne de Boulogne, Duchess of Berry* (1378–c. 1422/24) and her husband, *Jean de France, Duke of Berry* (1340–1416), both now also in Basel (e.g., Fig. 7).²⁸ The reason why Holbein copied these two statues—which had been made for the chapel in the Duke’s palace in Bourges and are now in the Bourges Cathedral—is unknown. It is conceivable that he used the opportunity as an exercise to practice his recently acquired skill. The fact that he used the technique of colored chalks for the first time in Bourges supports the idea that he learned it only in France. What is interesting about the figure of

Figure 7

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Jeanne de Boulogne, Duchess of Berry (1378–c. 1422/24), 1523–24

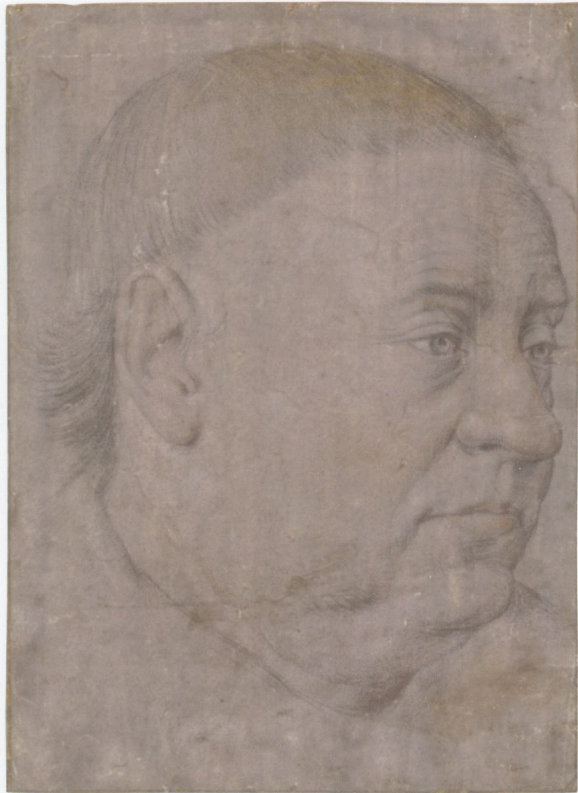
Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel

Figure 8

JEAN FOUQUET

Portrait of
Guillaume Jouvenel
des Ursins (1400–
1472), c. 1460

Berlin,
Kupferstichkabinett



Jeanne de Boulogne in Holbein's drawing is that she does not appear to be a statue. Indeed, the addition of touches of color, especially the flesh tones on her cheeks, contributes to the impression of a portrait made from life. Already in his first drawings in the technique Holbein understood its potential for producing lifelike effects.

Exactly from whom Holbein the Younger learned the technique and from whom he received an initial supply of colored chinks is not known. It is unlikely that he was instructed by Jean Clouet (*fl.* 1516–1540/41) or someone in his circle, for Clouet apparently used only black and red chinks in his portrait drawings.²⁹ According to Perrin Stein, however, “the drawing of portraits in color, achieving a pictorial effect through the mixing of red and black chalk,” was a French invention.³⁰ The *Portrait of Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins* (1400–1472) of c. 1460 by Jean Fouquet (c. 1425–c. 1478) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 8),³¹ is believed to be one of the first extant examples. Its media are described as black chalk, heightened with colored chinks. As early as c. 1461, Fouquet had started

to add touches of black chalk to his metalpoint drawings, such as the *Portrait of a Papal Legate* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 9),³² which is executed in metalpoint (probably silverpoint) with touches of black chalk on white prepared paper. Jean Clouet is credited with having perfected the mixing of red and black chalk in order to achieve a colored effect in portrait drawings.

Even Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) acknowledged a French source for the technique of colored chinks. As he noted on a page in the *Codex Atlanticus*, a manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, it was the French artist Jean Perréal [Jean de Paris] (*fl.* 1483–c. 1528), active in Lyon, who had introduced him to the use of colored chinks during a stay in Milan, where Perréal arrived in 1499 with the French king Louis XII (1462–1515).³³ Alas, the few drawings attributed to Jean Perréal made with silverpoint show no trace of colored chinks.³⁴ However, Leonardo's manuscript contains a recipe for producing “*punte da colorire a*

Figure 9

JEAN FOUQUET

Portrait of a Papal
Legate, c. 1461

New York,
Metropolitan
Museum of Art





Figure 10

LEONARDO DA VINCI

Portrait of Isabella d'Este (1474–1539), c. 1499–1500

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

Holbein the Younger's knowledge about the drawing technique used among the Leonardeschi—whether in North Italy or in France. In the 2003 catalogue *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, Carmen Bambach underlined the similarity of this drawing to Leonardo's *Isabella d'Este* cartoon, yet “in its ineffable lightness of touch it far surpasses Leonardo's cartoon.”³⁹ She emphasized also the contrasts of the finish of the modeled face and the unfinish of the figure. Holbein the Younger in his portrait drawings from 1525 onward, especially in the portrait drawings executed in England, adopted nearly the same kind of contrasts.

