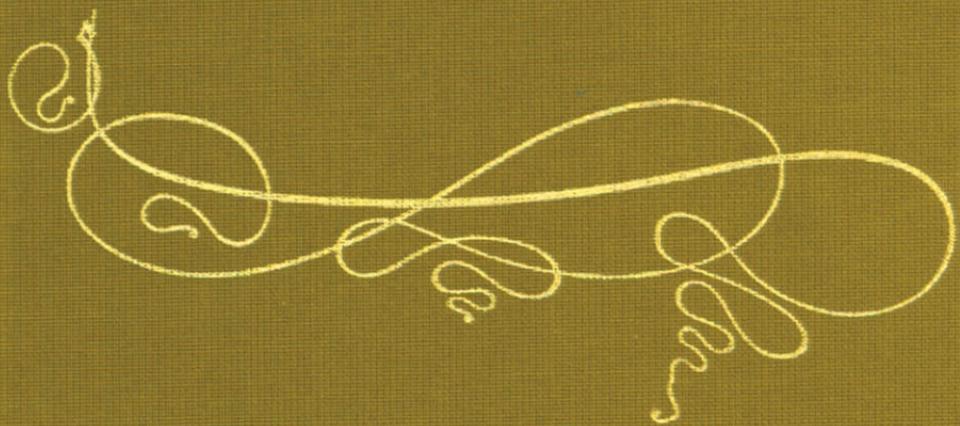


MIRA CALLIGRAPHIARUM MONUMENTA



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MIRA CALLIGRAPHIAE MONUMENTA

*A Sixteenth-Century Calligraphic Manuscript
Inscribed by Georg Bocskey
and Illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel*

LEE HENDRIX AND THEA VIGNAU-WILBERG

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
MALIBU, 1992

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FOREWORD

Ever since Joris Hoefnagel's *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, or *Model Book of Calligraphy*, entered our collection in 1986, it has had a spellbinding attraction for our visitors. The startling precision of the pictures and the uncanny complexities of Georg Bocskay's writing still arouse wonder, as they were meant to. What better Getty manuscript to be the subject of our first facsimile publication?

In this volume you will find a complete pictorial record of the manuscript, with a thought-provoking commentary by two specialists. The text offers much unpublished information about both artist and scribe, as well as a novel interpretation of the work. Through this book we hope to provoke a productive dialogue about the puzzling aspects of this extraordinary work of art.

The Hoefnagel-Bocskay manuscript was acquired at the urging of our knowledgeable (and persuasive) curator of manuscripts, Thomas Kren, himself a specialist in Flemish illumination. It is Dr. Kren who advocated the formation of the collection nine years ago, who has guided its subsequent growth, and who has planned the series of facsimiles inaugurated by this book. We owe him a great debt of gratitude.

John Walsh
Director

PREFACE

Illuminated manuscripts are among the most beautiful and intriguing works of art that survive from the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Regrettably, they are also among the least known to the general public. This is in part because the great collections of illuminated manuscripts are housed more often in libraries than in museums; more importantly, however, their special character as books and their fragility as objects require carefully controlled conditions for display. And while the Getty Museum always has a selection of its finest manuscripts on view in the galleries, by their nature books only permit the display of one opening at a time. Due to these inherent limitations, the museum visitor can only gain a more complete idea of any book and its intricate program of continuous decoration with the aid of modern technology, such as the videodisc format, or the traditional form of the published facsimile. It is thus both for the delectation and instruction of the general public and for the information of scholars that museums, libraries, and collectors publish full or partial facsimiles of particular manuscript treasures.

The Getty Museum has the pleasure to inaugurate its facsimile series with the spectacular *Mira calligraphiae monumenta* written in 1561–62 by Georg Bosckay for Emperor Ferdinand Hapsburg I and illuminated some thirty years later by Joris Hoefnagel for Ferdinand's grandson, Rudolf II. The manuscript stands at an art historical crossroad. It constitutes one of the last important monuments in the grand tradition of medieval European

manuscript illumination. In addition to its meticulous studies of flora and fauna, however, it points directly to the emergence of Dutch still life painting, an essentially new artistic genre of the seventeenth century. Bocskay's achievement bears an analogous relationship to the history of Western writing. Produced at a time when printed books had almost totally replaced manuscripts, it celebrates the function of the handwritten book as the principal preserver and disseminator of knowledge while also showing the concern with self-expression that would dominate the uses of script from the sixteenth century on.

The present publication is conceived in two volumes. The first is this facsimile, which includes an introduction to the manuscript. The second, companion volume will have a more detailed and scholarly commentary on the book—its illumination, its script, its creators, and its patrons.

The Manuscripts department would like to thank two noted specialists on Joris Hoefnagel—Lee Hendrix, Associate Curator of Drawings at the Museum, and Thea Vignau-Wilberg, Curator of Netherlandish Prints and Drawings, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich—for preparing the introductory texts to this volume, which include both new ideas about the manuscript and new documentary evidence about the artist and scribe. Dr. Hendrix has also conscientiously and creatively played a role in nearly every aspect of the facsimile's production. With great generosity and good spirit, Carla S. Oldenburger-Ebbers and D. O. Wijnands, Land-

bouwuniversiteit Wageningen, provided the botanical identifications, and A. J. de Winter and K. W. Robert Zwart, the insect and mollusk identifications. Further assistance was provided by Robert L. Bezy and James H. McClean, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, and by Robert Cowan, who translated Dr. Vignau-Wilberg's original German text. Charles Passela, the doyen of photographers of illuminated manuscripts, labored with characteristic determination and resourcefulness to produce the most faithful possible renderings on film of the varied and sometimes elusive hues contained in the book. We are deeply appreciative of the marvelous work he has done. Nancy Turner supervised the book's photography on behalf of the Manuscripts department. We thank the staff of the Publications department, under the direction of Christopher Hudson, for their willingness to undertake a complex type of project which is more familiar in European than in American publishing: especially Andrea P. A. Belloli, the editor of this book, Karen Schmidt, Production Manager, and others who contributed to the project's realization. The graceful book design is by Lorraine Wild. To all of these individuals we offer our most sincere thanks.

Thomas Kren
Curator of Manuscripts

MIRA CALLIGRAPHIAE MONUMENTA:
AN OVERVIEW

The art of the Western illuminated manuscript resonates in large measure due to the dynamic relationship between word and image. The spirited interplay between the two systems of representation results in part from their alternative sources of affective power: that of the written word, rooted in its character as transmitted speech, and that of imagery, springing from its direct appeal to vision. Another critical aspect of this relationship is that the texts were written, just as the images were painted, by hand. The handwritten character of scripts preserves their link to human experience, to the word both spoken and heard, just as surely as the illuminations implicate the faculty of sight.

In the production of an illuminated manuscript, the writing and illuminations were usually carried out by different people. This division of labor contributed to the evolution of the manuscript page into a dynamic, compelling field from which image and text alike actively reached out to the viewer in an effort to communicate. Alongside the self-evident animation of the illuminations, script possessed a vitality of its own, born of such elements as the kinetic energy of the pen, the palpability of letters formed in gold and silver leaf, and the pure luminosity of words written in gold pigment. As centuries passed, there was an increasing tendency to relegate words and images to separate fields on the page surface. At the same time, artists and scribes alike invented myriad ways to transgress and satirize these boundaries, such as intricate framing devices or script flourishes extending into the

margins to interact with figural imagery. Such play with the relationship between word and image, however, was generally subordinated to other tasks performed by the illuminated codex, such as the transmission of information and the propagation of devotional practices.

Mira calligraphiae monumenta is a singular artistic creation in the history of illuminated manuscripts. This very uniqueness, coupled with the absence of contemporary textual references to the work, force one to rely principally on internal evidence when forming a theory as to the work's meaning and significance. It is argued here that *Mira calligraphiae monumenta* in its present state provides an extended meditation on the efficacy of imagery versus that of the written word. The manuscript evolved in stages over a long period of time and now consists of two distinct parts. The first of these, comprising 123 vellum and 5 paper folios, was originally written as a model book of calligraphy in 1561–62 by the imperial secretary Georg Bocskay for the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I Hapsburg (r. 1556–64). Bocskay created the model book as proof of his own preeminence among scribes and as a testament to the universal power of the written word both past and present. In so doing, he assembled a vast selection of contemporary and historical scripts as well as many exhibition hands, scripts intended not for practical use but for virtuosic display. Bocskay's employment of the finest white vellum as a writing surface complements his flamboyant technical prowess and exceptional sureness of hand. The visual splendor of scripts was pushed to even greater extremes by the lavish use of gold and silver.

More than fifteen years after Bocskay's death in 1575, illuminations were added to the model book by the Flemish miniaturist and imperial court artist Joris Hoefnagel at the behest of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), the grandson of Ferdinand I. Europe's last great manuscript illuminator and a man of immense learning, Hoefnagel devised an ingenious figural response to Bocskay's scripts. Marshaling all of the resources of pictorial illusionism, he sought to demonstrate the superior affective power of images over written words. Hoefnagel's illuminations present a world of flowers, insects, fruit, small animals, and other forms of natural minutiae as

extensive in its own way as Bocskay's collection of scripts. Painted at close range in painstaking detail, the specimens make use of a palette of calculated intensity and high saturation. Full-blown forms and extensive cast shadows enhance the illusionistic presence of the objects.

Hoefnagel's decorative program transformed Bocskay's manuscript into a visual *paragone*, a kind of debate arguing the superiority of one art form over another. Such debates were closely associated with the rise of the visual arts—painting in particular—from craft to liberal art status during the Renaissance. Leonardo da Vinci, for example, discussed the relation of painting to sculpture and poetry, while Michelangelo wrote a famous letter asserting sculpture's supremacy over painting.¹ Among Renaissance *paragoni*, however, that of Hoefnagel is unique, insofar as it is the first extensive exploration of the relation of painting to writing.² Its partisanship toward figural imagery is consistent with the wider tendency among artists at the court of Rudolf II to depict themes glorifying the visual arts and asserting their status among the liberal arts.³

The second part of *Mira calligraphiae monumenta* consists of constructed alphabets of Roman majuscules (upper-case letters) and Gothic minuscules (lower-case letters). Of slightly heavier vellum than the writing model book, the constructed alphabet is comprised of twenty-two folios illuminated by Hoefnagel on both recto and verso with elaborate, colorful borders. The illuminations of the majuscules are elevated in tone. Each is inscribed at its base with a verse from the Psalms that begins with (or includes near the beginning) the letter in question and is composed of imagery illustrating the biblical text. Much of this imagery refers symbolically to the patron, Emperor Rudolf II. By contrast, the illuminations of the minuscules are humorous, featuring natural specimens, hybrid creatures, and a series of fanciful masks. A characteristic creation of Renaissance artists and literati, the constructed alphabet expresses the then widespread belief in a universe governed by principles of measure and proportion revealed through the correspondence of microcosm to macrocosm. Hoefnagel's illuminations imbue this association with specific religious and political content by linking the

alphabet to the word of God and thence to his representative on earth, the Holy Roman Emperor.

It was almost certainly the decision of Hoefnagel and the emperor to bind the two manuscripts together as a single work. The addition of the constructed alphabet to the calligraphic model book is critical to the effect of the whole, for the pair can be fairly described as encompassing all that had been achieved in Western writing until that time. As we will see, Hoefnagel deliberately avoided symbolism in the illuminations of the first part, the calligraphic model book. The numerous symbolic references to Rudolf in the alphabet section serve to establish his presence and authority. Thus, the addition of the constructed alphabet resulted in a manuscript that reflects the greater world in microcosm, encompassing humanity's most powerful forms of representation – writing and painting – under the domination of the emperor.

Emperor Rudolf II was especially fascinated by objects bearing microcosmic/macrocosmic associations, having founded on this very principle his own vast and renowned collections housed at the imperial castle in Prague. Chief among these collections were the picture gallery – which contained such masterpieces as Correggio's series of paintings representing the loves of the gods (now in Berlin, Rome, and Vienna) and Albrecht Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosary* (Prague, Národní Galerie) – and the so-called *Kunst-kammer*, an encyclopedic assortment of natural specimens, fossils, bones, minerals, scientific instruments, sculpture, goldsmith's work, illustrated manuscripts, jewels, and other objects. The *Kunst-kammer* was intended to represent the contents of the entire world divided according to the categories of artifice and nature.⁴ In all likelihood, Bocskay and Hoefnagel's manuscript was housed there. At some point after Rudolf's death in 1612, the manuscript was removed from the imperial holdings. Its subsequent history remains unknown until the nineteenth century, when it surfaced in a European private collection. After passing through a number of such collections, it was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1986.⁵

Notes

The author is indebted to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann for reading the typescript and offering many constructive comments. This publication has also benefited from the advice, criticism, and support rendered by Barbara Anderson, Carol Armstrong, Andrea P.A. Belloli, Richard Day, George Goldner, Glenn Harcourt, Peter Kidd, Amy Meyers, Linda Ogden, Carla Oldenburger-Ebbers, Charlotte and John Plummer, Nancy Turner, Ton Croiset van Uchelen, Thea Vignau-Wilberg, and Nancy Yocco. Thomas Kren deserves special thanks for shepherding every phase of the production of this facsimile.

1. D. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 269–82; L. Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's "Due Lezioni" and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor, 1982), pp. 37–40, 156–59.
2. This subject was to gain wider currency in seventeenth-century Dutch art and theory. Of particular note is the thirteenth chapter of Karel van Mander's *Den Grondt der Edel Vrij Schilderconst* (*Foundation of the Noble and Free Art of Painting*) (1604). This text discusses writing in the context of a consideration of the function of color in painting and indicates an approach diverging from that

of Hoefnagel, in that it subordinates painting to writing. In a convincing explication of this passage, W. Melion points out that van Mander praised writing as holding fast the memory of the arts, sciences, and history and thus implicitly equated writing with the art forms of drawing and reproductive engraving ("Hendrick Goltzius's Project of Reproductive Engraving," *Art History* 13, no. 4 [December 1990], p. 481).

3. T. DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist: Towards an Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court of Rudolf II," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1982), pp. 119–48.
4. For a discussion of the *Kunstammer* and additional literature, see T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 16–17.
5. Emperor Ferdinand I Hapsburg, Vienna; by descent to Emperor Rudolf II Hapsburg, Prague; Albert Milde, Vienna, by 1887; Goldschmied, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1907; Fritz Gans, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1916; Louis Koch, Frankfurt-am-Main, by 1923; private collection, Europe, by 1942; Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1986.

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GEORGE BOCSKAY, THE CALLIGRAPHER

“Like the Hungarian Zeuxis with his pen, so the Belgian [Zeuxis] decorates your treasures with his artistic ability, eminent Rudolf. Both are equal in talent, learning, and reputation. Let him burst who bursts with envy.” Joris Hoefnagel, who composed this epigram, inscribed it on folio 48 of Georg Bocskay’s writing model book now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe inv. 975).¹ As the epigram states, Bocskay and Hoefnagel, who shared a first name in their respective mother tongues, collaborated on the Vienna manuscript as equal giants in their respective fields. The illuminated writing model book in the Getty Museum harnessed their talents once again. In both instances, illuminations and script are subtly and ingeniously wedded.

One cannot speak of collaboration in the strictest sense, however, since the artists never knew one another personally. When Bocskay died in Vienna in 1575, Hoefnagel was still a young businessman in Antwerp. He illuminated the Vienna writing model book approximately twenty years after it had been written, while in the case of the Getty codex, more than thirty years separate the scripts and the illuminations.

Bocskay² wrote that he himself had been born in Razinia,³ a part of Croatia then belonging to Hungary. He also indicated that he was the scion of an old Hungarian noble family⁴ that held property in both present-day Croatia and Hungary. At the end of the fifteenth century, this family had received the noble surname de Razinia,⁵ referring to their fiefdom,

which constituted a castle and village near Kreuz, northeast of Zagreb.

Bocskay may have been in imperial service well before 1561. In the 1960s, Tibor Szántó⁶ discovered an elaborately inscribed document in the state archive in Budapest in which Emperor Ferdinand I confirms the nobility of one Nikolaus Oláh. The first decorated page of the document is dated 1560 and monogrammed HBG. The style, technique, decoration, and monogram indicate that “Georgius Bocskay Hungarus”⁷ probably inscribed it, thus providing evidence that Bocskay’s service to the emperor began prior to 1561. On March 10 of that year, the Hungarian Chamber, a governmental body, authorized a raise in salary for Bocskay of fifty forints, retroactive to the beginning of the year. As Chamber secretary – he was called “scriba noster” – Bocskay was paid a fixed salary of 250 forints from then on.⁸ In 1562 he referred to himself as “the ancient servant and court servant of His Majesty” (*Maiestatis suae veteranus servitor et Aulae familiaris*).⁹ Documents preserved in Vienna and Budapest state that Bocskay was employed as scribe (*scriba*) and secretary (*secretarius*) of the royal Hungarian Chamber. In addition, a record of 1563 describes him as court historian (*annaligraphus*).¹⁰ Finally, Bocskay refers to himself in the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975, fol. 48) as a royal adviser (*Maximiliani secundi... consiliarius*).

Bocskay served Emperor Ferdinand I and his successor Maximilian II (r. 1564–76). He did not, as has been claimed,¹¹ serve Emperor Rudolf II, since he died one year before Rudolf’s coronation. The seat of the imperial court during Bocskay’s lifetime was Vienna, only shifting to Prague with Rudolf’s ascension to the throne. Bocskay thus certainly resided in the former city, where, as he himself recorded, he wrote both the Getty and Vienna model books.¹²

The Getty codex is the earliest surviving work that attests to Bocskay’s universal calligraphic mastery. His pride is implied in the inscription *Mira calligraphiae monumenta* placed by a later owner on the flyleaf opposite the first folio. The work is dated 1561 (fols. 14, 29, 96, 104, 120, 129) and 1562 (fols. 71, 72, 89, 96, 99, 113, 115, 116, 119, 121, 125). The repeated and almost exclusive written references to Emperor Ferdinand I make it

likely that the writing model book was commissioned by him. In 1562, Bocskay completed a third model book of calligraphy, also preserved in Vienna.¹³ Its large, oblong format, less expressive calligraphy, and less costly material – paper instead of vellum – suggest that it was not conceived as a display piece but was intended to serve a pedagogical as well as an aesthetic function. Dedicated to Ferdinand I, it was probably commissioned by him as well.¹⁴

Bocskay's descent from Hungarian nobility and his technical prowess assured him a high position at court. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Hungarian Chamber presented him with a set of gold-plated silver vessels, valued at sixty forints, at his wedding in October 1564.¹⁵ On this occasion, Emperor Maximilian's brothers, the archdukes Ferdinand II (later Ferdinand of Tyrol) and Charles of Steiermark, also presented gifts. Charles gave a set of gold-plated silver vessels valued at between sixty and eighty guilders,¹⁶ while Ferdinand gave a similar set, which he ordered presented to the groom by a nobleman.¹⁷ At this time Bocskay was living in a villa called Getthia.¹⁸

Bocskay received special payments for each of his various functions and was awarded extra moneys on special occasions and in recognition of exceptional achievements. According to court accounts, he was paid a yearly salary of one hundred guilders from 1565 on.¹⁹ For his services to the Hungarian Chamber, he was also paid 200 forints a year, which amount was raised to 250 forints in 1561 and 400 forints in 1568.²⁰ His salary from the Chamber was frequently in arrears, however. Bocskay pleaded repeatedly for at least partial payments or contributions toward such expenses as assistance to his family (in 1565),²¹ help toward the purchase of a house for himself and his family,²² and the marriage of a niece (in 1571).²³ These pleas included the remarkable request for aid in purchasing fifty serfs, also in 1571.²⁴

Bocskay participated in one of the major imperial projects of the sixteenth century: the construction of the monumental tomb of Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519) in the court church in Innsbruck. For the cenotaph, the sculptor Alexander Colin had executed twenty-four reliefs depict-

ing scenes from Maximilian's life. For the tablets bearing inscriptions, several wagon-loads of black marble slabs were ordered from Italy, to be prepared by the mason Georg von der Werdt. Ready by April 1564, the tablets were given to Bocskay in Vienna so that the inscriptions could be carved and gilded.²⁵

With the tomb itself nearing completion, the tablets with inscriptions had not yet been delivered. In March 1567, the Tyrolean government in Innsbruck intervened through Emperor Maximilian II. It became clear that Bocskay's apparently dilatory approach to the project was the result of various problems. He informed Maximilian II that five of the forty tablets had arrived broken. Bocskay had often been sick, he had had family problems, and other business had put demands on his time and energy. Nonetheless, he had completed the inscribed tablets except for the five broken ones. On May 23, 1567, the Tyrolean government commissioned new tablets to replace the five and advised Bocskay that these, packed in felt, were being shipped to Vienna. It was specified that he should deliver the completed tablets to Innsbruck by ship.

By May 11, 1568, Bocskay had obviously completed all of the tablets. Mindful of previous losses, he demanded a payment of four hundred thalers before shipping them; this payment was guaranteed by the broker Blasius Kuhn. To the Tyrolean government, the advance seemed high, since the project had been commissioned by the emperor, who already was paying Bocskay a salary. On June 8, 1568, however, the government did issue a payment of two hundred thalers. The tablets were delivered to Innsbruck in October. Bocskay recovered his expenses in 1570, when the emperor awarded him an honorarium of another two hundred thalers.²⁶

In addition to his other responsibilities, Bocskay inscribed one of the Vienna writing model books (inv. 975) between 1571 and 1573.²⁷ The quality of the script of this elaborately designed manuscript equals that of the Getty codex. In general, however, more of the texts are secular than in the Getty manuscript. For example, they include more preambles to official documents and epistolary salutations.

In March 1575, Bocskay fell gravely ill. Archduke Charles

attempted to pay him the total due from his court salary.²⁸ Bocskay died in Vienna before April 8. His widow received his salary for April in order to pay for his funeral.²⁹ She requested that the Hungarian Chamber pay his outstanding salary as well as an amount corresponding to the value of the fifty serfs the emperor had awarded him in 1571.³⁰

“Cum suis sanctis mereamur aulam ingredi caeli, simul et beatam ducere vitam” (Let us deserve to walk with the saints into the hall of heaven and to lead a holy life with them). To this text, which is written on folio 29 of the Getty codex, Bocskay added the year 1561 and his initials as an indication of his personal regard for the prayer. He concluded the Getty codex on folio 129 with another text that represents the humanistic counterpart of the Christian belief in eternity, adding his name and the date 1561: “Fama seu virtutis nomen superest tantum, sed caetera universa mortis erunt” (Only reputation survives; everything else belongs to death).³¹

Notes

1. Hereafter Vienna inv. 975. Vellum, 127 folios, with 3 paper flyleaves at front and back; 119 folios inscribed and illuminated. Written and illuminated on recto only. Later foliation. 18 x 13.2 cm (8 x 5¼ in.). Written by Georg Bocskay, 1571–73; illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel, 1591–94. See *Prag um 1600* (Freren, 1988), vol. 2, no. 599 (with bibliog).
2. Also spelled Bochkhay, Bokhey, Bosskhay, or Botschkai.
3. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 20 (hereafter Getty Ms. 20), fols. 118: “a Razynia”; 119: “de Razinia Hungarus.” See also Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Ser. n. 2664 (hereafter Vienna Ser. n. 2664), fol. 1: “a Razinija Pannonius.”
4. Vienna Ser. n. 2664: “ex... vetustissimo nobilissimo atque clar[issimo] Hungaricae et Sclavonicae gentis stemate oriundus.”
5. See F. Ritter, “Ein Wiener Schriftmusterbuch aus dem 16. Jahrhundert mit Miniaturmalereien,” *Mitteilungen des K.k. Oesterreich: Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, n.s. 2 (1887), p. 340.
6. T. Szánto, “Ein großer Schreibe-künstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1963), p. 40.
7. Szánto (*ibid.*) interpreted the monogram as “Hoefnagel Georg Bocskay.” However, a collaboration between Bocskay and Hoefnagel could not have occurred in 1560.

8. J. Kapossy, "Adattár-művészettörténeti regeszták a királyi határozatokból és rendeletekből. I. XVI. Század," ed. G. Bánrévi, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* (1956), p. 51, no. 88: Vienna, March 10, 1561. I wish to thank Géza Galavics, Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest, for this reference, and Aranka Pósa, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, for help with the translation of Hungarian texts.
9. Vienna Ser. n. 2664.
10. Kapossy (note 8), p. 52, no. 107: Vienna, May 5, 1563, a document in which Archduke Maximilian commits the Hungarian Chamber to pay Bocskay's travel expenses in the amount of fifty forints.
11. By E. Chmelarz, in "Georg und Jakob Hoefnagel," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Ah. Kaiserhauses* (hereafter JKSAK) 17 (1896), p. 284; Szántó (note 6), pp. 37, 40.
12. Vienna inv. 975, fol. 54; Getty Ms. 20, fols. 89, 119, 129.
13. Vienna Ser. n. 2664: paper, 33 folios. 24.6 x 67.5 cm (9⁵/₈ x 26¹/₂ in.).
14. *Ibid.*, fol. 1: "Ferdinando... imperatore... foeliciter regnante Georgius Bochkay... in perpetuum artificii sui testimonium diversas characterum formas in hoc libro contentas rara ac singulari quadam ingenii dexteritate ex gratiosa eiusdem Maiestatis voluntate... effigiavit"
15. Kapossy (note 8), p. 52, no. 129: Vienna, October 25, 1564.
16. JKSAK 13 (1893), Reg. 8657: Vienna, October 20, 1564.
17. JKSAK 11 (1890), Reg. 7885: Prague, October 20, 1564.
18. Kapossy (note 8), p. 52, no. 129.
19. JKSAK 7 (1888), Reg. 5000: Vienna, November 5, 1565; Reg. 5087: September 30, 1567; Reg. 5139: October 18, 1568; Reg. 5181: May 5, 1570.
20. Kapossy (note 8), p. 51, no. 88: Vienna, March 10, 1561; p. 191, no. 170: Vienna, February 16, 1568. For further entries regarding Bocskay's salary, see *ibid.*, p. 53, no. 139: Vienna, September 29, 1565–November 13, 1574.
21. Kapossy (note 8), p. 53, no. 139.
22. After years of devoted service, Bocskay received a subsidy of two hundred forints to purchase a house. See *ibid.*, p. 53, no. 151: Vienna, December 27, 1566.
23. Kapossy (note 8), p. 195, no. 275: Vienna, October 13, 1571.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 195, no. 266: Vienna, August 17, 1571.
25. On Bocskay's work on the tablets, see D. Ritter von Schönherr, "Geschichte des Grabmals Kaisers Maximilian I. und die Hofkirche zu Innsbruck," JKSAK 11 (1890), pp. 214, 217, 218; also (in the same volume) Reg. 7860: August 21, 1564; Reg. 7879: October 9, 1564. See also JKSAK 14 (1893), Reg. 9747: April 12, 1565; Reg. 9762: May 9, 1565; Reg. 10026: March 3, 1567; Reg. 10032: April 3, 1567; Reg. 10035: April 13, 1567; Reg. 10039: May 23, 1567; Reg. 10120: May 11, 1568; Reg. 10121: May 22, 1568; Reg. 10122: June 2, 1568; Reg. 10123: June 8, 1568; and in 19 (1898), Reg. 16100: March 22, 1567.

26. JKSAK 7 (1888), Reg. 5209:
October 24, 1570.
27. 1571: fols. 33, 48; 1572: fol. 30; 1573:
fols. 21, 51.
28. Kapossy (note 8), p. 319, no. 353:
Vienna, March 7, 1575.
29. JKSAK 7 (1888), Reg. 5314:
April 8, 1575.
30. Kapossy (note 8), p. 320, no. 359:
Vienna, April 30, 1575.
31. As is the case with the Vienna
writing model book (inv. 975), the
folios in the Getty codex were not
written in the order in which they
appear in the manuscript. As a result,
folios 72, 89, etc., are dated 1562.
Folio 129, however, was clearly always
intended to be the final folio in
the volume.

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JORIS HOEFNAGEL, THE ILLUMINATOR

The artist Joris Hoefnagel illuminated both parts of the Getty codex during the last decade of his life. Together with the writing model book in Vienna (inv. 975), also illuminated for Rudolf II, the Getty manuscript constitutes the crowning achievement of Hoefnagel's artistic production. The miniatures prove that manuscript illumination around 1600 had by no means reached a final state of decay, as is often claimed, but was actually moving in new directions.

The multitalented Hoefnagel cannot be adequately described as a painter, in part because he was a self-proclaimed autodidact who consciously eschewed guild apprenticeship. He was born in 1542 into the large family of the wealthy merchant Jacob (Jacques) Hoefnagel in Antwerp. The elder Hoefnagel dealt in jewels and tapestries.¹ His wife, Elizabeth Veselaer, came from the same professional and social class. Her father, Joris Veselaer, and his wife, Margaretha Boghe, were an equally influential and prosperous couple.² Joris Hoefnagel received his given name from his maternal grandfather. Veselaer's business dealings with the crown regent Maria of Hungary, for whom he procured a succession of tapestries, show that he enjoyed high standing in court circles.³

Jacob Hoefnagel probably intended his sons to enter business and educated them accordingly. Joris was educated in accordance with the humanistic ideals of the Renaissance, which placed the highest value on the development of the individual. Likewise, most of his sisters married into

wealthy and prominent families with humanistic leanings. Susanne Hoefnagel, for example, married the Dutch jurist and diplomat Christiaan Huyghens.⁴

Long before religious and political pressures forced Protestants to flee Antwerp, various of Joris's brothers had established business connections abroad.⁵ Indeed, through ties of kinship and friendship, several families developed an extensive trade network at this time among important trading centers, including London, Hamburg, Stade, Frankfurt-am-Main, Nuremberg, Vienna, and Prague. Hoefnagel's relatives resided in several of these cities, as did other Flemish merchants who provided lodging and aid to compatriots passing through.

A gifted linguist who wrote poetry, sketched, and played several musical instruments,⁶ Hoefnagel lived from 1560 to 1562 with other young merchants in France, where he studied at the universities of Orléans and Bourges. He probably made his first landscape sketches in France. These contain figures documenting the artist's lively interest in the costumes, traditions, and cultures of the indigenous populations.⁷ In August 1562, religious unrest in Bourges forced him, his fellow students from Antwerp, and his tutor, Robert (Obert) Jansz. van Giffenen, to leave the city and return to Antwerp.⁸

Shortly thereafter, Hoefnagel departed for Spain for a longer sojourn, most probably in connection with his business. Dates on a number of his sketches document his travels throughout the country between 1563 and 1567, including a lengthy stay in Andalusia. His imagination was particularly fired by Seville, the major center for Spanish sea trade with the West Indies and elsewhere. Here could be seen a wealth of exotic animals and plants as well as the lush native vegetation, which Europeans regarded as almost as exotic as natural specimens imported from overseas. Hoefnagel's fascination with the city is clear from his topographical rendering of it captioned "Qui non ha visto (Sevilla) non ha visto maravilla" (He who has not witnessed Seville has not witnessed miracles).⁹ As well as drawing landscapes, Hoefnagel probably began to depict exotic plants and animals while in Spain. These he appears to have compiled into a notebook that provided

motifs for later miniatures.

After 1567, Hoefnagel returned to Antwerp. He probably had visited the city intermittently during his years in Spain, since he traveled continually on business. In 1568 and 1569, he was in London for a few months. From this period, two signed works survive, both of which foreshadow, albeit dimly, the detailed miniatures of his later career. One of these, a painting of a festive procession in Bermondsey, near London, includes an unmistakable portrait of Joris Hoefnagel himself.¹⁰ In its interweaving of genre and landscape painting, the work follows the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. It also exemplifies the intense interest in rendering contemporary costumes that informs the topographical drawings Hoefnagel made in France and Spain.¹¹

In London, Hoefnagel established friendships with other Netherlandish businessmen, some of whose portraits probably are included in the Bermondsey procession painting. Among these acquaintances, Johannes Radermaker (Radermacher), who had emigrated to London for religious reasons in 1566, remained his friend and correspondent for several decades.¹² To him Hoefnagel dedicated a remarkable set of emblematic drawings entitled *Patientia*, which in focusing on patience and suffering reflects the religious persecution in their native Antwerp.¹³ The genrelike character of *Patientia* anticipates later Netherlandish emblem books such as *De rerum usu et abusu* by Bernard Gerbrand Furmer (1575) and *Recht Ghebruyck ende Misbruyck van Tydlyke Have* (1585) by Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert.¹⁴ *Patientia* also anticipates political emblem books of the seventeenth century. It is clear that these books, published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp and Leiden, and Hoefnagel's unpublished *Patientia* reflect the influence of Neo-Stoic philosophy, which flourished in the circle around the publisher Christophe Plantin. This adherence of the Antwerp intelligentsia to Neo-Stoicism was fueled by the political and religious turmoil in the Netherlands under Spanish domination, in the face of which it offered spiritual consolation and the promise of survival.

While in England, Hoefnagel also drew views of Windsor

Castle and Nonsuch Palace, images that attest to his acceptance by the Crown and the nobility.¹⁵ Among his highborn associates was the German-born English poet and internationally recognized diplomat Daniel Rogers, with whom Hoefnagel stayed in contact for years.¹⁶ It is probable that the artist's proclivity for miniature painting, well known to him from his native country, was fueled by his English sojourn. He had probably learned this art in the Netherlands, where—according to his biographer Karel van Mander—he had studied with Hans Bol. This association remains undocumented, however.¹⁷ In late sixteenth-century England, portrait miniatures had become a major art form due to the efforts of Hans Holbein the Younger and Flemish artists such as Hans Ewout (Eworth), Levina Teerlink, and Marcus Gheeraerts.¹⁸ Possibly inspired by contact with such works, Hoefnagel produced his earliest known miniature shortly after his stay in England, the view of Seville dated 1570 and 1573.¹⁹

Although Hoefnagel's art reveals nothing of his life at this time, he presumably was based in Antwerp until 1576. The "Spanish Fury" of that year, in which mutinous Spanish soldiers pillaged and plundered the wealthy city, was a turning point in the lives of many of its merchants. The insecurity of the times prompted a lot of them to emigrate. Hoefnagel's now widowed mother, together with her daughters Susanne and Catherina and the latter's husband, Jacob Sweerts, emigrated after 1585 to Stade via Hamburg.²⁰ The eldest son, Balthasar, stayed behind to maintain the Hoefnagel residence on Lange Nieuwstraat, taking charge of the family firm. A pragmatist, he conformed to the religious and political policies of various regimes, eventually achieving a high position in the state hierarchy.²¹

At this time, according to van Mander, Hoefnagel decided to move to Venice, where he hoped to found a branch of his firm or join another trading company. He appears to have considered the trip as an educational experience, a kind of grand tour. Traveling with the famous cartographer Abraham Ortelius, he arrived in Frankfurt in September 1577, in time for the autumn trade fair, one of the most important opportunities for diplomats, scholars, intellectuals, artists, printers, and publishers to meet. Here, the

exchange of information on the latest political and intellectual developments accompanied the exchange of goods. Hoefnagel reestablished contact with his English associates Thomas Camden and Daniel Rogers.²²

In early October, Hoefnagel and Ortelius spent several days in Augsburg, where they visited Marx Fugger and the physician Adolf Occo, whose important coin collection they examined.²³ Both Fugger and Occo wrote Hoefnagel and Ortelius letters of introduction to Duke Albert V of Bavaria,²⁴ imploring him to grant access to the art collection of the Munich Residenz to the famous cosmographer and his (unnamed) traveling companion. Occo added that Ortelius's companion produced paintings worthy of the duke's collection, which he might be willing to show. Occo's letter appears to have prompted Albert V to take a greater interest in Hoefnagel than in Ortelius. After examining the works Hoefnagel had with him – miniature portraits of himself and his wife, Susanne,²⁵ as well as a view of Seville²⁶ – Albert offered Hoefnagel the position of court painter, to replace the miniaturist Hans Mielich, who had died in 1573. Hoefnagel accepted the appointment.

Hoefnagel and Ortelius continued to Rome via Ferrara and probably Florence.²⁷ From the Eternal City, they traveled through the countryside around Naples, the “Campania felix” of antiquity.²⁸ Proceeding along the Via Appia in January 1578, through Terracina, Mola, Gaeta, Baiiae, and Cumae,²⁹ they followed the route of the wealthy ancient Romans who withdrew to their villas to escape the city. They also visited other ancient sites such as the sulfur springs at Solfatara and Posillipo, the craggy mountain ridge above Naples, which Hoefnagel sketched.³⁰ He did not draw these sites for private purposes but rather as preliminary sketches for engraved illustrations in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, the greatest of the sixteenth-century atlases and an ongoing publication to which Hoefnagel contributed for the remainder of his career.