In Basel, Holbein the Younger explored his new technique first around 1525 for a portrait that almost certainly represents Bonifacius Amerbach (1495–1562), a sheet in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Fig. 12).⁴⁰ It is obvious that this drawing refers to Albrecht Dürer's woodcut portrait of the Swiss lawyer and imperial government official *Ulrich Varnbüler* (1474–1527), printed in 1522.⁴¹ It is

secco” as he called the sticks of dry coloring. To make them, according to this recipe, “[mix] the tempera with a little wax, and it will not rub off, a wax that will dissolve with water, and, having tempered the white, the distilled water will evaporate in steam, and only the wax will remain, and it will make good sticks. But you should understand that the colors must be ground on a hot stone [probably a pestle and mortar].”³⁵ Leonardo first applied dry colors in his *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* (1474–1539) in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 10).³⁶ This drawn cartoon was pricked for transfer to a painting that was planned but never realized. The best analysis of the purpose of Leonardo's cartoon is by Carmen Bambach, and her conclusion is that “the cartoon was pricked and pounced later, for the purpose of replication, by somebody other than Leonardo.”³⁷

A comparison between the colored *Portrait of a Young Woman* in the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 11),³⁸ by Leonardo follower Bernardino Luini (c. 1480–1532), and portrait drawings made by Holbein the Younger during his first stay in England in 1526–28 (e.g., see Figs. 20–21 below) seems to confirm



Figure 11

BERNARDINO LUINI

Portrait of a Young Woman (Ippolita Sforza Bentivoglio?), c. 1520–24

Vienna, Albertina

Figure 12

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Presumed Portrait
of Bonifacius
Amerbach (1495–
1562), c. 1525

Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel



unknown if the patron or the painter intended that there would be a painted portrait, but as the drawing shows no traces of efforts to transfer it, such as blind stylus indentation, it is almost certain that the drawing was not used for the execution of a painted portrait.

In 1525–26, a decade after the pendant portraits made of Jakob Meyer and Dorothea Kannengiesser (see Figs. 1–4), Holbein the Younger made additional portrait drawings of the family in connection with a religious painting—a *Virgin of Mercy*, known as the *Meyer Madonna* (or the *Darmstadt Madonna*), now on display in Schwäbisch Hall, Baden-Württemberg (Fig. 13)—which was likely to have functioned as a memorial.⁴² Three portrait

drawings have been preserved: those of Jakob Meyer (Fig. 14),⁴³ his wife, Dorothea Kannengiesser (Fig. 15),⁴⁴ and their daughter Anna Meyer (1513–1558; Fig. 16 and front cover).⁴⁵ In the portraits of Jakob Meyer and his wife, the clothing is treated very sketchily with black chalk, while the faces and some details are executed carefully in colored chalks. Holbein drew Anna Meyer in profile to the left and reproduced both her beautiful hair in full length and her white dress in all its details. It seems evident that this beautiful drawing was inspired by a type similar to Leonardo's cartoon for the *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* (see Fig. 10).⁴⁶ That work, however, remained in Milan and was not brought to France until 1860, when the Louvre bought it



Figure 13 (top left)

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Virgin of Mercy,
1526

Baden-Württemberg,
Schwäbisch Hall,
Johanniterhalle

Figure 14 (left)

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Jakob
Meyer zum Hasen
(1482–1531),
c. 1525–26

Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel

Figure 15 (above)

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Dorothea
Kannengiesser (d.
after 1546), Wife of
Jakob Meyer zum
Hasen, c. 1525–26