In early February, Hoefnagel and Ortelius returned to Rome. At this time, according to van Mander, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese asked the artist to succeed Giulio Clovio, his court painter and miniaturist, who

had died in January 1578. Hoefnagel declined due to his commitment to the Munich court. The high regard in which Clovio was held is testimony to the great reputation enjoyed by Hoefnagel.³¹ Hoefnagel probably returned to Munich via Venice.³²

The conditions of Hoefnagel's service to the Munich court differed significantly from those of other court painters such as Friedrich Sustris and Peter Candid.³³ Probably on the basis of his own request, he was granted the freedom to pursue interests not directly related to his duties. His average annual salary of 15 guilders, when compared with the 200 and 350 guilders granted to other court painters, indicates that he was probably concerned less with money than with the security the post offered. Under the court's protection, he was able to pursue his activities unhindered by city regulations and guild rules. He worked for the entire court – for the duke; his brother, Ferdinand;³⁴ and other distinguished patrons, who paid him separately. The most important project of this period was the illumination of a Roman missal between 1581 and 1590 for Ferdinand of Tyrol, uncle of Duke William V of Bavaria.³⁵ Also documented are commissions from the Fugger family of Augsburg and the Este family of Ferrara. While in Munich, Hoefnagel also seems to have maintained his business dealings.³⁶ Even after 1577, he continued to refer to himself as “merchant of Antwerp” (*mercator Antwerpianus*).³⁷

Duke William V, who in 1579 succeeded his father, Albert V, was an equally avid collector of art and antiquities. Also called William the Pious, he was a devoted patron of the Jesuits, who had established Munich as the stronghold of the Counter-Reformation north of the Alps and who exerted great influence on the city's educational and cultural life. William initiated the lengthy and expensive construction of the church of Saint Michael, which, while it became the city's most splendid ecclesiastical structure, also plunged the treasury into debt. Simultaneously, the originally liberal position of the court in regard to the religious affiliation of its members gradually became more rigid. A “*Professio fidei*” passed in 1591 required that all members of the court had to proclaim officially their belief in the faith as stated by the Tridentine Council. Hoefnagel, whose iconography attests to his

commitment to interdenominationalism and whose correspondence reflects his profound sympathy for his Protestant countrymen, probably refused to comply. Allegedly to save money, his service to the court was terminated in 1591, at which time he lost the official protection that had enabled him to reside in Munich.

Prior to this, however, Hoefnagel had entered the service of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, not as court painter but as a painter under court protection.³⁸ This protection enabled him to acquire temporary residence in the imperial city of Frankfurt-am-Main. As he himself stated, he wished to reside there in order to paint and complete various works commissioned by the emperor.³⁹ Most importantly, he was referring to the writing model book by Georg Bocskay now in Vienna (inv. 975).⁴⁰ Hoefnagel's residence in Frankfurt lasted from September 1591 until the summer of 1594, between which years he illuminated the Vienna codex.

In 1585, Antwerp was taken for the Spanish king by the duke of Parma and its status as a flourishing port ended due to the forced closing of the Schelde River. At this point, refugees from the Netherlands, Antwerp in particular, emigrated to Frankfurt. Many had friendly relations with Hoefnagel. The great botanist Carolus Clusius was there during most of the artist's residency. The likelihood that they were personally acquainted is supported by Hoefnagel's documented relationships with many members of Clusius's circle. Such a friendship would have played a critical role in the artist's decoration of the Getty codex, which is distinctive among his manuscripts for its extensive illustrations of the plant world.

Although Lutheranism was the official denomination of the city of Frankfurt, the Dutch and French (Walloon) Reformed churches were tolerated there. In 1594, however, the recently appointed minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation, Franciscus Gomarus, was ordered to leave by the city council. The Dutch Reformed church was closed, forcing its members to emigrate. The reasons for this sudden persecution of Netherlandish refugees were probably economic rather than religious, since by 1594 this group had progressed from merely invigorating the economy to dominating it, pro-

viding what was regarded by local merchants as unfair competition.⁴¹

Hoefnagel and his family were among those who left Frankfurt in 1594. His offspring now included his eldest son, Jacob; two other siblings who had been born in Antwerp; and Albrecht and William, who had been born in Munich, the former in 1579 (during the reign of Duke Albert) and the latter in 1581 (during the reign of Duke William V). Traveling east, either to Prague or Vienna, the family arrived in Regensburg in the summer of 1594, while the Imperial Diet was still in session.⁴²

Little is known of the last years of Hoefnagel's life. According to van Mander, he often visited Prague, the seat of the court of Emperor Rudolf II, his principal employer during this period, but made his home in Vienna. Van Mander's contention that he did so in order to escape the tumult of the court remains doubtful. His brother Daniel had lived in Vienna for a number of years, had married the widow of the sculptor Matthias Mannmacher (Mannemaker), and had set up a business under court protection. During the late 1590s, Joris (Georg) and Daniel Hoefnagel were registered in the records as constituting a business firm.⁴³ Joris, however, was probably less concerned with business than with art. Much of his greatest work dates from this period, including the illumination of the Getty codex, a large portion of the four-volume natural history manuscript known as *The Four Elements*,⁴⁴ and various cabinet miniatures made for the most part for illustrious clients.

Hoefnagel also attempted to procure a secure position for his son Jacob, who had completed an apprenticeship—according to the older craft and guild tradition—as well as been trained by his father as an artist and humanist. While still in Frankfurt, the elder Hoefnagel had begun to promote Jacob's career by allowing him to engrave *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* . . . after his own model books; it was published in Frankfurt in 1592.⁴⁵ During the final years of the sixteenth century, father and son produced cabinet miniatures that are jointly signed. While the elder Hoefnagel embellished their borders with plants, insects, and small animals, his son contributed a more contemporary specialty by providing mythological and allegorical scenes as the main images.⁴⁶ Jacob eventually achieved consider-

able status and was hired as court painter to Emperor Rudolf II after the death of his father.

Given van Mander's tendency to round off the dates of Hoefnagel's life (for example, he placed Hoefnagel's birth in 1545, when in fact the artist had been born in 1542), it is possible that Hoefnagel did not die in 1600 as van Mander contended. It is noteworthy that even after 1600, Joris is mentioned in documents concerning his and Daniel's firm.⁴⁷ On July 24, 1601, his death was first noted archivally.⁴⁸ He was most likely buried in Vienna in the family crypt, the "Hoefnagel'schen Begräbnus," in the new cemetery in front of the Scottish Gate, also the burial place of Daniel's large family.⁴⁹ Hoefnagel's name, however, is not mentioned in the burial records of the congregation which have been preserved.⁵⁰

Notes

1. K. van Mander, *Het Schilderboek* (Haarlem, 1604), fol. 262v. Van Mander's almost contemporary biography of Hoefnagel is the principal source for knowledge of his career. See also A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits*, 1st ser., 2 (Ghent, 1863), p. 91.
2. Portraits of the couple by Joos van Cleve are in Washington, D.C. (National Gallery of Art inv. 1962.9.1-2). For further information on Joris Veselaer, see J. O. Hand and M. Wolff, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Art: Systematic Catalogue: Early Netherlandish Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 57ff.
3. R. Bauer, *Tapisserien der Renaissance nach Entwürfen von Pieter Coecke van Aelst*, exh. cat. (Schloss Halbturn, 1981), p. 84.
4. The most thorough genealogy of the Hoefnagel family remains T. Jorissen, "Genealogie van Hoefnagel," *De Navorscher*, n.s. 5, 22 (1872), pp. 260ff.
5. The brothers Gilles and Jacob Hoefnagel were active as merchants (*parteners*) in London during the 1560s. In 1561, a Willem Hoefnagel was also registered in the city. In 1571, it was documented that Jacob had lived in London for thirteen years (since 1558) and Gilles for fourteen years. See R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in the City and Suburbs of London*, vol. 1: 1523-71 (London, 1900), pp. 284, 332, 366; vol. 2: 1571-97 (London, 1902), pp. 28, 84. Daniel Hoefnagel resided permanently in Vienna from at least 1585/87. From 1590, Melchior Hoefnagel attempted to establish residence in Frankfurt.

6. A painting by Frans Pourbus the Elder in Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts inv. 4435) portrays the Hoefnagel family dancing to harpsichord music. See C. van de Velde, "Nieuwe Gegevens en Inzichten over het Werk van Frans Pourbus de Oudere," *Gentse Bijdragen Tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 25 (1979-80), pp. 136ff. The musical instruments in Hoefnagel's border illuminations in the second part of the Getty codex, the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975), and the missal in Vienna (see note 35) are rendered with great accuracy.
7. Many of these drawings were later engraved in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1572-1617); see esp. Orléans and Bourges, vol. 2, no. 11a-b; Blamont, vol. 2, no. 17; Poitiers, vol. 5, no. 18 a-c, dated 1561; Tours and Angers, vol. 5, no. 20, dated 1561.
8. For this period, see the seminal essay by A. Monballieu, "Joris Hoefnagel bij Obertus Gyfanius te Orléans en te Bourges (1560-1562)," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1980), pp. 99ff.
9. The drawing, which was based on sketches made in situ and which is dedicated to Nicolas Malpaert, was executed in 1593 as a model for the engraving in Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 5, no. 7. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina inv. 22 402. Pen and brush and gray-brown, gray, and blue ink, and blue wash. 37.1 x 51.1 cm (14 1/2 x 20 in.). See *Prag um 1600* (Freren, 1988), vol. 2, pp. 158ff. According to Braun and Hogenberg, the title is an old maxim.
10. Hatfield House. Oil on panel. 73.8 x 99.2 cm (29 x 39 in.). Signed in lower left corner. See P. Norman, "On an Allegorical Painting in Miniature by Joris (George) Hoefnagel and on Some Other Works by This Artist," *Archaeologia* 57, no. 2 (1901), pp. 321ff.; F. M. Kelly, "A Horselydown Wedding," *Burlington Magazine* 31 (1917), p. 91; E. Auerbach and C. Kingsley Adams, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (London, 1971), no. 49, pp. 53ff., pl. 3, fig. 27 (with bibliog.).
11. The complex iconography of this painting cannot be discussed in detail here.
12. See Kirk and Kirk (note 5), vol. 2, p. 24, "Report of Strangers of November 10, 1571." Space limitations make further discussion of Radermaker and his role in the Dutch colony in London impossible here. As late as 1590, Hoefnagel dedicated an allegorical painting to Radermaker as a token of their lasting friendship: oil on panel. 22.5 x 34.5 cm (8 7/8 x 13 1/2 in.). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen inv. 1308. See T. A. G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels* (Leiden, 1969), vol. 2, pl. 106.

13. *Patientia: Traité de la patience par emblèmes inventés et dessinés par George Hoefnaghel à Londres, l'an 1569*. Pen and brown ink on paper, 58 folios. 42 x 28.5 cm (16½ x 11¼ in.). Half written by Hoefnagel and half by a nineteenth-century hand. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Coll. Leber, Ms. 2916. See R. van Roosbroeck, *Patientia: 24 Politieke Emblemata door Joris Hoefnagel 1569* (Antwerp, 1935; 2d. ed., Leiden, 1975); M. E. H. N. Mout, *Bohemien en de Nederlanden in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 106ff.
14. Bernard Gerbrand Furmer, *De rerum usu et abusu* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin), with engravings by Hieronymus Wierix; Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert, *Recht Ghebryuck ende Misbryuck van Tydlyke Have* (Leiden: Christophe Plantin), with the same engravings.
15. The engraving of Windsor Castle in Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 2, no. 2b, was based on a number of preliminary drawings. That of Nonsuch Palace (also preceded by preparatory drawings) appears in vol. 5, no. 1. Compare it with the view of Oxford (vol. 2, no. 2a). For recent literature, see M. Biddle, "The Stuccoes of Nonsuch," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), pp. 41ff.
16. See Danielis Rogersii *Albimontii Angli... Complexa ipsius poemata* (San Marino, Huntington Library inv. HM 31188, fols. 323–24), a poem in praise of Rogers's friendship with Hoefnagel. Although undated, it is adjacent to a poem dedicated to Lucas de Heere and dated London, 1569.
17. Van Mander (note 1), fol. 262v: "Doe hij weder in Nederlandt was ghekeert... hadde eenigh onderwijs van Hans Bol vercreghen" (When he had returned to the Netherlands... he took some instruction from Hans Bol). According to van Mander, this instruction took place after Hoefnagel's Spanish sojourn in 1567 and before November 1576. After 1572, Bol moved from his native Mechelen to Antwerp, where he entered the guild in 1574 and became a citizen in 1575.
18. For English miniature painting around 1600, see R. Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered, 1520–1620*, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1983); J. Murdoch et al., *The English Miniature* (New Haven and London, 1981).
19. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cabinet des Estampes inv. SI 23.045. Watercolor and gouache on vellum. 21.6 x 32.3 cm (8½ x 12¾ in.). Signed and dated 1570 and 1573. For recent literature, see *Splendeurs d'Espagne et des villes belges 1500–1700*, exh. cat. (Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1985), vol. 2, p. 373, no. A6.
20. A. H. Kan and G. Kamphuis, *De Jeugd van Constantijn Huyghens door Hemzelf Beschreven* (Antwerp, 1946), p. 10.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 11ff.

22. See the entry by William Camden in the *Album amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius (Amsterdam, 1969), fol. 113v, dated September 21, 1577. Further entries written in Frankfurt include those of Daniel Engelhard of Breslau (fol. 7v, September 12, 1577) and Theodoor Poelman and Hubert Languet (fol. 120v, September 20, 1577). For Rogers's presence in Frankfurt at this time, see his poem in HM 31188 (note 16), fol. 218, inscribed *Frankfurt, Idibus Octobris 1577*.
23. Entries in *Album amicorum* (note 22) by Adolf Occo (fols. 37v-38v) and Jeronimus Wolf (fol. 57v), both dated October 7.
24. For Hoefnagel's relations with the Wittelsbach court at Munich, see T. Vignau-Wilberg, "Joris Hoefnagels Tätigkeit in München," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 81 (1985), pp. 103ff.
25. See the engraved portrait of Hoefnagel by Hendrick Hondius (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts Ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 7 [Amsterdam, n.d.], p. 32, no. 47), in which he wears a portrait miniature of his wife around his neck, following the Elizabethan custom of placing portrait miniatures in costly gold frames to be worn as jewelry. An example is Isaac Oliver, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*. Vellum. 6.6 x 5.1 cm (2½ x 2 in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. P.5-1917. For an illustration, see Strong (note 18), p. 109, no. 163.
26. See above (note 19).
27. Entries in *Album amicorum* (note 22), by Augustino Musto (fol. 121) and Pirro Ligorio (fol. 121v), both dated Ferrara, October 30, 1577.
28. L. Nuti, "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye," *Word and Image* 4 (1988), pp. 563ff.
29. Terracina was engraved after Hoefnagel in Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 3, no. 54; Mola and Gaeta in vol. 3, no. 55; Baiiae in vol. 3, no. 56; Cumae in vol. 3, no. 57.
30. The Forum Vulcani, for which preparatory drawings survive, was engraved in Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 3, no. 58, as was Posillipo in vol. 5, no. 65, dated 1578.
31. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi (Florence, 1987), vol. 6, pp. 213ff.
32. Hoefnagel's drawing of the burning of the doge's palace in Venice was engraved for Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 5, no. 60b, with the inscription *Autoptes* (As witnessed), next to which appears the date 1578. The fire occurred on December 20, 1577, when Hoefnagel was in Rome. As the basis for his drawing, he used a composition by his countryman Lodewijk Toeput (Pozzoserrato). One assumes that Hoefnagel visited the scene of the disaster some months after it occurred, on his return trip. See also L. Nuti, "Alle origini del Grand Tour:

Immagini e cultura della città italiana negli Atlanti e nelle cosmografie del secolo XVI," *Storia urbana* 27 (1984), p. 28, n. 49.

33. See above (note 24).

34. The city council minutes of Frankfurt for 1591–92 (fol. 36v, September 3, 1591) contain Hoefnagel's request for residency. In addition to work for Emperor Rudolf II, he refers to works ordered by Ferdinand, Duke of Bavaria.

35. Vellum, 658 folios, with a paper flyleaf at the front and at the back. Written on both sides. 39.2 x 28.6 cm (15 1/2 x 11 1/4 in.). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Cod. 1784 (hereafter Vienna Cod. 1784). Hoefnagel's illuminations are dated between 1581 and 1590. See Vignau-Schuurman (note 12).

36. T. Vignau-Wilberg, "Qualche disegni d'importanza: Joris Hoefnagel als Zeichnungssammler," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 38 (1987), pp. 185ff.; idem (note 24), pp. 121ff.

37. In the inscription on the engraving of Landshut in Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 3, no. 45.

38. See the informative essay on court, Chamber, and court-protected craftsmen by H. Haupt in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* (forthcoming).

39. Frankfurt, Stadtarchiv, Bürgermeisterbuch 1591, fols. 79v, 80, cited in H. Meinert, *Die Eingliederung der niederländischen Glaubensflüchtlinge in die Frankfurter Bürgerschaft 1554–1596: Auszüge aus den Frankfurter Ratsprotokollen* (Frankfurt, 1981), p. 452.

40. See p. 11, n. 1.

41. The principal discussion of these events is Meinert (note 39).

42. Jacob Hoefnagel made a drawing with a view of Regensburg, noting that it was done during the Imperial Diet of 1594. The drawing served as a model for Braun and Hogenberg (note 7), vol. 5, no. 51.

43. Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Hoffmann, nos. 520-E (Prague), 1599, fol. 118; 525-R (Prague), 1599, fol. 34v; 191-E (Lower Austria), 1600, fols. 232, 329.

44. 4 vols. totaling 277 vellum folios, with animal representations in watercolor and gouache, inscribed with Latin texts and maxims: *Ignis: Animalia rationalia et insecta; Terra: Animalia quadrupedia et reptilia; Aqua: Animalia aquatilia et conchiliata; Aier: Animalia volatilia et amphibia*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art inv. 1987.20.5–8. See M. L. Hendrix, *Joris Hoefnagel and the "Four Elements": A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting*, unpub. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984.

45. The full title of this work is *Arche-
typa studiique patris Georgii Hoefnagelii
Iacobus fil: Genio duce ab ipso scalpta,
omnibus philomusis amice D: ac perbenigne
communicat. Ann: sal: XCII Aetat: XVII.*
46. For example, *Diana and Actaeon*,
framed by flowers, insects, and small
animals. Vellum mounted on panel.
22 x 33 cm (8⁵/₈ x 13 in.). Signed by
Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel and dated
1597. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet
des Dessins, on deposit from a private
collection. See *Prag um 1600* (Freren,
1988), vol. 1, p. 67 (ill.).
47. Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv,
Hofffinanz, nos. 194-E (Lower Austria),
February 9, 1601, fol. 137v; 537-E
(Prague), 1601, fol. 280; 539-E (Prague),
1601, fol. 202v; 543-R (Prague), 1601,
fols. 141v, 406v.
48. Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Certificatie-
boek 1601, fol. 71v.
49. This is mentioned in the will of
the court painter Reinhart Junger, dated
Vienna, September 22, 1619. Junger
requested burial in the new "Gottesacker"
in front of the Scottish Gate next to his
deceased wife, "zunegst der Hufnagelischen
Begräbnuss" (the Hoefnagel family
grave). Quoted in A. Hajdecki, "Die
Niederländer in Wien," *Oud Holland*
23 (1905), p. 5.
50. The name of Joris Hoefnagel appears
neither in the death registry of the parish
of Saint Stephen nor in that of the
Scottish Church.

THE WRITING MODEL BOOK

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THE WRITING MODEL BOOK

THE WRITING

In order to understand Bocskay's writing model book in the Getty Museum, it is necessary to grasp the basic chronology of the emergence of calligraphy, or writing as a fine art, during the sixteenth century. One of the decisive factors in this chronology was the rise of printing, which displaced writing as the primary means of transmitting information.

During the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages, before printing arrived in Europe, writing emphasized the preservation of knowledge over its dissemination. Executed on vellum and often embellished with costly gold and silver, writing assumed great palpability and permanence. This was also expressed by the letter forms themselves, ranging from Carolingian minuscule (a classically based, upright, rounded lower-case script), with each individual letter carefully formed and separated from the next, to *textura* (upright, closely packed, Gothic blackletter), the thick, dark strokes of which lent words a physical presence on the page. The inseparability of a text from its physical embodiment in a finite number of codices contributed much to the resonance of the written word. Life resided in the word as it was recorded, and each scribe formed an integral link in a chain, acting as a kind of medium through which one codex spawned another. By alleviating the problem of preservation, printing helped to transform the function of the written word. No longer required to serve as the material embodiment of the text, script evolved into a vehicle for self-expression, deriving its vitality from the hand of the calligrapher.

Also crucial to this development was the spread of writing, which ceased to be regarded primarily as the province of trained scribes and professionals and came to be valued as an essential humanistic accomplishment, expressive of one's intellectual background and social position. Just as an educated person was expected to be conversant in many languages, so he or she was required to have mastery over a corresponding number of script forms. Dominant among these was italic, or chancery, script. Rising to prominence during the late fifteenth century in Italy, where it became the favored script of the papal chancery in Rome, italic was based on the clear, upright, round script known as humanist *antiqua*, which, when written quickly, became slanted, attenuated, and cursive.¹ Italic effected the still uncontested wedding of Western handwriting to line. The kind of line required by italic emphasized dynamism, the impression of which was created by such qualities as thinness, consistency of width and tone, curvature, and minimal breaks. Writing thus came to constitute the trace of the hand in motion and in so doing, imparted a new sense of life to the written page. The tangibility, splendor, and permanence of older letter forms had helped to convey the authority of the written word by stressing its physical transcendence over its mortal readers and its link to sources of power both divine and terrestrial. Promoting the concept of unique selfhood which lay at the core of the humanistic movement, italic derived authority by evoking the living presence of the writer, accomplishing this by stressing the act of writing. To this end, it was of paramount importance that italic script appear spontaneous and fresh.

It can hardly be accidental that the rise of italic occurred simultaneously with the growing regard for the art of drawing in Italy. Regarded as the foundation of the other visual arts, drawing was thought to record most directly the imaginative world of the artist. Artistic creation itself was increasingly defined in terms of process; this resulted in drawing becoming a far freer and more experimental medium than it had been in the past. Among the most explicit signs of this was the emergence of the sketch, which assumed a primary role in the creation of works of art. A radically

dynamic notion of drawing, the sketch avoided the mere description of outward appearance, seeking instead to capture the movement and vitality of nature as filtered through the imagination of the artist.² Drawing so defined had much in common with italic script. Both used line to transcribe touch in an attempt to become a pure physical extension of the maker. Both stressed ongoing process rather than finish, with italic accomplishing this through features such as slant and the cursive linking of letters. In short, the emphasis in both was the creation not of an independent object but of an object whose primary function was the affirmation of its creator's living presence. Proclaiming that art had been perfected by Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo, the sixteenth-century historiographer Giorgio Vasari cited as a critical constituent of this process the depiction of motion, by which he meant the illusive motion of the soul.³ In similar senses, drawing and writing turned this mimetic imperative in on itself, script even more radically than drawing. For while the draftsman sought to capture his own imaginative processes through the portrayal of the animate physical world, the scribe self-reflexively recorded his own vital motion, free from the demands of figural representation.

In a curious turn of events, printing further contributed to the emergence of writing as an art form, since it was principally through the publication of model books that scribes became widely recognized as distinctive personalities. Among the earliest and most influential of such handwriting manuals were *Lo presente libro* by Giovannantonio Tagliente (Venice, 1524) and *La operina* by Ludovico degli Arrighi (Rome, 1522). Both were printed from woodblocks (engraved manuals becoming common only later in the century). Moreover, both were devoted principally to instruction in italic, which is indicative of the great cultural weight attached to classically inspired letter forms during the Renaissance. Yet, despite the pedagogical intent of their manuals and the classical clarity of italic as it was ideally conceived, neither Tagliente nor Arrighi could resist demonstrating their ability to exploit the aesthetic potential of italic script, the result of its singularly free and linear character. The publications of both scribes contain variations of

classic chancery cursive in which lines are repeatedly drawn out to form webs of fluent ascenders, descenders, and serifs which hamper legibility.

With the publication of Giovanni Battista Palatino's *Libro nuovo d'imparare a scrivere* (Rome, 1540), the practical function of the writing manual gave way more dramatically than before to both the aesthetic potential of script and the force and personality of the scribe.⁴ The focus of Palatino's book remained chancery cursive, and, as in earlier writing manuals, it included a full complement of practical scripts ranging from chancery alphabets to various mercantile and bastard (localized Gothic cursive) hands. Not content merely to equal the expertise of earlier authors, however, Palatino aimed for encyclopedic mastery of all writing, which he demonstrated by including an unusually large and inventive selection of indigenous and foreign hands as well as exhibition scripts such as florid Gothic letter types, mirror writing, and decorative alphabets. His work also reflects the growing pressure to excel in the athletic manipulation of the pen that emerged as a salient feature of later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writing manuals. As time went on, personal rivalries among scribes grew more feverish, as is evidenced most clearly by the public competitions among writing masters that sprang up in England and the Low Countries.⁵

Taking up the thread where Palatino's *Libro nuovo* left off, Georg Bockskay, in *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, set out to assemble a collection of scripts of still greater immensity and to display unparalleled technical wizardry. Unlike the printed manuals, pedagogy plays no role in Bockskay's model book, which is intended solely as a display piece. The script forms are disposed according to no overarching order, thus underscoring the fact that the samples are not meant primarily to be read but to be appreciated visually. Most of the texts are prayers, canticles, and psalms, but they also include imperial briefs and other forms of correspondence. The predominant type of script is italic. One finds a range of classic italic hands (fols. 12, 18, 19, 61, 94) that are also furnished with an assortment of initials extending from florid examples written in gold to unadorned Roman capitals. Complementing such correct, restrained demonstrations of italic is the repertoire of flamboyant

exhibition scripts to which italic gave rise, such as the examples of interlacing cursive, which are among the manuscript's most beguiling calligraphic demonstrations (fols. 34, 84, 98). Akin to this type are italic letters with exaggerated, interwoven ascenders and descenders (fols. 82, 87). Satirizing the stress on linear continuity are two forms that also appear in Palatino's manual, "cut letters" (*lettere tagliate*), in which the upper and lower halves of a line of script seem to be cut loose from one another (fols. 41, 43, 96), and "scabby letters" (*lettere rognole*), in which protrusions break up the lines forming the letters (fols. 55, 93, 119). Backwards slant, a transgression in italic as it is normally written, becomes a source of amusement in numerous script samples (fols. 49, 65).

Second in number to italic in Bocskay's model book are the various forms of *rotunda* (Italian Gothic) and *antiqua* (a classicizing humanist script based on Carolingian minuscule) which – because of their classical origins – were also employed as humanist hands (fols. 5, 6, 45, 128). These tend to be among the most sumptuous calligraphic specimens; the interstices between the lines of script are often filled with dense running vines in black, gold, and silver. Also common is an outlined *rotunda* known as "traced letters" (fol. 1), which are sometimes painted with dots of gold and blue (fol. 81). The classically based scripts include Roman inscriptional capitals as well (fols. 40, 53).

The flowering of writing during the sixteenth century was fueled not only by the cultural idealism of the Renaissance humanists but also by the growing bureaucratic substructure in Europe, which required the services of ever larger numbers of secretaries.⁶ While italic became the principal secretarial hand in many countries, Gothic blackletter, which evolved into *Fraktur*, and Gothic chancery cursive remained dominant in Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, where they were also featured in writing manuals. As would be expected of a model book made for the emperor by an imperial scribe, Bocskay's codex contains a wide selection of Gothic scripts. Indeed, such a thoroughgoing synthesis of the traditions of Germanic and Italic writing manuals was achieved by no other scribe of

the century.⁷

The delicate German chancery cursive on folio 116 of Bocskey's book is based on a sample from the seminal German writing manual *Eine gute Ordnung und kurzer Unterricht*, published by the famous writing master Johannes Neudörffer in Nuremberg in 1538. The knotted prayer on folio 118 was borrowed from folio h(iv) of *Ein nuzlich und wolgegründt Formular mancherley schöner Schriefften* by Neudörffer's pupil Wolfgang Fugger (Nuremberg, 1553). Among the most impressive and numerous samples of *Fraktur* are those from imperial briefs. Folios 85 and 86, which contain salutations to Ferdinand I's brother, Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56), represent two of the manuscript's five imposing black folios. Instead of vellum, they are paper, which was painted white, after which the letters appear to have been drawn in a clear substance resistive of the black ink wash applied over them. Other accomplished demonstrations of Germanic Gothic scripts are folios 112 and 117, salutations from Charles V and Ferdinand I, which feature magnificent swashed capitals composed of multiple strokes ending in extended flourishes.

Bocskey further substantiated his implicit claim to universal mastery of his art by a succession of historical, invented, and exhibition hands. Continuing a practice initiated by Tagliente of presenting ancient non-Roman scripts, Bocskey included samples of Greek and Hebrew (fols. 69, 70), copying a Hebrew alphabet (fol. 35) from Palatino. There is also a range of Gothic scripts, such as the "bollatic" letters with their exuberantly flourishing ascenders and descenders (fols. 57, 67) and a sample (fol. 44) that resembles Tagliente's "French Gothic." Many of the scripts appear to be hybrids, such as the spiky Gothic capitals on folio 7 or those on folios 21 and 33, whose thick, black serifs and flourishes appear to have been inspired by mercantile hands. Bocskey, however, excluded pure mercantile and bastard scripts from his manuscript, presumably because the presence of business hands would have dulled the luster of his display piece.

Exhibition hands other than those already mentioned include decorated alphabets (fol. 2); "squared ciphers" (fol. 90) copied from Palatino; mirror writing in a variety of scripts (fols. 31, 49, 66, 98); a calligram, or text

picture whose shape or layout is determined by its subject (fol. 15); diminishing writing (fol. 106); and micrography, writing too small to be read with the naked eye (fol. 118). Displaying script at its greatest remove from conventional writing, exhibition hands epitomize the drive for virtuosity that dominated calligraphy by the end of the sixteenth century. This focus on virtuosity is in turn the most obvious manifestation of the effort to elevate writing to the status of a fine art that scribes appear to have undertaken in imitation of Renaissance visual artists. This was accomplished by flaunting calligraphy's distance from utility and also by demonstrating that writing was constantly improving its technical and conceptual means in conformity with the Renaissance dictum that art had to involve progressive historical development.⁸ Above all, however, virtuosity was the scribe's principal expressive device, a vehicle for asserting his possession of the wit, skill, and vision to push writing past its own limitations. Unlike Arrighi, Tagliente, or Neudörffer, Bocskay was not a great formal innovator. Rather, his contribution to the art of writing lies in his transformation of it into a powerful medium for self-expression.

THE ILLUMINATIONS

Hoefnagel's illuminations for Bocskay's model book are among his latest works, probably done during the second half of the 1590s. The seamless integration of script and image belies the more than thirty-year hiatus separating the two phases of production, and the question of whether the manuscript was originally intended to be illuminated is not easily answered. Bocskay's tendency to inscribe a folio with a single text positioned on the upper portion of the page surface gives the impression that he purposely left space for illuminations. This free space at the bottom of the page, however, is frequently interrupted by descenders or flourishes (fols. 7, 17, 41, 61, 67, 93), pointing to the likelihood that the calligrapher found it aesthetically advantageous to leave copious blank space around his often expansive calligraphic samples. This coupled with the relatively numerous

folios preponderantly or entirely given over to calligraphy (fols. 5, 14, 84, 89) casts further doubt on the likelihood that Bocskay's model book was originally planned to contain extensive figural embellishment.

In any event, it is certain that Bocskay could not have anticipated the decorative program Hoefnagel devised. The illuminator's program hinged on the preexistence of the script and his own capacity to formulate a witty and often satirical figural response to it. His illuminations consist of a diverse assemblage of natural specimens united by their small size. Most prominent among these multifarious objects are flowers, especially the many colorful bulb-grown ornamentals such as the tulip (fols. 23, 25, 51, 53, 60), anemone (fols. 13, 30, 39), various lilies (fols. 43, 92), fritillary (fol. 40), and narcissus (fols. 12, 48). A number of these as well as other botanical specimens including the sweet flag (fol. 59) and tomato (fols. 42, 102) were considered rarities, having only recently been imported to Northern and Central Europe from the Levant, the New World, Andalusia, and elsewhere. Also represented in the manuscript is a vast range of native species such as the periwinkle (fol. 1), stock (fol. 5), foxglove (fol. 93), rose (fols. 10, 11, 15, 17, 22), columbine (fols. 12, 28), violet (fol. 20), and pansy (fols. 18, 64). Hoefnagel demonstrated great sophistication as a botanist both in the sheer number of genera represented and in the presentation of ranges of species of given plants, as can be seen in his *Nigellas* (fols. 3 [*N. damascena plena*], 9 [*N. damascena*], 110 [*N. sativa*]) or *dianthus* (fols. 68 [*D. caryophyllus*], 79 [*D. barbatus*]). His focus on flowers reflects the waning of the tradition of medieval herbals, in which plants were valued principally for medicinal or other utilitarian purposes, in favor of an aesthetic and natural historical appreciation of plants, which placed emphasis on the beautiful and the rare. This formalistic and visually oriented interest in natural variety for its own sake was a manifestation of the larger effort to collect and classify all of nature's production that dominated sixteenth-century natural history.

Although flowers appear in Hoefnagel's earlier works, they became a major feature of his oeuvre during the 1590s, as is most eloquently expressed in the Getty manuscript. His increasingly artistic treatment of

flowers coincided with his move in 1591 to Frankfurt, where he joined a circle of Netherlandish expatriate artists and intellectuals which included the greatest of all Renaissance botanists, Carolus Clusius. The courts of Rudolf II and his father, Maximilian II, were also among the principal centers of sixteenth-century botany. A number of prominent botanists, including Clusius between 1573 and 1587 and his fellow Netherlander Rembert Dodoens between 1574 and 1579, had been employed there. Due to their presence and also to Vienna's geographical situation at the crossroad between Europe and the Near East, the Hapsburg court became a center for the propagation and European dissemination of Levantine ornamentals such as the tulip. Maximilian II and Rudolf II built a number of gardens in which to cultivate these and other botanical rarities, such as those at the Neugebäude in Vienna, on the grounds of the imperial castle in Prague, and at other imperial residences in Bohemia and Austria.⁹

The earliest florilegia (illustrated books of flowers) were published during the late sixteenth century in response to this burgeoning interest in floriculture. Unlike the botanical encyclopedia of which it was an outgrowth, the florilegium eschewed text, with the occasional exception of nomenclature. As a floral picture book, it called attention to flowers as Nature's artifice and, simultaneously, to the imagery as human artifice. Besides offering visual delectation, such books often served ancillary purposes. The earliest printed florilegium, that of Adriaen Collaert, published in Antwerp around 1590, has small, generalized illustrations and might have been used as a pattern book for embroidery. Florilegia also advertised the wares of flower dealers like Emanuel Sweerts, whose volume, which appeared in 1612, is one of several major florilegia published in Frankfurt. Sweerts, a former prefect of the imperial gardens in Prague, dedicated his florilegium to Emperor Rudolf II, whom he described as "the greatest, most enthusiastic admirer" of flowers in the world.¹⁰ As is clearly indicated by Sweerts's publication, perishable flowers had come to be regarded as precious objects and hence as emblems of princely splendor.

Initially, Hoefnagel's illuminations take up the analogy between

natural and human artifice presented in contemporary florilegia. They call to mind Sweerts's assertion that in his own book he took pains to show the "flower and bulb with its color, as they ordinarily grow before the eyes."¹¹ Hoefnagel often presented a brilliantly colored flower parallel to the picture plane (fols. 23, 25, 51, 52, 66). Yet, these ethereal blossoms read simultaneously as a colored surface, consisting of nothing more than a thin (but magical) layer of paint on a page. This likening of flowers to nature's paintings bolstered the prestige of painted artifice insofar as it, like brilliantly colored flowers themselves, laid claim to value not on the basis of intrinsic worth but on the basis of the hold on humanity exerted by visible phenomena. Hoefnagel made this point most clearly by inserting rather unprepossessing natural specimens into those folios in which Bocskay had made lavish use of gold and silver (fols. 102, 103, 113). By virtue of the irresistible power of illusionism, which in turn testifies to humanity's capacity to manipulate and transform materials, such specimens overshadow the more conventional and tangible splendor of the writing.

Besides flowers, Hoefnagel depicted a host of other *naturalia* such as shells, insects, fruits, nuts, and small animals. These otherwise disparate specimens are uniformly minute, a quality that immediately invites close visual scrutiny. Such scrutiny is facilitated by the manner in which the specimens were painted. In the first place, all of them are brightly illuminated and vividly colored. Their very smallness provided the opportunity for the artist to capture all that would be visible to the naked eye, as can be seen in a sliver of pear whose entire contents, down to the interior of its seed, have been exposed and represented (fol. 22). In short, Hoefnagel's images do not permit superficial scanning but rather draw the eye ineluctably to detail and ultimately into nature's recesses: to look is to participate in the artist's own process of visual investigation.

This effort opposes the active gathering of knowledge directly from nature to the passive acquisition of the received knowledge of texts. In this regard, Hoefnagel's project can be connected with the much more generalized attempt to amass and array natural knowledge found in the

rudolfine *Kunstkammer*, with its display of bones, shells, nuts, fossils, and other natural specimens.¹² His manuscript would have supplemented this extensive, if haphazard, collection just as the other compendia of hand-painted natural history illustrations kept in the *Kunstkammer* would have.¹³ Hoefnagel's images not only collect and classify nature; they also investigate its underlying structure. Accordingly, the surfaces of natural elements are consistently peeled away to reveal their hidden internal fabrics in minuscule detail: a split mussel offers a contrast between its opalescent shell and the soft irregularity of the organism (fol. 37). Hoefnagel rediscovered the latent strangeness of quotidian objects such as a kidney bean (fol. 31) or walnut (fol. 74), which display their contents as if revealing occult secrets. Pears, figs, and other familiar fruits shown from odd angles (fol. 39, 43, 51) take on an aura of the exceptional, as does a gourd whose pimply surface is depicted in exaggerated detail (fol. 38). Such commonplaces made to seem extraordinary appear alongside true aberrations and exotica such as an apple with a double core (fol. 107) or a rhinoceros beetle (fol. 43).