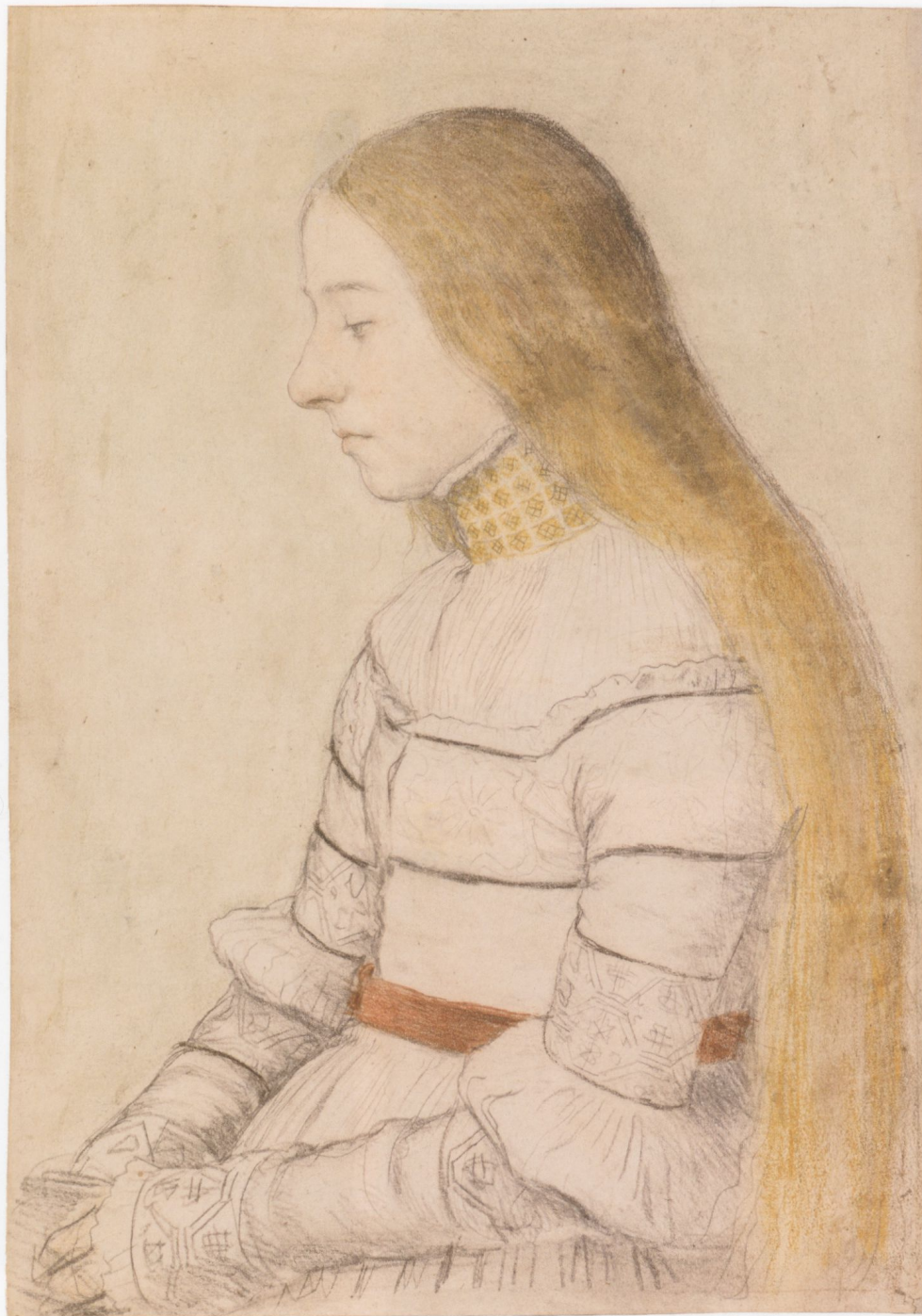
Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel

Figure 16

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Anna
Meyer (1513–
1558), c. 1525–26

Basel, *Kunstmuseum*
Basel



from the collector Giuseppe Vallardi (1784–1861),⁴⁷ but it is thought that Leonardo executed two painted portraits of the Isabella d'Este type. Both are lost, but it is not to be excluded that Holbein could have seen one or the other of these portraits in France. Holbein the Younger's portraits of the Meyer family, executed in black and colored chalks,

document the Swiss painter's brilliant adoption of the new technique. They also demonstrate how he used such drawings to transfer the images to the panel. As the 2006 Basel exhibition catalogue notes, "Holbein traced the drawings onto panel, leaving scored blank lines on the drawings and other marks on the back."⁴⁸ The painting was finished before



Holbein left Basel for England in 1526, and when he returned from England he made some revisions to the likenesses and poses of Dorothea and her daughter Anna.⁴⁹

Holbein the Younger preferred the Leonardesque colored chalk technique to Jean Clouet's less complex combination of black and red chalk. From the French painter, however, Holbein the Younger adopted a very important tradition: the courtly half-figure portrait format that shows the sitter full face or slightly turned, with broad shoulders and magnificent, billowing dress. The model of the evolution of this portrait type was Jean Fouquet's *Portrait of Charles VII (1403–1461)*, painted after 1450, in the Louvre (Fig. 17).⁵⁰ Jean Clouet—possibly collaborating with his son François Clouet (c. 1510–1572)—adopted the type in his impressive *Portrait of Francis I (1494–1547)*, also in the Louvre (Fig. 18).⁵¹ This courtly format was first used by Holbein the Younger in London in 1527 for his painted *Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford (1489–1532)* in the British Royal Collection (Fig. 19);⁵² Sir Henry was controller of the royal household and Holbein's patron for decorations made for revels held in Greenwich in 1527. Later Holbein used this type for other painted portraits, including the *Portrait of Charles de Solier, Sieur de Morette (1480–1552)*, executed c. 1534–35, now in the Gemäldegalerie

Figure 17

JEAN FOUQUET

Portrait of Charles VII (1403–1461), after 1450

Paris, Musée du Louvre



Figure 18 (left)

JEAN CLOUET (and FRANÇOIS CLOUET?)