To peruse Hoefnagel's imagery is to embark on an optical voyage into uncharted terrain. This pervasive sense of estrangement from nature, which in turn fueled an intense determination to penetrate this vast world cut off from humanity, links his sensibility to empiricism as it would develop later. It was probably this feature more than conformity to "scientific" standards of accuracy that inspired the art historian Ernst Kris to apply the term "scientific naturalism" to the manuscript's style.¹⁴ Hoefnagel, however, only stood on the threshold of the age of Hooke and Leeuwenhoek, when the invention of the microscope would facilitate the penetration of the world of minutiae to a degree previously unimagined.¹⁵ Dependent on vision and unaided by the extreme sense of power vis-à-vis nature which such scientific instruments engendered, Hoefnagel viewed the visible world as pointing beyond itself to a natural domain of mystery and secrecy, closed off to investigation by the limitations of vision. Within this framework, Nature was still viewed as harboring knowledge that she could freely choose to dispense. The manner in which minutiae hover on the brink between the seen

and the unseen crystallized Hoefnagel's conception of natural knowledge as arising from both rational investigation and revelation, a dualism that would bifurcate during later centuries into the increasingly separate realms of science and religion.

Hoefnagel's dualistic conception of nature is intimately tied to his preoccupation with the paradoxical mimetic striving to "paint what could not be painted," in the words applied by Pliny the Elder to the work of Apelles, the greatest of classical painters.¹⁶ For Hoefnagel, whose imagery centered on the world of nature rather than on the human figure, this approach was tantamount to capturing nature's animate quality. This is apparent in the prominent role played in the Getty model book by insects and small animals, whose vivacity often contrasts with the weightiness and fullness of the fruits. Winged insects dart ethereally among the letters, fruit, and flowers, while snails and caterpillars are no less animated. Objects are distributed on the page according to their elemental realms: butterflies and dragonflies often appear toward the top, with the bottom occupied by fruit, flowers, creeping insects, and small animals. The latter are shown dead or dying on several occasions (fols. 50, 70, 108). As much as Hoefnagel's "living" specimens, this trope alludes to the effort to exceed the physical limitations of paint in order to capture the vital spirit animating matter. His fascination with minutiae as nature's threshold to the unseen reflects his profound consciousness of the dualistic character of the manuscript folio, comprising not merely a surface to be drawn upon but a recto inherently pointing in space and time toward its invisible verso.

Many of the specimens depicted in the Getty codex appear in other works by or after Hoefnagel. The Hours of Philippe of Cleves (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms. IV 40), a fifteenth-century Flemish book of hours to which Hoefnagel added border illuminations in the late 1570s or early 1580s, contains corresponding elements, such as the split sour orange (Brussels fol. 70; Getty fol. 33) or the bright orange Maltese cross (Brussels fol. 64; Getty fol. 37) (fig. 1). The *Archetypa studiique patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*... contains an especially large number of matching motifs, such

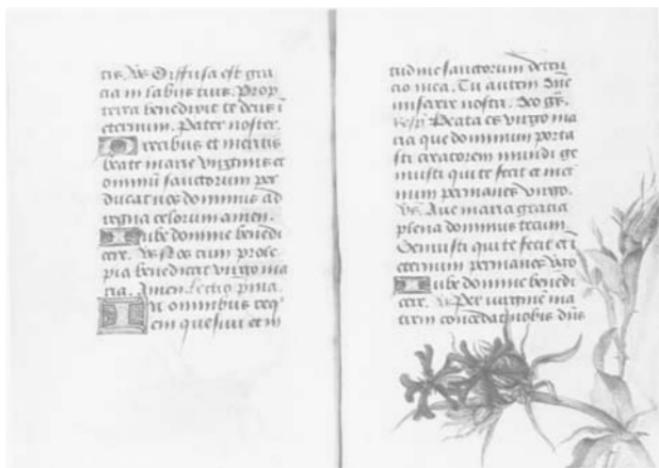


Figure 1. Joris Hoefnagel. Border Illuminations with a Maltese Cross and a Rose. Watercolor and gouache on vellum. From Hours of Philippe of Cleves. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms. IV 40, fol. 64.

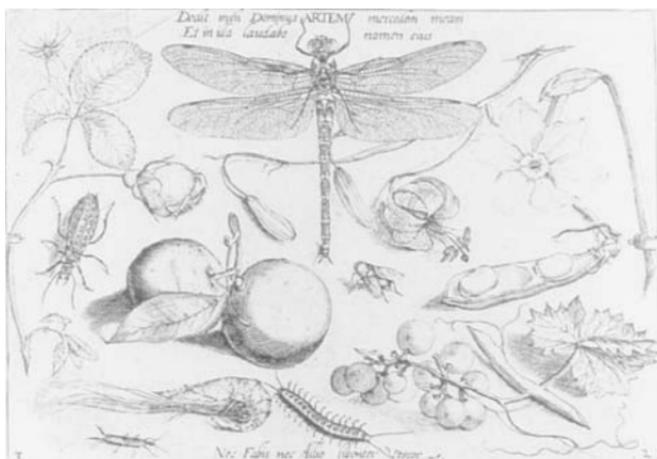


Figure 2. Jacob Hoefnagel after Joris Hoefnagel. A Dragonfly, Bunch of Grapes, and Other Natural Elements. Engraving. From Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii... ([Frankfurt], 1592), pt. 2, fol. 3.

as the bunch of grapes (*Archetypa*, pt. 2, fol. 3) (fig. 2) which appears on folio 54 of the Getty codex. As prints, the related specimens in the *Archetypa* appear in reverse of their counterparts in the Getty codex, and many contain details at variance with, or absent from, the painted specimens. The corresponding bunches of grapes, for example, differ in their disposition of tendrils, leaves, and stems. Both the *Archetypa* and the Getty codex include specimens that do not occur in any other surviving works by Hoefnagel. All of this suggests that the former was not modeled on, and indeed probably predates, the Getty codex, and that both works include motifs based on other images by Hoefnagel, now lost.

As we have seen, in the Getty codex the illuminations were placed in the residual spaces of the text column, which most commonly occur in its lower portion. When such areas were lacking, the illuminations were sometimes squeezed into smaller spaces at the top and bottom of the page or within the script itself (fols. 45, 55, 91). The bounds of the script column were thus transformed into framing devices, affording frequent opportunities to play with the paradoxical rigidity of the invisible constraint, as can be seen in the image of a pear brought to the edge of the text column and flattened slightly (fol. 13). The placement of weightier objects toward the bottoms of the compositions tends to reinforce the lower margin of this implied rectangle; cropped cast shadows sometimes emphasize its lower corners (fol. 28). As exemplified by folio 44, the space occupied by the objects is ambiguous and, in the end, indeterminate. On the one hand, it is coextensive with that of the script, with (in this case) the arc of the geranium and the attendant caterpillar matching the width of the top three lines of writing. The mushroom, however, sits in front of that plane, causing the last six lines to appear to recede into space rather than simply decrease in size. Here, the prominent cast shadows encourage a reading of the specimens as strewn on the page, and yet the composition simultaneously flattens out, refusing to occupy a position consistent with the living space of the viewer. The lack of other spatial indications causes the blank vellum to act as both surface and amorphous space.

Hoefnagel continually shifted his point of view. Compositions

tending toward verticality (fol. 6) are lent depth by cast shadows at the bottom, yet they become more planar as the forms move up the page, thereby allowing the space of the objects and that of the script to fuse imperceptibly. Horizontal compositions (fol. 46) recede slightly but at the same time seem scattered on top of the page surface. The shadows often appear more substantial than the objects, thus enhancing the latter's planar effect. The extension of objects to the edge of the script column while neither overlapping this edge nor being cropped by it is another device linking the space of object and script. Such tricks elide the distinction between surface and depth and in so doing effect a radical reconception of the illuminated page.

The central problem occupying manuscript illuminators from the early fifteenth century on was the tension between the two-dimensional page and the three-dimensional image, which intensified as manuscript illumination became increasingly spatial in imitation of large-scale painting.¹⁷ The page surface was thus called on to serve two functions simultaneously: as a planar support for writing and as a picture frame opening into depth. The structure thus created was weighted in favor of the script, which remained the focal point, with the narrative receding behind it and the border illuminations surrounding it. This structure was emphasized by the usual procedure of first inscribing and then illuminating a manuscript, a practice that in essence required that the imagery accommodate itself to the writing. Due to these and other factors, imagery grew increasingly competitive with script, occupying a growing proportion of the page in relation to it but at the same time never actually questioning its priority.

Netherlandish artists attempted to resolve this problem through the use of illusionistic "strewn pattern" borders, which became common during the late fifteenth century. In such borders, which enframed narrative scenes, flowers and other small objects were painted to appear as if they had been scattered over a plane just above the surface of the page, extending into the viewer's space (fig. 3). Otto Pächt attributed the invention of strewn pattern borders to the so-called Master of Mary of Burgundy, who was active in the Ghent-Bruges area during the last several decades of the



Figure 3. The Master of Mary of Burgundy. *Saint Barbara*. Pen and ink, gold leaf, and tempera colors on vellum. From Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 219, fol. 41.

fifteenth century.¹⁸ Pächt presented what remains the most widely accepted description of the significance of strewn pattern borders to the evolution of the illuminated folio:

*The place of the page . . . is conceived as a barrier dividing the two kinds of space, the imaginary space of the picture behind the page and the space of reality in front of it. The forms and objects appearing in either sphere have severed contact with the plane of the page and at the same time have become widely separated from each other. The ornament of the border has moved closer to the spectator, the scene in the picture has receded further into the background. Every visible form now lives in space, has atmosphere around it, and yet we are made conscious of the existence and presence of the plane of the page as the central organizing factor.*¹⁹

While Pächt discussed this phenomenon essentially in formal terms, it is important to consider its epistemological implications. The realm of the picture and that of the border had become polarized in time and space, the former portrayed as three-dimensional, distant, and past, the latter as flattened, proximate, and present. Their subject matter had also become polarized, on the one hand human and narrative and on the other hand composed of natural elements, which, rather than telling a story, simply offered themselves up to sight. The visible world was likened to a kind of surface and as such was portrayed as more closely analogous to the manuscript's text than to its pictures. This portrayal of the visible world as a surface placed *on top of* that of the text challenged the priority of the text by suggesting that vision was more immediate than reading. Yet, as Pächt's discussion makes clear, the plane of the script-bearing page remained the unit around which the images were organized, while its own surface remained inviolate and its nature and character unquestioned.

Comprehending this, Hoefnagel set out to demystify the text and the surface on which it was inscribed. Having occupied a zone outside time and space while the border images were placed within the confines of a fixed relationship to the viewer, the script in Hoefnagel's new configuration

became a specific, stationary element in relation to both the viewer and the protean antics of the illuminations. Hoefnagel placed his imagery directly on the surface bearing the text, thus claiming equality with that text, and went even farther by abandoning the implied margins of this plane and invading the central space of the writing. The most fundamental reversal of the traditional relation between text and image, however, was his refusal to permit the imagery to imitate textual narrative. As long as imagery imitated narrative, the priority of the text was insured, since the implication of this relationship was that figural imagery could never fully capture invisible language. Instead, Hoefnagel imitated words themselves, turning them into objects and thereby reversing the basic terms of the earlier relationship by privileging vision. In so doing, he asserted that visual rather than verbal mimesis was the prime and superior form of imitation.

Hoefnagel's illuminations imitate Bocskay's writing not only through their confinement to the script column but also through the calligraphic flow of their forms (fol. 94). On occasion, the shapes of the specimens may even echo the accompanying script form, as on folio 16, which juxtaposes peas and beadlike flourishes in the writing. The left-to-right flow of these compositions causes them to "read" like script. Just as the imagery interlocks with the script in a continuation of its planar expanse, so the forms interlock with one another. Indeed, they seem to have been chosen largely for their capacity to fit together like pieces of a puzzle. Folio 50, for example, features a water insect, a pectoral view of a dead frog, a lily, and a shell – natural forms that have been made to fit into the unnatural confines of a rectangle, bearing no further symbolic or conceptual relation to one another. Rather than constituting a "natural whole," they maintain a sense of separateness from one another, pointing up the additive character of words and sentences. Hoefnagel strove continually to make the viewer aware of the stationary and hence lifeless character of words in comparison to images.

The competitive tone of the model book as a whole is determined by Bocskay's extroverted display of calligraphic virtuosity. Hoefnagel's answer to this self-assured (in its creator's eyes, no doubt consummate) per-

formance was to challenge it from within – by pitting visual imagery, with its attendant mimetic capacities, against the visual power of words – and from without – by aggressively flaunting the capacity of figural imagery to imitate nature. This is evident in the use of bright and sometimes jarring color. Folio 13, for example, juxtaposes orange-brown medlars, a fuchsia anemone, and an orange-green pear, while a highly saturated red poppy anemone dominates folio 30. The assault on visual perception is reinforced by the spatial assertiveness of the natural elements, such as the lily, pomegranate, and rhinoceros beetle on folio 43 or the pomegranate blossom, earthworm, and peach on folio 83, all of which have emphatically inflated appearances.

Hoefnagel's emphasis on looking implies that sight is a more direct and hence superior method of investigating the natural world than reading, an implication strengthened by the nonreferential character of the images. With the exception of several of the black folios, they apparently bear neither a symbolic relation to the script samples nor any further iconographical significance. Sight, then, is treated not just as a medium to guide one to verbal truth but as an autonomous form of knowledge.

Hoefnagel's challenge to Bocskay's script also makes effective use of wit. This is nowhere more evident than on those folios with plants illusionistically stuck through the page, yielding a surprise encounter with the stems painted on the versos (fols. 20, 20v; 26, 26v; 37, 37v; 41, 41v; 61, 61v; 67, 67v; 89, 89v; 112, 112v; 117, 117v; 124, 124v; 126, 126v). While late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century books of hours commonly contain this *trompe l'oeil* device, they only rarely exploit the opportunity to portray the motif piercing the verso as well as the recto – a device used so successfully by Hoefnagel.²⁰ His highly self-conscious use of such tricks to upstage the script is particularly effective in those specimens painted to appear as if they are threaded underneath trailing flourishes (fols. 20, 20v; 37, 37v; 61, 61v). This clever fillip points up the writing's stationary character as it contrasts with the illusionistic imagery's capacity to weave around it. The artist's practice of squeezing imagery into the residual spaces of the text column, no matter how small (fols. 14, 24, 91), undermines Bocskay's sometimes excessive

displays of virtuosity with the most meager bits of visual form.

In its widest sense a contest of words versus imagery, the model book is concomitantly a match between artistic personalities. While Hoefnagel inveterately signed and inscribed his other manuscripts and single leaves, he did not do so here. Indeed, he appears to have maintained a self-imposed ban on writing throughout the work, while Bocskay's signature or monogram appears repeatedly. Even when wordless, however, Hoefnagel is present: the black caterpillar creeping over a box containing Bocskay's initials (fol. 29) or the golden beetles beside his florid signature on the model book's final folio (fol. 129) must have been intended as comedic reminders of the artist's contribution. Capturing animation in paint, they contrast with Bocskay's epitaphic signatures.

Hoefnagel's focus on the revelatory power of nature is consistent with the broader cultural context of the rudolfine court. There, the acute interest in the natural world that manifested itself in so many areas – from “scientific” endeavors to the collecting of *naturalia* in the *Kunstkammer* to the production of art – formed an integral component of an occultist project aimed ultimately at intuiting the invisible reality underlying nature.²¹ Indeed, the centrality of nature to rudolfine occultist thinking is nowhere more impressively displayed than in the illuminations of the Getty codex. They help one to appreciate how, according to this approach, the physical world was not viewed as merely a pale shadow of the immaterial but quite literally as holder of the key to divine mysteries; indeed, according to this outlook, the visible and invisible were enmeshed, and the boundaries between the two were imprecise. This is made explicit in Hoefnagel's depictions of ethereal insects or sliced-open fruits revealing their seeds, images that attempt to discover the source of life by dissecting the world into ever smaller units. If matter and spirit were mysteriously predicated on one another, so were vision and revelation. Notably, Hoefnagel's images do not evince an interest in texture, neither in those of diverse specimens nor in the working of paint itself. Uniformly smooth and meticulously executed, inflated rather than sculpted in appearance, they suggest that vision, not touch, plays the critical

role in gaining knowledge of nature. This process is not one of passively recording nature's surfaces, however; rather, vision acts aggressively on nature, prying into its recesses. This process implies that revelation can only be induced by a forceful and direct confrontation with the visible world.

The profound and revelatory experience of nature offered by Hoefnagel's imagery in the Getty codex is paralleled in the writings of the sixteenth-century German physician Paracelsus, whose thought deeply influenced many of the alchemical writings that issued from the Prague court.²² Avoiding abstract philosophical language, Paracelsus expressed himself in powerful natural metaphors that often involve the stripping away of nature's layers in a search for hidden essences: "As we know by the rind what fruit lies concealed within it, and as the spirit is known by its body, just so, in the case of minerals, the spirit of the metal is recognized, though hidden, beneath its corporeal, or mineral bark."²³ Accordingly, Paracelsus's method hinges on the rejection of textual authorities such as Galen or Aristotle in favor of acquiring intimate and total knowledge of nature by actual confrontation and union with it. True knowledge of nature resulted from this union, which Paracelsus described as "Erfahrung" (experience) as opposed to the illusory insight gained from consulting texts: "He who wishes to explore nature must tread upon her books with his feet. Writing is learnt from letters, Nature, however, (by travelling) from land to land: One land one page. Thus is the codex of Nature, thus must its leaves be turned."²⁴ As opposed to conventional reading, one "reads" the *codex naturae* by direct experience, by "treading upon her books." According to Paracelsus, nature is the archetypal text and the reading of words a flawed imitation of primal reading, since nature, as opposed to words, retains the link between form and essence, surface and depth. As he put it:

Whatsoever Nature generates is formed according to the essence of the virtues It is known to all that if a seed be cast into the earth and concealed therein, the latent nature of that seed, at the proper time, manifests it above the earth, and anyone may see clearly what manner

*of seed has lain in that place. . . . We men in this world explore all things which lie hidden in the mountains by means of traces and external signs. For we investigate the properties of all herbs and stones by their signed sign [signatum signum]. . . . The foundation is in this, that all things have seed, and in seed all things are contained, for Nature first fabricates the form, and afterwards she produces and manifests the essence of the thing.*²⁵

The writings of Paracelsus provide a philosophical context in which to place Hoefnagel's imagery. Like the physician, the artist posited that nature is the gateway to true knowledge. Nature's revelatory power stands in opposition to Bocskay's words, which sit inert on the surface of the page. The images are thus reminiscent of Paracelsus's archetypal natural text, holding the promise of united surface and depth, just as they intimate that the outer layers of forms conceal inner mysteries. Aggressively presenting themselves for investigation, the objects provide a direct encounter with nature, which – in circumventing the logic of texts – promises to yield revealed truths.