Portrait of Francis I (1494–1547), c. 1525

Paris, Musée du Louvre



Figure 19 (right)

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford (1489–1532), 1527

Windsor Castle, Queen's Drawing Room (Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2019)



Figure 20

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Sir
Henry Guildford
(1489–1532), 1527

Windsor Castle,
Royal Library (Royal
Collection Trust ©
Her Majesty Queen
Elizabeth II, 2019)

Alte Meister, Dresden,⁵³ and the *Portrait of Thomas Howard (1473–1554), 3rd Duke of Norfolk* of c. 1538, in the British Royal Collection,⁵⁴ as well as for his portraits of Henry VIII (1491–1547).⁵⁵

In England, Holbein the Younger adopted the colored chalk technique to perfection for his numerous drawn portraits. Among his finest are the *Portrait of Sir Henry Guildford (1489–1532)* in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Fig. 20),⁵⁶ and the *Portrait of Mary (née Wotton), Lady Guildford*

(d. after 1533) in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Fig. 21).⁵⁷ While in the portrait of Sir Henry the painter concentrated on the face, in the case of Lady Mary he drew the charming young woman in half length and gave her a slight smile. This facial expression is reminiscent of another famous smile—that of the Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre⁵⁸—which Holbein could have seen at the French court of Francis I. In the painted version of the *Portrait of Mary, Lady Guildford*, in the Saint

Figure 21

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Mary
(née Wotton), Lady
Guildford (d. after
1533), c. 1527

Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel



Louis Art Museum (Fig. 22),⁵⁹ the smile and the sense of personal intimacy disappear, even though Holbein transferred his drawing directly onto the panel support in preparation for the painting. The painting's underdrawing coincides with the contours of the drawing in Basel, suggesting that Holbein probably used a blackened intermediate

sheet of paper for the transfer. In 1986 Maryan Ainsworth and Molly Faries described the process, suggesting that Holbein must have transferred the drawing to the ground of the panel by "laying a kind of carbon paper transfer between the sketch and the picture support."⁶⁰ The change of her facial expression in the painting is partly due to the

Figure 22

HANS HOLBEIN
THE YOUNGER

Portrait of Mary
(née Wotton), Lady
Guildford (d. after
1533), 1527

Saint Louis, MO,
Saint Louis Art
Museum



gravitas required for an official pair of portraits of a very highly positioned couple at the court of Henry VIII, and partly to overzealous cleaning in the past.

A GERMAN AND SWISS TRADITION?

Why did Holbein the Younger use colored chalk only from 1523–24 onward? Why did he not discover this technique earlier? And did he really learn this North Italian technique *c.* 1523–24 in France from drawings by Leonardo or by the Leonardeschi? Why not in Switzerland or in Germany? At the time of Holbein the Younger's activity, portrait drawings in colored chalks were being produced in Augsburg, as well as in Switzerland. The 2011–12 exhibition *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein*, held in Vienna and Munich,⁶¹ showed several examples of portrait drawings in colored chalks by artists working in Augsburg, such as Leonhard Beck (*c.* 1480–1542), who was likewise a pupil of Holbein the Elder. For example, in the *Portrait of a Young Man with a Soft Hat (Self-portrait [?])*, of *c.* 1520, in the collection of University College, London (Fig. 23),⁶² Beck used black and colored chalks, ink, and gouache. He also

Figure 23

LEONHARD BECK

Portrait of a Young
Man in a Soft Hat
(Self-portrait [?]),
c. 1520

London, University
College

adopted the same technique, with the exception of the ink, in other portrait drawings, such as the *Portrait of Count Moritz von Ertingen*, dated 1521, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 24).⁶³

The crucial problem with colored drawings is that it is not always possible to distinguish between drawings originally executed with colored chalks and drawings colored later by the artist or by another hand. In the absence of relevant technological analyses of these drawings, the distinction between original passages of coloring and the later application of colors remains difficult. Since Beck's drawings in London and Berlin show obvious traces of reworking, it certainly remains hard, if not impossible, to draw any conclusions about their impact on Holbein the Younger.⁶⁴

More confusing is the use of colored chalks in three drawings of *c.* 1518 by the Swiss painter Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, all three in the Kunstmuseum, Basel. One of these is a *Portrait of a Female Patrician from Bern* (Fig. 25);⁶⁵ the other is likely to represent the Roman heroine Lucretia;⁶⁶





Figure 24

LEONHARD BECK

Portrait of Count
Moritz von
Ertingen, 1521

Berlin,
Kupferstichkabinett

mostly in pen and black or brown ink and wash or in white ink on colored paper.⁷⁰ The colored drawing phase was short lived, however, and he soon returned to the techniques he had used before 1516.