While Hoefnagel's illuminations aid us in comprehending the centrality of the study of nature at the rudolfine court, they are more interesting still for what they reveal of the force of images in that milieu. His imagery insists that by virtue of mimesis, pictures claim nature's own power to confront the individual directly and so to inspire revelation. Existing like apparitions on white vellum, the images simultaneously convey the magical power involved in confronting nature and the magic of artistic creation. More than the trompe l'oeil devices, the mimicking of the serifs and flourishes of script, or the clever structuring of the page surfaces, it is the unsettling intensity with which nature confronts the viewer that poses the most profound challenge to Bocskay's script in the Getty codex. Hoefnagel asserted that images, like nature, are the sources of human experience at its most profound level, from which the written word remains ever at a remove.

Notes

1. Cf. A. S. Osley, *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston, 1980), pp. 19–21.
2. E. H. Gombrich, "Leonardo's Method for Working out Compositions," in *Norm and Form: Studies in Renaissance Art* (London and New York, 1971), pp. 58–63.
3. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906), vol. 4, p. 8; see D. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 51–55, 71–96.
4. O. Ogg, *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy: An Unabridged Reissue of the Writing Books of Arrighi, Tagliente and Palatino* (New York, 1953) (includes list of editions of the manuals of Arrighi, Tagliente, and Palatino).
5. See D. Jackson, *The Story of Writing* (New York, 1981), p. 122; B. P. J. Broos, "The 'O' of Rembrandt," *Simiolus* 4 (1971), pp. 150–83; T. Croiset van Uchelen, "Dutch Writing-Masters and the 'Prix de la Plume Couronnée,'" *Quaerendo* 6, no. 4 (Autumn 1976), pp. 319–46.
6. Osley (note 1), pp. 17–18.
7. For a discussion of the development of German writing manuals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see W. Doede, *Schön schreiben, eine Kunst: Johann Neudörffer und seine Schule im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1966).
8. E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Conception of Artistic Progress and Its Consequences," in *Norm and Form* (note 2), pp. 1–10.
9. J. Krcálová, "Die Gärten Rudolf II.," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1982), pp. 149–60; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 119–21.
10. E. F. Bleier, trans. and ed., *Early Floral Engravings: All 110 Prints from the "Florilegium" by Emanuel Sweerts* (New York, 1976), p. xi.
11. Ibid.
12. For the contents of the *Kunstammer*, see esp. R. Bauer and H. Haupt, eds., "Das Kunstammerinventar Kaiser Rudolf II., 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976), pp. vii–191, no. 36. A proposed reconstruction of its display and interior configuration is found in E. Fučíková, "The Collection of Rudolf II at Prague: Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum?" in O. Impey and A. MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 47–53.
13. For natural history manuscripts from the rudolfine *Kunstammer*, see *Prag um 1600* (Freren, 1988), vol. 2, nos. 602/1–2, 603/1–2, 604/1–2, 605

14. E. Kris, "Georg Hoefnagel und der wissenschaftliche Naturalismus," in A. Weixlgartner and L. Planiscig, eds., *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser* (Vienna, Leipzig, and Zurich, 1927), pp. 243-53.
15. Svetlana Alpers's discussion of the relation of microscopy to the seventeenth-century Dutch tendency to conceive of the art of painting as the presentation of optically based natural knowledge is enlightening for a consideration of Hoefnagel, one of the chief precursors to this development. See *The Art of Describing* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 1-25.
16. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35-74.
17. The conception of the illuminated page as tension-ridden as a result of the introduction of three-dimensional space was advanced by Erwin Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 28.
18. O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1948).
19. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
20. T. DaCosta Kaufmann and V. Roehrig Kaufmann, "The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of *Trompe-l'oeil* in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the J. Paul Getty Museum* 19 (1991), pp. 43-64; D. Thoss, "Georg Hoefnagel und seine Beziehungen zur Gent-Brügger Buchmalerei," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 82-83 (n.s. 46-47) (1986-87), p. 210.
21. Evans (note 9), pp. 243-74.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
23. A. E. Waite, trans. and ed., *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus* (Berkeley, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 93-94, from Paracelsus, *Opera omnia* (Frankfurt, 8vo., 1584).
24. W. Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel, 1958), pp. 56-57, from Paracelsus, *Opera omnia* (*Defensiones und Verantwortungen wegen etlicher Verunglimpfung seiner Missgönner, Vierte Defension*), ed. J. Huser (Basel, 1589), vol. 1, p. 259.
25. Waite (note 23), pp. 190-91, from *Explicatio totius astronomiae*. See K. Sudhoff, ed., *Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus: Sämtliche Werke, I. Abtheilung: Medizinische naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften*, vol. 12 (Munich and Berlin, 1929), pp. 470-71 (reprint of Philippi Theophrasti Bombast genant Paracelsi Magni, *Astronomia magna: oder die ganz Philosophia Sagax des grossen und kleinen Welt* [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1571]).

EDITOR'S NOTE

The botanical and other identifications on the following pages were prepared by the following: at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Robert L. Bezy, Section of Herpetology; and James H. McClean, Section of Malacology; at the Landbouwwuniversiteit Wageningen, The Netherlands, A. J. de Winter, Section of Animal Taxonomy; K. W. Robert Zwart, Department of Entomology; Carla S. Oldenburger-Ebbers, Library; and D. O. Wijnands, Botanical Garden; and at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Andrea P. A. Belloli, Department of Publications; and Lee Hendrix, Department of Drawings.

The identifications of specimens proceed from top to bottom and left to right. Common names have been provided wherever possible. In the case of the insect identifications, British English common names have been used, since most of the specimens represented do not exist in the United States. Where a different American common name is known, it has been included following the British name, separated by a slash.

The names of higher taxonomic groups (families and orders) have been printed in regular type, while genus and species names appear in italics.

Georgii Brockhuj
Mira Calligraphia monumenta
et pictoria patientia
diligentissima indicia.
Ab an. 1562. ad 1596.

14
Cum appropinquaret dominus
Hierusalem: videns unitatem
flevit super illam, et dixit: quia
si cognovisses et tu: quia venient die
es in te, et circumdabunt te inimici
tui vallo: et circumdabunt te: et co-
angustabunt te undique: et ad ter-
ram prosterment te: eo quod non co-
gnovisti tempus visitationis tue: et



Verso of fifth flyleaf
Georgii Bochkaj
Mira calligraphiae monumenta
et pictoriae patientiae
diligentissima indicia.
Ab an. 1562 ad 1596.

	Folio 1
<i>Vinca minor</i> L.	Common periwinkle
<i>Malus domestica</i> Borkh.	Common apple
<i>Lacerta</i> (?)	Lizard

	Folio 2
Ephemeroptera	Mayfly
<i>Silene dioica</i> (L.) Clairv.	Red campion (spotted petals unusual for species)
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, gourd type

Handwritten text in a highly decorative, calligraphic script, possibly a historical form of Gothic or Blackletter. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, with each line featuring large, ornate initial letters and dense, flowing flourishes that extend into the margins. The ink is dark, and the overall appearance is that of a formal manuscript or a decorative page from a book.



<i>Nigella damascena</i> L. "Plena"	Folio 3
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	Love-in-a-mist
<i>Castanea sativa</i> Mill.	Sweet cherry
	Spanish chestnut

3.

Ad cenam Agni prouidi et stolis albis Candidi: post transitum
maris rubri Christo conatus Principi. Cuius corpus
sanctissimum in Ara crucis torridum: calore eius ro-
seo gustando uiuimus deo. Protecti pasche uespere ac deuastante
angelo: Erepti de durissimo Pharaonis Imperio. Iam pascha nostrum
Christus est qui immolatus agnus est: sinceritatis azyma. caro eius
oblata est. O uere digna Hostia per quam fracta sunt tartaro re-
dempta plebs captiuata reddita uita premia. Cum surgit Christus
tumulo victor redit de barathro: tyrannum trudenti uinculo et re-
serans paradysum. Quae sintus autor omnium in hoc paschali gou-
dio: ab omni mortis impetu tuum defende populum. Gloria tibi aetern.



	Folio 4
Diptera Syrphidae	Hover fly/flower fly
or Coleoptera Meloidae (?)	or blister beetle
<i>Campanula persicifolia</i> L. "Album"	Willow bellflower
<i>Cucurbita pepo</i> L.	Gourd
<i>Convolvulus arvensis</i> L.	Field bindweed



De Libera Mente

Domine Libera mea aperito et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. Domine Domine nosse quomodo amabile est nomen tuum in universa terra. Indulgens Domine dicit malum custodi dominus amicus sanctos et manu peccatorum liberabit eis. Qui potest gaudere per cibum eccitatus dicitur in quantum possumus per abstinentiam refurgamus. Solus in illis est qui se aliquando et a legibus cauere debent. Ipse enim si gravis contumacia inbita et ceteris quibus aliis nescitur consolari. Si Dominus custodierit civitatem fructus vigilet qui custodit eam. Ab agna abstinere est et corpus inducere et contra regulam iuris vestitus domus nuda videtur. Deum iure iustus homo et patienter non quia transiret per singulos dicitur. Sed illa nos facere cogit affectus dum approbationem respiciamus corporum et corpora anime offendimus creatorem. Per tenam homo accipere est hominem non quia homo sed propter aliquid quod curat ipsum est bene esse. Ad te tenam istam meam deus meus in te confidam non exaliam. Antea lux et decore roscio in luce anime perfradit seculum.



De Libera Mente
 et in illis est qui se aliquando
 et a legibus cauere debent.
 Ipse enim si gravis contumacia
 inbita et ceteris quibus aliis
 nescitur consolari.



	Folio 5
<i>Matthiola incana</i> (L.) R. Br.	Gillyflower
Ephemeroptera	Mayfly
Diptera Cyclorrhapha	Fly
Heleomyzidae (?)	
Pulmonata Helicidae <i>Cepaea</i> sp.	Garden snail

Gloria enim parentum natis pre-
 clarus est magnificusque thesa-
 urus. Ornatus quidam est temperantia
 et a voluptatibus abstinentia. Vir sapi-
 ens ornat munus suum suavitate ser-

monis. Volucres associant se sui-
 similibus ita veritas adiungit
 se his, qui obediunt illi. Mul-
 ti ceciderunt per aciem
 gladij sed non tam
 multi quam per
 virulentas lin-
 guas.



	Folio 6
Lepidoptera Noctuidae (?)	Caterpillar of owlet moth
<i>Erythronium dens-canis</i> L.	Dog-tooth violet
"Candidum"	
<i>Anacyclus pyrethrum</i> (L.) Link	
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, gourd type
<i>Prunus armeniaca</i> L.	Apricot

E

Et amorem Dei amor proximi figuratur?
per amorem proximi amor Dei nutritur.

Agros & vrbes sapientia & nauem gubernat. Gau-
dio afficitur ille qui discendo et contemplando .
ipsa intelligentia delectatur. Memini est ignoran-
tium animam hominis immortalem esse & ab inte-
ritu liberam.



	Folio 7
Diptera Syrphidae (?)	Hover fly/flower fly
Lepidoptera Sphingidae <i>Hyles</i>	Horn-tail caterpillar
<i>euphorbiae</i> (L.)	of spurge hawk-moth
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, gourd type
Lep. Satyridae <i>Melanargia</i>	Marbled white
<i>galathea</i> ssp. <i>galathea</i> (L.)	
Chilopoda	Centipede



DEUS QUI NOS IN ETATIBUS
 PERICULIS CONSTITUIT
 NOS: PRO HUMANAE SCILICET
 FRAGILITATE NON POSSE
 SUBSISTERE DIGNO BIS SATI-
 TEM:



Folio 8

[Excised]

Folio 9

Arachnida Araneae Pisauridae

Nurseryweb spider

Dolomedes fimbriata (Clerck)

Nigella damascena L.

Love-in-a-mist

Hymenoptera Eumenidae *Eumenes* sp.

Potter wasp

Ribes rubrum L.

Red currant

Hanc gentem super gentem surgere eamque per
 uram terrarum in istis et pro iam in nostris tribulationibus er-
 umis. Quam in saeculis legimus quam re remotis
 urbes innumeras subruat ex illis mundi partibus
 Quia frequenter dominus se silentium in



	Folio 10
Odonata Zygoptera	Damselfly
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose, pink, semidouble
<i>Castanea sativa</i> Mill.	Spanish chestnut
Arachnida Araneae	Spider

B

Etiā quorum consilia sunt iniquitates, et quorum mella sunt peccata. *Deus dicitur in*
non impuisti dominus peccatum meum, sed in speretis cori datus. Quisquam
causis in ueterauerunt anima mea, dum sperarem, coram deo. Quisquam dicit, et me
et gelata est super me manus tua, conuersus sum in et non in mea. Super caput meum
spina. Pellicum meum, amonon non feci, et in uultum meum non abieci. Deus cau
tuor, ad uertum me in uultum meum dominus, et in consilio, in uertum peccat
um. Et hoc graue ad te, omnes factus, in tempore apparuit. Et non in in spina
in quibus multorum ad eum non appropinquauit. Et in uultum meum, a uultum
me quod uertum ad me, exultati me, et me a uertum uultum me. in uertum
mei, dicit et in uultum me in uultum me, et in uultum me, et in uertum me.
Nolite turbati, et in uultum me, et in uultum me. Non est intellectus, in uertum me.
Nullas eorum conseruac, qui non appropinquat ad te. Nullas blasphemias peccat
is, in uertum me, in uertum me, in uertum me. Et in uertum me, in uertum me
et exultate in uultum me, et in uertum me, et in uertum me.



	Folio 11
Lepidoptera Noctuidae	Southern or obscure wainscot
<i>Mythimna straminea</i> (Treitschke)	
or <i>M. obsoleta</i> (Hübner)	
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose, bud
	Imaginary wasplike insect
<i>Bellis perennis</i> L. "Hortensis"	English daisy
Lep. Lasiocampidae	Caterpillar of lasiocampid moth (?)

Sicut **P**rimam animalium est homo lege
Tuens sic pessimum animalium est homo a lege
Iustitia separatus **N**ova fortuna est civis medio
 erem substantiam habere tantam sufficientem



Sis una pre taler
 ne regunt Cui
 tas cadit ali
 nus et inue
 nit qui
 cum
 u' enet cadit a
 nima et non est
 apponit **S**um cetera nua se
 nescente homine senescit
 sola auaritia iutene
 sit. **N**le beatus
 est qui om
 nia dicit
 vult ha
 bet



	Folio 12
	Hymenopteran insect (?)
<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus</i> L.	Daffodil
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L.	European columbine
<i>Quercus robur</i> L.	English oak, acorns

Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis, rugiebat
 à genitu cordis mei. Domine ante te omne
 desiderium meum, et gemitus meus à te non
 est absconditus. Cor meum conturbatum est, dereliquit
 me uirtus mea. Et lumen oculorum meorum, Et ip-
 sum non est mecum. Amici mei et proximi mei, ad-
 uersum me appropinquauerunt, et detulerunt. Et
 qui inquirebant mala mihi locuti sunt uanitates et



	Folio 13
<i>Mespilus germanica</i> L.	Medlar
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L.	Poppy anemone
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, gourd type

Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum, & sicut onus
 graue grauatae sunt super me. Intruerunt & corrupe sunt
 cicatrices meae: à facie insipientiae: & loc. miser factus sum & cur-
 uatus sum usque in finem tota die contristatus ingrediebar. Quo-
 niam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus: & non es Sanctus etc.



Folio 14
Two imaginary beetlelike insects

UNGAS JHOB
ERATE SUMP
US. A. E. D. E. M. E. N.
LER OBE SI.

Gratias ago immense Misericordie et tempe
 rance pietati tue, Domine sancte Pater omni
 potens Deus, qui me indignum famulum tuum
 et peccatorem miserum, nullis meis meritis, sed
 tuis multis, et immensis exigentibus misericordi
 bus. Anno domini. Mille 
 Anno quingentesimo sexagesimo primo. 

	Folio 15
<i>Muscari botryoides</i> (L.) Mill.	Common grape hyacinth (growth habit unusual)
	Imaginary wasplike insect
<i>Rosa rubiginosa</i> L.	Eglantine
<i>Rosa foetida</i> J. Herrm.	Austrian brier
Lepidoptera Geometridae	Magpie moth
<i>Abraxas grossulariata</i> (L.)	

**confiterini domino et unioate nome
eius annuntiate inter gentes circa domum
Santis ei et virtute et mirabilis omi**

nia mirabilia eius laudamus in nomine sancto eius letetur
cor actum operationum dominum. Laude dominum et confi
rnamini quere faciem eius semper. Neque nescite inuaditum eius que
fecit probra eius et iudicia eius eius. Semen abraham scilicet eius
sicut iacob electus eius. Ipse dominus deus noster in omnia terra iudicia eius
Aeternus fuit in secula testamentum in verbum quod mandatum in mille generatio
nes. Quod dicitur ad abraham et uerbum suum ad israhel. Et natus illud iacob
in preceptum et israel in testamentum eternum. Et tunc tibi aduertim dicitur
an-nuntiatum hereditate uentre. Sicut et sicut natus dicitur pauca nuntia et in
cole eius. Et tunc transferunt de gente in gentem et de regio ad popu
lum alterum. Non reliquit homin
em nocere eis et corrumpit ore eis reges et uolite
tanare. Et uos nescis et in uos nescis. Meis no
lite in aliam. Et uocauit famem

luer terram et
omne scilicet
merita
pau
et
fortitudo. A lign
ante eos orationem in seculum
uenerabilis est

solus
fuit
ancie in
comedyse
eius delecta terra re

tristitiae humani eius dulce
penet uerbum eius. Quoniam dominum inflammant
canti in illa terra et sicut cant. Penet uerbum eius et dicitur cu
Societate eius dominum dominus facit et uenerunt omnes in seculum suu



	Folio 16
Lepidoptera Satyridae	Speckled wood
<i>Pararge aegeria</i> (L.)	
<i>Borago officinalis</i> L.	Talewort
<i>Pisum sativum</i> L.	Garden pea
<i>Physalis alkekengi</i> L.	Lantern plant

attendendum est igitur quia ipsa lepra significat. Non enim sanati
 sed mundati dicuntur: qui ea caruerunt. Colori quippe istum esse
 non ualerudini: aut integritati: seu suum atque membrorum
 pro: ergo non absurde intelliguntur: qui sententiam uere: non
 habent: et cetera



Folio 17

Rosa gallica L. French rose, three buds

Pistacia vera L. Pistachio, fruit

Convertimini ad corre-
 tionem meam: et
 proferam vobis spi-
 ritum meum et of-
 fendam vobis. Ver-
 ba mea quia voca-
 vi et revulsisti etc



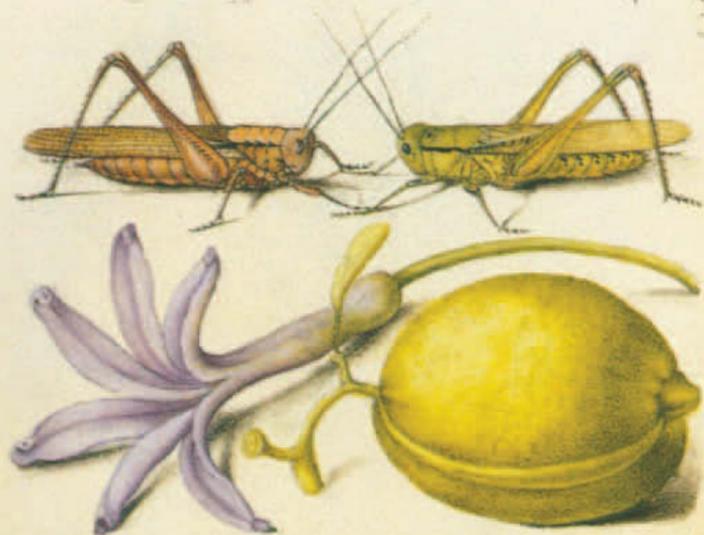
	Folio 18
<i>Malus domestica</i> Borkh.	Common apple
<i>Viola tricolor</i> L.	European wild pansy
<i>Corylus maxima</i> Mill.	Giant filbert

Domine non est exaltatum cor meum, neque clavi sunt oculi mei. Neque
 ambulavi in magnis, neque in mirabilibus super me. Et non humili
 ter sentiebam, sed exaltaui Dominum vocem. Sicut Ablatus est super Ma
 team suam. Ita retributio in anima mea. Speret Israel in Domino, ex hoc
 nunc. Et usque in seculum. Momento salutaris Auleor. Quod vestri quondam
 corporis. Ex illibata virgine nascendo formam sumptis. et utra ma
 tee gratia. Mater misericordia. Tu nos ab hoste protege. Et hora mortis
 suscipe. Gloria tibi domine qui natus es de virgine. Cum patre Et san
 cto spiritu in sempiterna secula. Amen. Quia Apud Dominum misericor
 dia. Et copiosa Apud Eum Redemptio. Et ipse Redimet Israel. ex r.



	Folio 19
Orthoptera Tettigoniidae	Wart-biter (?)
<i>Decticus verrucivorus</i> (L.) (?)	
Orth.	Grasshopper (characteristics of Acrididae and Tettigoniidae)
<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i> L.	Hyacinth, single flower
<i>Prunus dulcis</i> (Mill.)	Almond
D. A. Webb	

Deus qui Contritus non uno desquis gemitu, et oratione un-
 speris affectum ad alto precibus roboris quas tibi
 pro tribulatione nostra effundimus et quas clementer
 exaudi et quicquid contra nos diaboli, atque humanae in-
 tar aduersitates, ad nihilum redigatur et consilio tua pietatis
 allidatur quatenus nullis aduersitatibus laesi, Sed Et omni
 tribulatione, et angustia excepti. hanc in ecclesia tua tibi
 gratias referamus, dimitte peccata nostra domino, et tribue
 nobis in misericordia tua, quam precamur, et humilitatem no-
 stram attendas, vincula soluas, delicta deleas, tribulati-
 onem insuperas, aduersitatem repellas, afflictionem petitionis
 nostre largiris, supplicis tui Clementer exaudias, Amen.



	Folio 20 r
<i>Viola odorata</i> L.	Sweet violet
<i>Spartium junceum</i> L.	Spanish broom
	Folio 20 v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of sweet violet
	Folio 21
<i>Dianthus</i> sp. (petals fringed on all sides, not just at top, as is usual)	
<i>Prunus dulcis</i> (Mill.) D.A. Webb	Almond



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Sic quasi pro domo lumine humanitati cabulatur. qua tu
 minice sententia Diffinitione Illustratur. Si uau
 heres et Deuiles conferatur. Quam hospitalem esse
 remuneratur. affectu Quarta est postrema Qua
 si emerita militia. Vo ho contemnen Darum siper Dum a



	Folio 22
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose
Diptera Tipulidae	Crane fly
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	European filbert
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, gourd type

	Folio 23
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, pink
Hymenoptera Ichneumonidae	Ichneumonfly (inaccurate; <i>Ephialtes</i> sp. apparently served as model)
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, striped yellow/blue/pink
<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> L.	Kidney bean
<i>Phaseolus coccineus</i> L.	Scarlet runner bean
or <i>lunatus</i> L.	or Sieva bean

BESTIS MACHESIA
 PRO MACHESIA
 QUAE TIBI SIBI MACHESIA
 TIBI QUAE TIBI MACHESIA
 MACHESIA MACHESIA



	Folio 24
Diptera Tipulidae	Crane fly
Hymenoptera Formicidae	Three ants



PARASITARIUM



	Folio 25
	Imaginary insect
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, striped pink/white/yellow
	Unidentifiable caterpillar
Arachnida Araneae	Spider
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear, round type

donec hic est qui etiam cibus a Latino dicitur
 dicitur liquidum humanis gressibus solum preberet obsequium:
 Et quid est quod ipse sibi sic maris denegat securitatem: ut brevis
 Junilacus transsum sub merce de Nautica transectaret. Ascen-
 dit inquit in nauiculam. Et transectavit: et quid mirum. Naves
 Christus venit suscipere infirmitates nostras. Et sua nobis confer-
 re remedia. Sanitatis: Quid medicus qui non inerte sanitatem.



Adonis annua L. Folio 26
Pheasant's-eye
Orthoptera Tettigoniidae Imaginary bush-cricket/
longhorn grasshopper (?)
Coleoptera Elateridae (?) Wireworm (?)

Folio 26v
Trompe l'oeil stem of pheasant's eye

Ribes uva-crispi L. Folio 27
European currant

Sanctissime Pater, post beatissimorum pedum oscula la Santita via serara
 gguagliata qualmente a giorni quattordici dicembre gli Ruerendissimi Et Illus-
 trissimi Car. J. Guimano, et Sadoletto, nonci di vostra Santita, et di quella
 beatissima sede, nelli regni di Franza, et Scotia insieme con il Clausimo, e
 ambasciatore dello Inuittissimo, e molto potentissimo Imperatore, furono a strettis-
 simi ragionamenti con la repubblica Christiana. In materia delle quat'decime

nuouamente imposte per il sacrosanto Concistorio a tutto il Christianismo sopra
 le rendite de' benefici Ecclesiastici etc. Facilmente si comprendono gli intiri pre-
 cordi dell'huominy consultando sero dalli comidari ragionamenti dalli loro mo-
 uimenti, e da altre mille sopranacuti occasioni. Onde gli Sapientissimi et
 sperimentatissimi Philosophi inscruono alla posteritate questi documenti.

AVARITIA HOMINES AD OMNIA FERRE
 PERICULA ATQUE INCOMMODA IMPELLIT.
 AVARUS ASSIDUE REGIT AVARUS PER-
 IURUS EXIGNA FIET RE.



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Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae et in Iesum Chri-
 stum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum conceptum ex spiritu sancto
 natum ex maria virgine passum sub Pontio pilato crucifixum mortuum et
 sepultum descendente ad inferos tertia die resurgente a mortuis ascen-
 dentem in caelos sedentem in dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis Credo in

facilmente si comprendeno gli intimo precordi dell' Uomo, con fabulando sero
 giudiciofamente come doue es ser dalli quotidiani ragionamenti, dalli loro mou-
 Veramente da altre mille soprauenenti N' inuano occasioni. Onde gli sapie-
 tissimu T. Esperimentatis sum Philosophi in ignorano Alla posteritate que-
 sti documenti. Per il che obligatis sum sempre dobbiamo essere alle memorie

loro imitando con ogni nostro studio Diligentia, Vigilantissamente quanto
 quelli carissimano N' seruendo a nostro beneficio, ornamento e Perpetua vir-
 litate. Et così Veramente fuggiremo nota de ingratitude, come Virgiliano
 padre et Maestro de Poeta latinus giudiciofamente come fa sempre Nel



	Folio 28
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L.	European columbine
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L. "Multiplex"	European columbine
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	Sweet cherry



Lepidoptera Noctuidae
Acrionicta euphorbiae (D. & S.),
menyanthides (Esper),
or related species

Folio 29
Dagger

<i>Satureja acinos</i> (L.) Scheele	Folio 30 Basil thyme
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L. "Plena"	Poppy anemone
<i>Myrtus communis</i> L.	Myrtle

Ad cenam Agni prouidi cristolis albis candidi: post transitum Maris rubri Christi
 in canonicis Principi. Cuius corpus sanctissimum in Ara crucis torridum: cruce
 re eius Raso gustando uiuimus deo. Profecti pascha ut spero ac deuotissime
 Angelo: erepti de durissimo Pharaonis Imperio. Iam Pascha nostram Christus est qui
 immolatus Agnus est: sinceritans azyma caro eius oblata est. O uere ligna bestia per
 quam fracte sunt tartara redempta plebs captiuata reddita uita premia. Cum surgit
 Christus tumulo uictor redit de horathere: tyrannum trudentis unculo et referans para
 disum. Quis sumus anchor Oium In hoc Paschali gaudio: ad omni mortis impetu tuum
 defende populum Gloriatihl Daoune qui surrexisti a mortuis: cum patre et int.



	Folio 31
<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> L.	Kidney bean
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L.	Poppy anemone
<i>Vipera berus</i> (?)	Adder



NOſ famulos tuos Non exuſat cre-
mas Iugum. Concede propitiatus tu-
us dñi tibiſus lucis mundaſti ſam-
ctam charitatem diligere mearum.
is mxtiſiſ dignum miniſtrare. cedue
n ſpiritus illumina cor meum. Ut in
inclina precipua meis. Et dñiſa ſanc-
tus tua pietas. Miſerere Deus



	Folio 32
<i>Mirabilis jalapa</i> L.	Four-o'clock, pink/yellow
Lepidoptera Lycaenidae	Brown hairstreak
<i>Thecla betulae</i> (L.)	
<i>Geranium robertianum</i> L.	Herb robert
<i>Cantherellus cibarius</i> Fr.	Chanterelle

HESILCORONAE CAUSIOR ANICE
 RITHYS SUBTILIORQUE CON-
 TENDENTE SERVICIO RADDIS
 PER ANNA PRÆMIUM OMNI SUPPLETE
 QUINTA AETIUE OBTAENTIA HUCUS
 OPTIMIS EMISSIONEM ARIMINU
 RUM PANDO NEXUM UNALI



	Folio 33
<i>Citrus aurantium</i> L.	Sour orange
Pulmonata Arionidae	Terrestrial mollusk
<i>Arion</i> cf. <i>rufus</i> (L.)	
<i>Consolida regalis</i> S. F. Gray	Larkspur

Est laudis hodie tri: tri ducens annuo ciues gaudio superem celebrant. he et petro, regem
 trinum dum ter trini: chorei laudant miruo: vira melos cor supinum: trini culms
 munere: venemur regem trinum. Voco vortis opere: quem lex iubet masculinū
 ter in anno colere: Singulati maiestati. Decus et impetium: saeco sandia trini
 tati: sit berenne gaudium, in qua simus nos beati: per te chorei se primum



Lepidoptera Lasiocampidae Folio 34
Larva of oak egger moth
Lasiocampa quercus (L.)

Of the first of the month of June
 the first of the month of June



Folio 35
Hebrew Alphabet



	Folio 36
<i>Matthiola incana</i> (L.) R. Br.	Gillyflower
	Imaginary insect
<i>Veronica chamaedrys</i> L.	Germander
<i>Prunus dulcis</i> (Mill.)	Almond
D. A. Webb	
<i>Rana (temporaria</i> [?])	Common frog

nter Veniat pro nobis quaesumus Domine Iesu Christe nunc &
 hora Mortis nostrae. pua tuam clementiam Beata
 Virgo Maria Mater tua cuius sacratissimam humanam in hora
 Passionis tuae doloris gladius pertransiit. Per te Iesu
 Christe saluator Mundi. Qui cum Patre visus & Re
 qua per omnia secula seculorum Amen. & cetera



	Folio 37
<i>Lychnis chalconica</i> L.	Maltese cross
Bivalvia Mytilidae	European edible mussel
<i>Mytilus edulis</i> (L.)	
Coleoptera Coccinellidae	Fourteen- or ten-spot ladybird
<i>Propylaea quatuordecimpunctata</i> (L.)	(inaccurate color pattern;
or <i>Adalia decempunctata</i> (L.) var.	eight legs shown instead of six)
	Folio 37v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of Maltese cross
	Folio 38
<i>Viola odorata</i> L.	Sweet violet
<i>Cucurbita pepo</i> L.	Gourd
<i>Erythronium dens-canis</i> L.	Dog-tooth violet

Volere autem relictiſ Judeis habitaturus. In affectibus gentium
 templum dominus aſcendit. Hoc enim eſt templum verum: In
 quo non In litera. Sed in ſpiritu dominus Advocatur. Hoc dei
 templum eſt: quod fidei ſerief non lapidum ſtructura ſu-
 dauit. De ſecuntur. Ergo qui adorant. Eliduntur Qui ama-
 ſuri erant. Et deo admonem venit. Oſque: ut novellas
 oliuas In ſublimi dictulum plantaret: quarum Dares
 Et illa qua ſuſ ſum eſt. Hieruſalem dominus mecum eſt.



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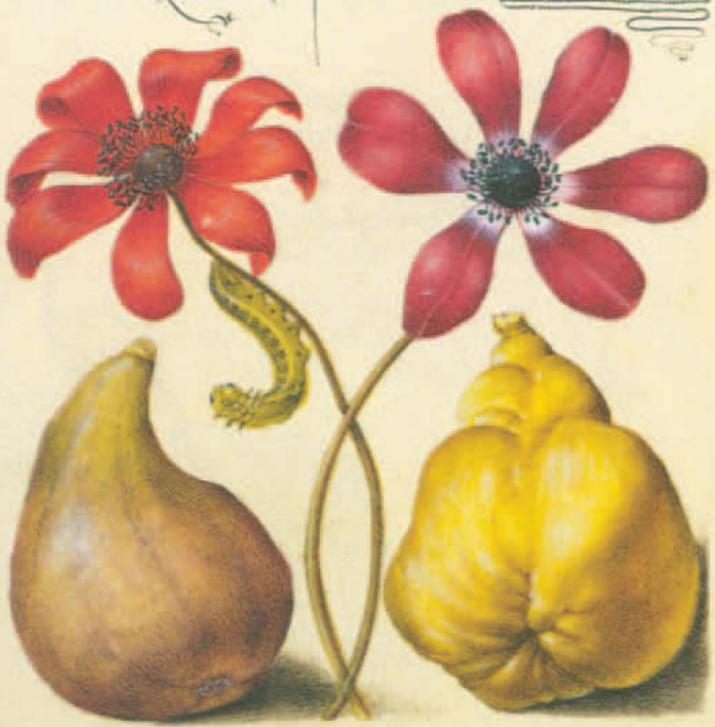
In hoc monte est ille celestis Agricola: ut plantarum omnes
 in domo Domini possunt in veritate dicere. Eo sicut Oli-
 va fructificauit in domo Domini. & fortasse ipse Mons
 est Christus. Quis enim alius tales fructus ferret olearum
 non curuscenarum virtute doceretur. Sed spiritus pleni-
 tudine gentium fructuarum. Ipse est per quem descendit
 mos: Et ad quem ascendimus: ipse est Ianna: ipse
 est coia: Que aperitur: Et qui aperit: qua dicitur ab
 ingredientibus: et ab egredientibus. Roratur & cetera



	Folio 39
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L.	Poppy anemone, two flowers
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
<i>Ficus carica</i> L.	Common fig
<i>Cydonia oblonga</i> Mill.	Common quince

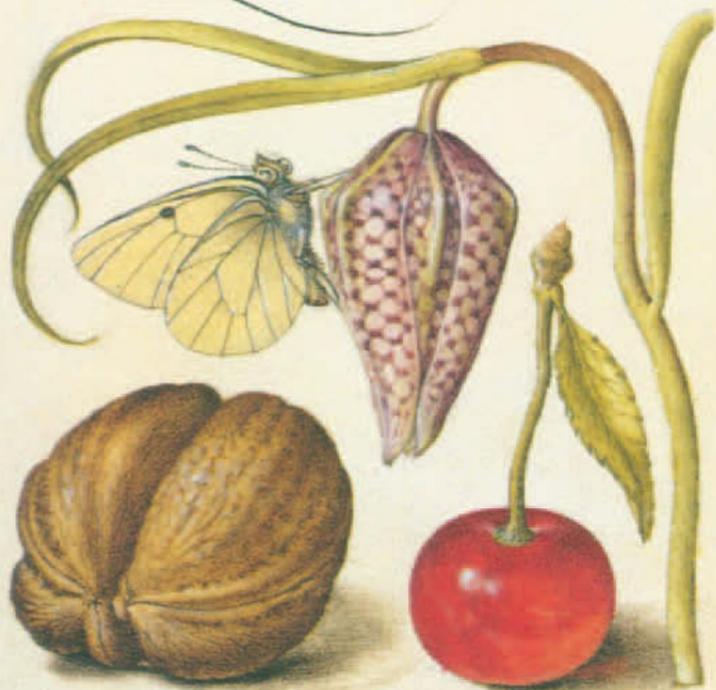


Omnipotens et adificator Deus qui caelos caelorumque virtutes ad diabili dis-
 pensatione regis et omnia iusto iudicio discernis Qui de vivis
 et electis lapidibus aeternum Lordis habitaculum tuum in aeterna
 ti Dedicasti Te per sancte et subdivine trinitatis nomen et Confessionem
 omnium fidelium Ego miserius immundis labijs exorare praesumo. Ut
 per intercessionem et Merita sanctorum quorum hodie festa celebramus
 vel quorum hic sacrae pausant Reliquiae mei cordis tenebras lumine tuae
 indulgentiae illustrare et pectori mei duritiam tuo suavi iugo edomare di-
 gneris. Ne despicias in me misero creatura tua. Omnipotens Deus opus
 manuum tuarum. Sed in hoc templo Quis hodie diem dedicationis cele-
 bramus: exaudi preces mei indigni famuli tui ne per innumeras facino-
 rum meorum Ruinas mihi misero illa et cetera



	Folio 40
Lepidoptera Pieridae	Imaginary butterfly
and Papilionidae,	(elements of black-veined
elements of <i>Aporia crataegi</i> (L.)	white and clouded
and <i>Parnassius mnemosyne</i> (L.)	apollo)
<i>Fritillaria meleagris</i> L.	Snakeshead
<i>Juglans regia</i> L.	English walnut
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	Sweet cherry

C ELI DEVS SANCTISIME
 QVAM LUCIDVM CENTRVM TO
 LI CANDORE PINGIS IGNEO
 NVGENS DE CORO LVMINI
 QVARTO DIE QVI FLAMMA SO
 LIS ROTAM CONSTITVENS LV
 NA MINISTRANS ORDINEM
 VAGOSQVE CVRSVS SYDERVM ?