There is little evidence of artistic exchange between Manuel and Holbein the Younger, and where there are apparent parallels—for instance between Manuel's chiaroscuro drawing of the *Virgin and Child before a Column*, of c. 1518–20, now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,⁷¹ and Holbein the Younger's *Virgin and Child between Two Columns*, of c. 1520, now in the Kunstmuseum, Basel, on gray prepared paper⁷²—there is debate as to which artist was the source of inspiration, and in any event, it seems that any possible influence did not include the use of colored chalks. Furthermore, as far as we know, the eminent draftsman Urs Graf, who worked for years in Basel for the same

Figure 25

NIKLAUS
MANUEL
DEUTSCH

Portrait of a
Female Patrician
from Bern, c. 1518

Basel, Kunstmuseum
Basel

and the third shows the head of a man in Roman costume.⁶⁷ Again we might question whether the coloring is original, but in this case it seems to be so.⁶⁸ From whom could Niklaus Manuel, who worked solely in Bern, have acquired his knowledge of the medium and technique several years earlier than Holbein the Younger (who had to travel to France to learn about colored chalks)? This leads us to propose a rather bold hypothesis. Niklaus Manuel, who came from the patrician class, was not only a painter and writer, but also a soldier and mercenary. It is highly likely that in 1516 he participated in the illegal campaign in North Italy organized by Albrecht vom Stein (dates unknown), who was working for King Francis I on an initiative that was forbidden in vain by the Bern government.⁶⁹ For weeks on end, the Swiss mercenaries remained idle in Milan, awaiting the attack of troops loyal to Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), who also employed Swiss soldiers for hire. Manuel could well have taken the opportunity to meet fellow artists in the region. It is noteworthy that he used colored chalks in the three drawings only after he would have returned from North Italy; before that date he had executed his drawings



printers as Ambrosius and Hans Holbein, never used colored chalks. In the final analysis, the fact that Holbein the Younger adopted colored chalks only in 1523–24 during his trip to France suggests that he had *not* learned this technique from his colleagues in Switzerland or South Germany. Instead, it seems very likely that he became acquainted with this drawing technique in France through the Leonárdeschi.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

A version of this paper was originally delivered at a session on portrait drawings at the annual conference of the Renaissance Society of America in New York, 27–29 March 2014.

NOTES

1. On Holbein the Younger as a draftsman, see Christian Müller, "Hans Holbein the Younger as Draughtsman," in idem and Stephan Kemperdick, eds., *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years, 1515–1532*, exh. cat., Basel, Kunstmuseum, 2006, pp. 20–33. See also the catalogues of the most important collections of the artist's drawings: K. T. Parker, *The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, Oxford, 1945; John Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-speaking Regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum: The Fifteenth Century and the Sixteenth Century by Artists Born before 1530*, London, 1993; and Christian Müller, ed., *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, 2A: Die Zeichnungen von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren und Ambrosius Holbein im Kupferstichkabinett Basel*, Basel, 1996.
2. Inv. no. 1823.137. Silverpoint, with red chalk and traces of black chalk, on white prepared paper; 281 x 190 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 23, repr. (in color). For this and all works in the Kunstmuseum Basel, see <http://sammlungonline.kunstmuseumbasel.ch>.
3. Inv. no. 1823.137.a. Silverpoint, with red chalk and traces of black chalk, on white prepared paper; 286/293 x 201 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 24, repr. (in color).
4. Inv. no. 312 (oil on panel; each panel 38.5 x 31 cm); see *ibid.*, no. 25, repr. (in color); and Oskar Bächtelmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein*, 2nd edn., London, 2014, pp. 67–75, figs. 46–48.
5. On Meyer, see Valentin Groebner, "Spezialist für das Geld anderer Leute: Jakob Meyer zum Hasen, die Geschenke und die Politik," in Bodo Brinkmann, *Hans Holbeins Madonna im Städel: Der Bürgermeister, sein Maler, und seine Familie*, exh. cat., Frankfurt-am-Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 2004, pp. 45–53; and Nikolaus Meier, "Tactics and Strategy: Holbein's Patrons in Basel: Bankers, Scholars, and Nobles," in Basel 2006, pp. 58–65.
6. See Groebner 2004, pp. 45–48.
7. On Holbein the Elder as a draftsman, see Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Munich, 2002, pp. 223–85; and on his metalpoint drawings, see Giulia Bartrum, "Silverpoint Drawings by German and Swiss Renaissance Artists," in Stacey Sell and Hugo Chapman, eds., *Drawing in Silver and Gold: Leonardo to Jasper Johns*, exh. cat., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, and London, British Museum, 2015, pp. 63–78.
8. KdZ 2564 and KdZ 2558. Both silverpoint, with gray wash and opaque white, on prepared paper; 135 x 95 mm and 126 x 81 mm, respectively; see Krause 2002, figs. 178–79. For a copy of the drawing of the wife attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) in the British Museum, London (inv. no. 1854,0628.113; silverpoint, with touches of copperpoint, on white prepared paper; 136 x 102 mm), see Washington, DC, and London 2015, pl. 26 (in color); and www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online.
9. Inv. no. G 1958.7 (oil on panel; 41.4 x 32.7 cm, in its original frame); see Bernhard Mendes Bürgi and Nina Zimmer, eds., *Kunstmuseum Basel: Die Meisterwerke, Gemälde, Skulpturen, Fotografien, Installationen, Videos, Ostfildern*, 2011, pp. 22–23, repr. (in color). The painted pendant, the *Portrait of Jörg Fischer*, is missing; see Krause 2002, pp. 256–59.
10. See Bartrum 2015, pp. 65–67.
11. KdZ 2507. Silverpoint, with touches of chalk and black ink, on white prepared paper; 103 x 155 mm; see Washington, DC, and London 2015, p. 68, fig. 7 (in color).
12. Inv. no. 1895,0915.987. Silverpoint, with black and red chalk and opaque white, on white prepared paper; 129 x 96 mm; see John Rowlands, *The Age of Dürer and Holbein: German Drawings, 1400–1550*, exh. cat., London, British Museum, 1988, no. 165, repr.; Washington, DC, and London 2015, no. 25, repr. (in color); and www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online.
13. See Basel 2006, pp. 161–64, under nos. 23–24.
14. See, for example, *ibid.*, nos. 39–40, 52–59, all repr. (in color), as well as the *Design for a Stained-glass Window for Hans Fleckenstein* (1517) in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (inv. no. Z 38; pen and black ink, with gray wash, over black chalk; 413 x 278 mm); see *ibid.*, no. 31, repr. (in color).
15. Inv. no. 1662.131. Pen and gray and black ink, with gray wash and watercolor; 309 x 444 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 28, repr. (in color).

16. Inv. no. 1662.159. Pen and black and gray ink, with gray wash; 212 x 164 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 29, repr. (in color).
17. The Lille drawings, previously considered to be by Johann Bernhard Hopfer (c. 1716–1789), were attributed to Holbein the Younger in 1931 by Thomas Muchal-Viebrook (“Ein Beitrag zu den Zeichnungen Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, n.s. 8, no. 21, 1931, pp. 156–71); see also Basel 2006, nos. 33–36, all repr. (in color); and *www.photormn.fr*.
18. Inv. no. 1662.139. Pen and black ink, with gray wash and opaque white, on reddish-brown prepared paper; 427 x 308 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 44, repr. (in color).
19. See Stephanie Buck, ed., *Wendepunkte deutscher Zeichenkunst: Spätgotik und Renaissance im Städel*, exh. cat., Frankfurt-am-Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, 2003, nos. 6, 9 (recto and verso), 38, 48, 58–61, 63, 67, 70, 72, 80–82, 88, and 92, all repr. (in color); Iris Brahm, *Zwischen Licht und Schatten: Zur Tradition der Farbgrundzeichnung bis Albrecht Dürer*, Paderborn, 2016, *passim*; and eadem, *Farbe in Zeichnungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Petersberg, 2019 (forthcoming).
20. Inv. no. 84.GG.663. Pen and black ink, with white and gold highlights, on reddish-brown prepared paper; 311 x 216 mm; see Michael Egli und Hans Christoph von Tavel, *Niklaus Manuel: Catalogue raisonné*, 2 vols., Bern, 2017, vol. 2, no. 44, repr. (in color); and *www.getty.edu/art/collection*.
21. See Egli and von Tavel 2017, vol. 1, nos. 10.01 and 10.02, both repr. (in color), and vol. 2, nos. 45–46, 51–52, 60–61, and 65–67, all repr. (in color).
22. See Christiane Andersson, “Urs Graf,” in *Biografisches Lexikon der Schweizer Kunst*, 2 vols., Zurich, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 423–24; and Christian Müller, ed., *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, 2B: Urs Graf: Die Zeichnungen im Kupferstichkabinett Basel*, Basel, 2001, p. 61.
23. See *ibid.*, nos. 49 and 72, both repr.
24. See Cennino Cennini, *The Craftman’s Handbook: The Italian “Il Libro dell’Arte”*; Eng. trans. by Daniel V. Thomson, Jr., New Haven and London 1933, ch. 15, p. 9.
25. See Joseph Meder, *Die Handzeichnung: Ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1923, pp. 46–51, 162–63: “Auch sie dienten als Vorlagen für Glasscheiben, Metall- und Holzschnitte...” (“They also served as preliminary studies for glass panels, engravings, and woodcuts...”); and Hans Mielke, ed., *Albrecht Altdorfer: Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik*, exh. cat., Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, and Regensburg, Museen der Stadt Regensburg, 1988, pp. 18–19.
26. See P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et actum*, 12 vols., Oxford, 1906–58, vol. 5 (1924), p. 470, no. 1452: 40–42.
27. Inv. no. 1345 (oil on panel; 42 x 32 cm); see John Rowlands, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger: Complete Edition*, London and Boston, 1985, no. 15, repr.; and *www.pop.culture.gouv.fr*. It is worth noting, however, that Newton was in France between 1580 and 1590, when he could have acquired the *Erasmus*, which might have returned to France and entered the Jabach collection only later.
28. Inv. no. 1662.126. Black and colored chalks; 396 x 275 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 100, repr. (in color).
29. See Peter Mellen, *Jean Clouet: Complete Edition of the Drawings, Miniatures, and Paintings*, London, 1971, pp. 24–36, and 213; Étienne Jollet, *Jean & François Clouet*, Paris, 1997; and the *Joconde* database (*www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/joconde/ffr*), for which none of the 259 hits for drawings by Jean Clouet feature more than black and red chalks.
30. See Perrin Stein, *French Drawings from the British Museum: Clouet to Seurat*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and London, British Museum, 2005–6, p. 24, under no. 1.
31. KdZ 4367. Black and colored chalks; 266 x 195 mm; see Stephan Kemperdick, ed., *Jean Fouquet: Das Diptychon von Melun*, exh. cat., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 2017, no. 3 (text by Georg Josef Dietz and Dagmar Korbacher), repr. (in color); and *www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service*. IMAGE: Dietmar Katz.
32. Inv. no. 49.38. Metalpoint, with black chalk, on white prepared paper; 198 x 135 mm; see Washington, DC, and London 2015, p. 55, pl. 14 (in color); and *www.metmuseum.org/art/collection*.
33. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codex Atlanticus, fol. 247; see <https://codex-atlanticus.it>.
34. Two portrait drawings by Perréal in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (inv. nos. PD 397 and PD 398), dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, are executed in silverpoint alone.
35. See Jean Paul Richter, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci: The Literary Works*, 2 vols., London, 1883; reprinted as *The Notebooks*, 2 vols., London, 1970, vol. 1, p. 315, no. 612: “la tempera con un po’ di ciera e non cascherà, la qual ciera disolverai con acque, che, temperata la biaca, essa acqua stillata se ne vada in fumo e rimanga la ciera sola, e farà bone punte. Ma sappi che bisogna macinare i colori con la pietra calda.”
36. Inv. no. MI 753. Black, red, and ocher chalk, heightened with white, over leadpoint; the outlines pricked for transfer by a copyist; 630 x 460 mm; see <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr>.
37. See Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawings and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 111–12.
38. Inv. no. 59. Black and colored chalks, over leadpoint; 414 x 284 mm; see Carmen C. Bambach, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan

- Museum of Art, 2003, no. 131, repr. (in color). See also the drawings by Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio (1466/67–1516) in *ibid.*, nos. 127–28, pp. 655–659, and by Andrea Solario (c. 1473–1524), no. 129, repr. (in color). See also Carmelo Occhipinti, *Leonardo da Vinci e la corte di Francia: Fama, efrasi, stile*, Rome, 2011.
39. See New York 2003, p. 664.
 40. Inv. no. 1662.32. Black and colored chalks, with metalpoint (for hat and hair); 400 x 368 mm (trimmed on all sides, including around both edges of the hat); see Basel 2006, no. 106, repr. (in color).
 41. Woodcut; 433 x 326 mm; the print was published by Hendrik Hondius the Elder (1573–1650); see Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrik Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-century Holland*, Rotterdam, 1995, no. 380, repr..
 42. Oil on panel; 146.5 x 102 cm; see the various discussions of the panel in Frankfurt-am-Main 2004.
 43. Inv. no. 1823.140. Black and colored chalks, on paper toned light green; the contours traced in silverpoint and blind stylus; 383 x 275 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 107, repr. (in color).
 44. Inv. no. 1823.141. Black and colored chalks, on paper toned light green; the contours in silverpoint and blind stylus; 395 x 281 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 108, repr. (in color).
 45. Inv. no. 1823.142. Black and colored chalks, on paper toned light green; the contours in silverpoint and blind stylus; 391 x 275 mm; see *ibid.*, no. 109, repr. (in color).
 46. See my essay “Holbein and Italian Art,” in Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand, eds., *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints and Reception*, Studies in the History of Art, CASVA, 27, New Haven and London, 2001, pp. 37–53.
 47. See Giuseppe Vallardi, *Disegni da Leonardo da Vinci posseduti da Giuseppe Vallardi*, Milan, 1855, p. 66.
 48. See Basel 2006, p. 333.
 49. See Frankfurt-am-Main 2004, *passim*.
 50. Inv. no. 9106 (oil on panel; 85.7 x 70.6 cm); see *www.culture.gouv.fr*.
 51. Inv. no. 3256 (oil on panel; 96 x 74 cm); see *ibid.*
 52. Inv. no. RCIN 400046 (oil on panel; 82.7 x 66.4 cm); see Bättschmann and Griener 2014, no. 242, repr. (in color); and *www.rct.uk/collection/400046*.
 53. Inv. no. 1890 (oil on panel; 92.5 x 75.5 cm); see Bättschmann and Griener 2014, no. 205, repr. (in color); and <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum>.
 54. Inv. no. RCIN 4004439 (oil on panel; 80.1 x 61.4 cm); see Bättschmann and Griener 2014, no. 12, repr. (in color); and *www.rct.uk/collection/404439*
 55. See Bättschmann and Griener 2014, pl. 259, repr. (in color).
 56. Inv. no. RCIN 912266. Black and colored chalks, with pen and black ink; 383 x 294 mm; see Parker 1945, no. 10; and *www.rct.uk/collection/912266*.
 57. Inv. no. 1662.35. Black and colored chalks; 522 x 385 mm; see Hamburg and Basel 1988, no. 9, repr. (in color); and Basel 2006, no. 125, repr. (in color).
 58. Inv. no. 779 (oil on panel; 77 x 53 cm); see *www.culture.gouv.fr*.
 59. Inv. no. 1:1943 (oil on panel; 87 x 70.6 cm); see *www.slam.org/collection/objects/35772*.
 60. See Maryan W. Ainsworth and Molly Faries, “Northern Renaissance Paintings: The Discovery of Invention,” *Saint Louis Art Museum Bulletin*, 18, no. 1, 1986, pp. 1–47.
 61. See Sabine Haag, ed., *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Das deutsche Porträt um 1500*, exh. cat., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, 2011–12.
 62. Inv. no. 145. Black and colored chalks and gouache; 248 x 171 mm; see Werner Hofmann, ed., *Köpfe der Lutherzeit*, exh. cat., Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 1983, no. 18, repr.; and *www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static*.
 63. KdZ 523. Black and colored chalks, heightened with white; 345 x 279 mm; see Hamburg 1983, no. 16, repr. (in color).
 64. See Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 168–85, under nos. 91–110; and Guido Messling, *Der Augsburger Maler und Zeichner Leonhard Beck und sein Umkreis: Studien zur Augsburger Tafelmalerei und Zeichnung des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, Dresden, 2006, pp. 225–44 and 327–30.
 65. Inv. no. U.X.10. Black and colored chalks; 243 x 193 mm; see Vienna and Munich 2011–12, no. 23.7, repr. (in color).
 66. Inv. no. U.X.10a. Black and colored chalks, with watercolor; 238 x 198 mm; see Ariane Mensger, *Weibsbilder: Eros, Macht, Moral und Tod um 1500*, exh. cat., Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, 2017–18, no. 66, repr. (in color).
 67. Inv. no. U.X.8. Black and colored chalks, with pen and black ink; 183 x 132 mm.
 68. On the artist, see Egli and Von Tavel 2017.
 69. See Cäsar Menz and Hugo Wagner, eds., *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Maler, Dichter, Staatsmann*, exh. cat., Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1979, pp. 27, 116, doc. IV, p. 123, no. 54, and p. 211; and Antonia Giordano, *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Un pittore soldato nel Rinascimento*, Naples, 2009.
 70. See, for example, Bern 1979, nos. 156–240, all repr.
 71. KdZ 1378. Pen and black ink, with opaque white, on reddish-brown prepared paper; 310 x 210 mm; see Egli and Von Tavel 2017, vol. 2, no. 67, repr. (in color).
 72. Inv. no. 1662.130. Pen and black ink, with opaque white, on gray prepared paper; 212 x 148 mm; see Basel 2006, no. 45, repr. (in color).