	Folio 41
<i>Phalaris arundinacea</i> L. "Picta"	Reed grass
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose
<i>Bufo</i> (<i>bufo</i> [?])	Common toad
<i>Matthiola incana</i> (L.) R. Br.	Gillyflower
	Folio 41v
	Trompe l'oeil blade of reed grass and stem of French rose
	Folio 42
Hymenoptera Chrysididae or Diptera Tachinidae (?)	Unidentifiable insect (colors suggest gold wasp; may derive from parasitic fly/tachina fly)
<i>Verbascum blattaria</i> L.	Moth mullein
<i>Myosotis palustris</i> (L.) L.	Forget-me-not
<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> Mill.	Tomato

In nomine domini Amen Saluum me Domine et
 in virtute tua iusticia me Deus exi
 ubi gratiam meam accipis
 prope uerba oris eius quod dicit
 ab eis respiceremus aduersum me
 et fortis quiescerunt hominum meam
 non prostrauerunt deum ante et etc





Prophetant ut in multitudine vincerent quem ratione superare non
 poterant. Et veritate nudas se esse professi sunt: qui multitudine
 se demeruerunt. Quibus enim apud se unus loquatur pro omnibus et
 omnes loquamur pro uno. Et si quidem vicerit omnes videamus utisse.
 Si autem uictus fuerit: vel solus videatur confusus. Quod prophetis qui
 omnia propter homines cogitans et factis. primum quidem omni-
 tes cum uno vincendi et cetera



	Folio 43
<i>Lilium chalcedonicum</i> L.	Scarlet Turk's cap
Coleoptera Scarabaeidae	Common rhinoceros beetle
<i>Oryctes nasicornis</i> (L.)	
<i>Punica granatum</i> L.	Pomegranate, fruit

Interrogavit Iesum unus ex phariseis legis doctor ten-
 tans eum magister quod est mandatum magnum in le-
 ge. Magistrum vocat cuius non vult esse discipulus,
 simplicissimus interrogator. Et malignissimus insi-
 diator: de magno mandato interrogat qui nec mini-
 mum observat. Ille enim debet et cetera.



	Folio 44
Chilopoda	Centipede
<i>Geranium sylvaticum</i> L.	Wood cranesbill
	Unidentifiable mushroom

Dominus omnipotens sempiternus et
 misericors deus, multip-
 lica quæsumus in hono-
 rem sanctissimi nominis tui, quod patrum fidei
 spopondisti et promissionis filios adoptione

data, ut quod patres sancti non didicerunt futurum. Ecclesia
 tua iam ex parte coquoletur impletum. Rex domini nostri

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus fidelium tuorum iudicium conservator,
 qui ad gloriam tuam gloriosi faceris, in terra tua iudicium iherosolima
 et iherosolima iherosolima. Et iherosolima iherosolima iherosolima
 et iherosolima iherosolima iherosolima. Et iherosolima iherosolima iherosolima



	Folio 45
Diptera Tipulidae	Male crested crane fly
<i>Ctenophora atrata</i> (L.)	(inaccurate venation; characteristic
or related species	shape and antennae)
Dipt. Tipulidae	Imaginary insect
	(resembles crane fly;
	four wings shown instead of two)
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose



Domine Deus pater sanctissime, et omnipotens Lumen indefi-

ciens, et beatissime conditor omnium luminum Benedic nos
homines per te creatos, ac sanctificatos, qui illuminasti omnē
mundum, ut a te uero lumine accendamus atque illuminemur.

Deus Pater sanctissime omnium uirtutum, ac conditor omnium lu-
minum, cuius sunt omnia, quę sunt optima, insere secundum multitudi-
dinem miserationum tuarum, anorem illum ardentem beatissimi tui
nominis, et preta in nobis christianę perfectissimę religionis augmē-
tum, ut tuo diuino auxilio nutriti, ad omnia pietatis studia accendaur.



	Folio 46
Arachnida Araneae	Spider
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	Sweet cherry, flower
<i>Quercus robur</i> L. with galls of Hymenoptera Cynipidae	English oak, leaf with cherry-galls (three big galls) and spangle-galls
<i>Cynips quercusfolii</i> L. and <i>Neuroterus quercusbaccarum</i> (L.)	(two small galls)

Postquam Dominum inquit patri
amque dereliquit. Peregre profe-
ctus est in regionem longinquam.
Quid est longinquus regionum
moribus separari aliudis dicere
tam esse non ieris: et quasi et cetera



	Folio 47
Lepidoptera Nymphalidae	Queen of Spain fritillary
<i>Issoria lathonia</i> (L.)	
<i>Malus domestica</i> Borkh.	Common apple
	Mouse
<i>Omphalodes verna</i> Moench	Creeping forget-me-not

A ESTO DOMINE
 FAMVLIS TVS ET
 PERPETVAM BENI
 GNITATEM IN ANI
 RE POSSENTIBVS
 VT HIS QVI TE AVO
 FORE ET
 GET



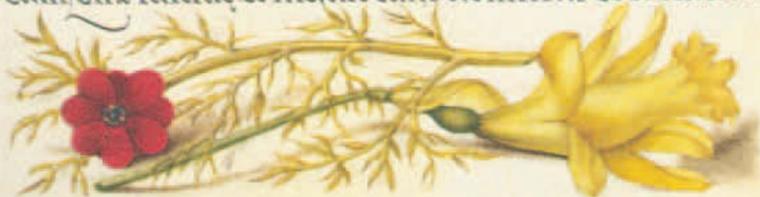
Folio 48

Adonis annua L. Pheasant's eye
Narcissus minor L. Buttercup

FRATRES, NO INMVS VOS

ignorare de dormientibus ut non contristemini sicut et reliqui
 qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus, quod Deus Christus
 mortuus est et resurrexit: ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per le-
 sum adducet cum eo. Hoc enim vobis in uerbo domini dicimus
 quia nos, qui uiuimus, qui residui sumus in aduentu domini no-
 praecuriamus eos, qui dormierunt, quoniam ipse dominus, in-
 iussu et in uoce archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo, et mo-
 rtui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi, deinde nos qui uiuimus
 qui relinquimur simul rapiemur cum illis in nubibus obuiam
 Christo in aera, ac sic cum domino erimus. Itaque consolamini inuicem
 in uerbis istis etc. Anno domini, Millesimo quingentesimo. Et

Magnificauit eum in timore inimicorum et in ue-
 stris mensura gloriavit. Glorificauit eum in
 conspectu regum et descendit illi de caelo in
 nubibus et circumcepit
 eum. Ora iustitie et induit eum dominus coronam et



Folio 49
Colutea arborescens L. Bladder senna
Scilla bifolia L. Alpine squill

	Folio 50
Heteroptera Hydrometridae	Water gnat/water measurer
<i>Hydrometra stagnorum</i> (L.)	(eyes too far forward on head)
or <i>gracilentia</i> Horv.	
<i>Lilium martagon</i> L. "Album"	Martagon lily
<i>Bombina variegata</i>	Yellow-bellied toad, ventral view
Prosobranchia Turritellidae	European screw shell
<i>Turritella communis</i> Risso	

GRandissimo dilectio gustano, se humane menti benignissimo lettore, nella dolce rimenbranza
 delli santi preuenti de' antichi Philosophi, et delli preclarissimi fami de' iuditi et fortissimi Imper
 atori. Onde il gran Sapore, di natura et Principe di Peripatetici insegnaua ad Aless. Maced
 uolgere & riuolgere gli animali de' la antichita: da quali sempre haueua per la sola mercede delli sacra
 n angelli dello antico Tillamede: li quali a malgrado del tempo ne liberano dalla obliuione di cose tan
 to degne et eccellenti. Desideroso caldamente dimons trare alla Illu' & R' S' V' laffemone grandiss

GRatias ago immense Manifestati, ac sempiternae bonitati tuae domine sancte Pater omni
 tens aeternae Deus qui me indignum famulum tuum et peccatorem miserum, nullis meis
 meis meritis, immo tuis multis et inmensis exigentibus miserationibus corpore et sangui
 ne domini nostri Iesu Christi filij tui dignatus es saturare; Precor, ut haec sacrosancta commu



	Folio 51
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, pink, bordered white
Prosobranchia Muricidae	Purple snail
<i>Murex brandaris</i> (L.)	

Domine exaudi Orationem meam et clamor meus ad te Veniat. Non auer-
 ras faciem tuam a me in quocunque die tribulari inclina ad me Au-
 tem tuam. In quocunque die inuocauero te uelociter exaudi me Quia desertum
 sicut fumus dies mei: et opera mea sicut cinerem aruerunt. Percussus sum ut
 fenam: et sicut cox mirum Quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum. A noc-
 temus mei: ad hesu os meum carni mea. Similis factus sum pellicano solitu-
 dinis factus sum: sicut nicticorax in domicilio. Vigilavi et factus sum sicut pas-
 ser solitarius in lecto. Torae die exprobrabant mihi inimici mei: et qui lau-
 dabat me aduersum me iurabant. Quia cinerem sanguinem panem manducabam. O-
 porulum meum cum fletu miscebam. A facie tua indignationis tuae quia et



	Folio 52
<i>Castanea sativa</i> Mill.	Spanish chestnut
<i>Iris latifolia</i> Mill.	English iris
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	European filbert

Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum
 multitudinem miserationum tuarum. de le iniquitatem meam. Ampli-
 us laua me ab iniquitate mea. Et a peccato meo munda me. Quoniam iniquita-
 tem meam ego confiteor et peccatum meum contra me est semper. Tibi soli pec-
 caui et malum contra te feci. ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis. et vincas cum iudi-
 caris. Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum. et in peccatis concepit me mater
 mea. Et veritatem dilexisti. in certa et occulta sapientia tua. manife-
 stasti mihi. Asperges me hyssopo et mundabor. lauabis me et super
 niuem de albor. Auditus meo dabis gaudium et letitiam. et exultabunt
 ossa humiliata. Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates
 meas dele. Cor mundum crea in me deus. et spiritum rectum intromi.



	Folio 53
<i>Consolida ambigua</i> (L.)	Rocket larkspur
P. W. Ball & Heyw.	
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, yellow
<i>Consolida ambigua</i> (L.)	Rocket larkspur
P. W. Ball & Heyw.	
Arachnida Scorpiones	Scorpion
Diplopoda	Millepede
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	European filbert

NIBVS DOMINE SVÆ ET CAT.
 SIVT OCVLI ANCIILLÆ IN MA
 NIBVS DOMINORVM SVORVM
 CVT OCVLI SERVORVM IN MA
 NV HABITAS IN CÆLIS ECCE SI
 A DE LEVAVI OCVLOS MEOS



	Folio 54
<i>Vitis vinifera</i> L.	Wine grape
<i>Matthiola incana</i> (L.) R. Br.	Gillyflower
Pulmonata Helicidae	Imaginary land snail (derived from <i>Cepaea</i> sp. [?]), sinistral (left wound)

Imense cali conditor. qui Nilis ne confunderent aqua
fluente diuidens: calum dediisti limitem firmans loca
caelestibus simulq; Terrae riuulis: Ut unda flam-
mas Temperet: terra solum Ne didipet: In funde
nunc pyxime donum perennis Floris fraudis noua
ne casibus. Nos error atterat uetus. lucem fides
inueniat sic lucinis subar ferat: Ut uasa cuncta



	Folio 55
Lepidoptera Sphingidae	Resembles (horntail) caterpillar of <i>Agrius (=Herse) convolvuli</i> (L.) (convolvulus hawk-moth)
Lep. Sphingidae	Horntail caterpillar of <i>Macroglossum stellatarum</i> (L.) (hummingbird hawk-moth) (?)

	Folio 56
<i>Rumex patientia</i> L.	Chard
Orthoptera Acrididae	Red-winged grasshopper
<i>Oedipoda germanica</i> (Latr.)	
<i>Rumex patientia</i> L.	Chard



Handwritten text in a highly decorative, gold-leafed script. The text is arranged in four horizontal lines, with each line containing several large, ornate letters. The script is highly stylized, with elaborate flourishes and scrollwork integrated into the letterforms.



Handwritten text in a highly decorative, gold-leafed script, similar to the text above. It consists of two lines of ornate, stylized letters.



	Folio 57
<i>Omphalodes verna</i> Moench	Creeping forget-me-not
Homoptera Berytinidae (?)	Imaginary eight-legged insect (Hymenoptera-like abdomen; resembles superficially larva of <i>Neides tipularis</i> [L.], species of “stilt bug”)
Homoptera Flatidae	Flatid planthopper (?) (species does not occur in Europe)

	Folio 58
Lepidoptera Lycaenidae	Based on <i>Polyommatus icarus</i> (Rottemburg) (common blue) (?)
<i>Phlomis russeliana</i> (Sims) Benth	Jerusalem sage
Lep. Satyridae	Woodland ringlet
<i>Erebia medusa</i> (D. & S.)	
<i>Mucuna urens</i> (L.) DC.	Two sea beans/horse eye beans

	Folio 59
<i>Lilium candidum</i> L.	Madonna lily
Pulmonata Helicidae	Terrestrial mollusk
<i>Arianta arbustorum</i> (L.)	
<i>Acorus calamus</i> L.	Sweet flag

can quorum remissis sine inquisitione & quorum ~~transmissis~~ peccata. Beatus vir in non
 inquitur deum peccatis nec est in ipso eius dolo. Peccata autem tantum inquit
 transmissa sunt mea dum clamavi enim non de quibus in se et in re transmissa est
 super me manus tua transmissa tum in crumina mea dum confitebor tibi
 misericordiam tuam quoniam ubi ira et iracundia tua non abscondi. ~~Et~~ confitebor
 hoc a facibus in quibus non irasum domus et in remissis in peccatis peccatis
 Prae hoc trahit ad se manus sanctus in tempore appropinquat. Voluntas in illius
 aqua non multarunt ad eum non appropinquabunt Tu es refugium meum a ter-
 ribilitate qua circumdedit me exultans mea eras me a circumdationibus me
 intellectus ubi dabo et iniquitas in ira tua habet que tradideris. firmata super
 oculos meos. Nihil similitudinis in oculis in quibus non est intellectus in oculo
 me et firmata in oculis. cerum sustinere qui non appropinquant ad se. Miles la-
 gella peccataque. Ipeccantes autem in dolo in dolo in dolo in dolo. Libentius
 in dolo et exultate in illi et in dolo in dolo in dolo. Laborans in dolo in
 laudo per singulas noctes lectum meum. Lathyrus meus stratum meum.



	Folio 6o
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, pink
	Imaginary insect
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, red/green
	Worm

Iurbatus est a furore oculus meus inter omnes inimicos meos. Diligentia me
 omnes qui sperant in iniquitate quoniam exarduit dominus vocem fletus mei.
 Et exarduit dominus iram suam in peccationem meam dominus orationem meam suscepit. Fru-
 strabantur et conturbantur vehementer omnes inimici mei. conuertantur et erube-
 scunt valde velociter. Qui se acriat et si peccator sit nullus esse incipit: quia nec
 sibi parca et de iustitia confidit. Virtus est genus sola ipsa moribus. et in parte sue
 est philosophia ibi est ciuitas felix. Quodro patrem lunonis luc ipse lucis et uero: noc-
 tem cainendo rumpimus: asilite postulandus. Aufer tenebras mentium fugi cateruas
 demonum: expelle somnolentiam ne pigritiam obruat. Sic. Exite nobis. Omnia in re.



	Folio 61
Lepidoptera Satyridae	Ringlet (dots on underside of wings
<i>Aphantopus hyperantus</i> (L.)	do not match this or related species)
<i>Solanum pseudocapsicum</i> L.	False Jerusalem cherry
<i>Polygala vulgaris</i> L.	Common milkwort
	Folio 61v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of common milkwort
	Folio 62
<i>Melampyrum pratense</i> L.	Common cow-wheat



Dominus regnavit exultet terra latentur Insule multe Nubes
 & caligo in circuitu eius iustitia et iudicium correctio sedis
 eius. Solis ante ipsum procedet. & inflammabit in circui-
 tu spiritus eius Alluxerunt fulgura eius orbi terre. Vidit. & commota
 est terra. Montes sicut cera fluxerunt a facie domini. a facie domini om-
 nis terra. Annuntiauerunt caeli iustitiam eius. & uiderunt omnes populi
 gloriam eius. Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculpilia. et qui glorian-
 tur in simulacris suis. Adorate eum omnes angeli eius. audiuit et leta-
 ta est sion. & exultauerunt filie iude propter iudicia tua domine. Quoni-
 am tu dominus Altissimus super omnem terram. nimis exaltatus es super
 omnes deos letamini iusti in domino. et confitemini memorie. & cetera

Handwritten signature or initials in black ink.





PARFUMI DOMINI
 S. D. S. F. V. D. H. O.
 QUA MA F. S. W. J. A.
 V. D. I. O. S. F. R. O. L. S. M. E.



	Folio 63
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar

	Folio 64
<i>Viola tricolor</i> L.	European wild pansy
<i>Cynara scolymus</i> L.	Artichoke
<i>Ranunculus</i> sp.	



Lamatus in toto corde exaudi me Domine: iustificaciones tuas requiram. Lamatus ad te saluum me fac: ut custodiam mandata tua. Praeueni in misericordia et clamavi: quia in uerba tua semper speravi. Praeueniunt oculi mei ad te diluculo: ut meditaretur eloquia tua. Vocem meam audi secundum iudicium iustitiae ordina tuam Domine et secundum iudicium tuum iustifica me. Appropinquauerunt persecutores me inquitant: a lege autem tua longe facti sunt. Prope es tu Domine: et omnis uia tua ueritas. Inimico cornu de rethmonis tuis: quia in aeternum fundasti ea. Vide humilitatem meam et eripe me Domine: quia legem tuam non sum oblitus. Iudica iudicium meum et sedime me: propter eloquium tuum iustifica me. Longe a peccatoribus salus: quia iustificacionis tuas non exquiritur. Misericordie tuae multae Domine: secundum iudicium tuum iustifica me. Multi qui persequuntur me et turbant me: a rethmonibus meis non declinam. Vidi praenatantes et tabescebam: quia eloquia tua non custodierunt. Vide quoniam mandata tua dilexi: Domine: in uisceribus cordis tui iustifica me. Principium uerborum tuorum ueritas: in aeternum omnia iudicia iustitiae tuae.



Nemo bonus nisi unus nempe Deus. Quicumque uoluerit ex uobis esse primus erit omnium seruus. Necessitas adicitiam probat et uinnae charitatis ardorem splendor ex

*Deus in seipsum non habet quod querat
 a seipso. et non potest seipsum amare
 sed deum quod seipsum non potest amare
 sed seipsum quod non potest seipsum amare*



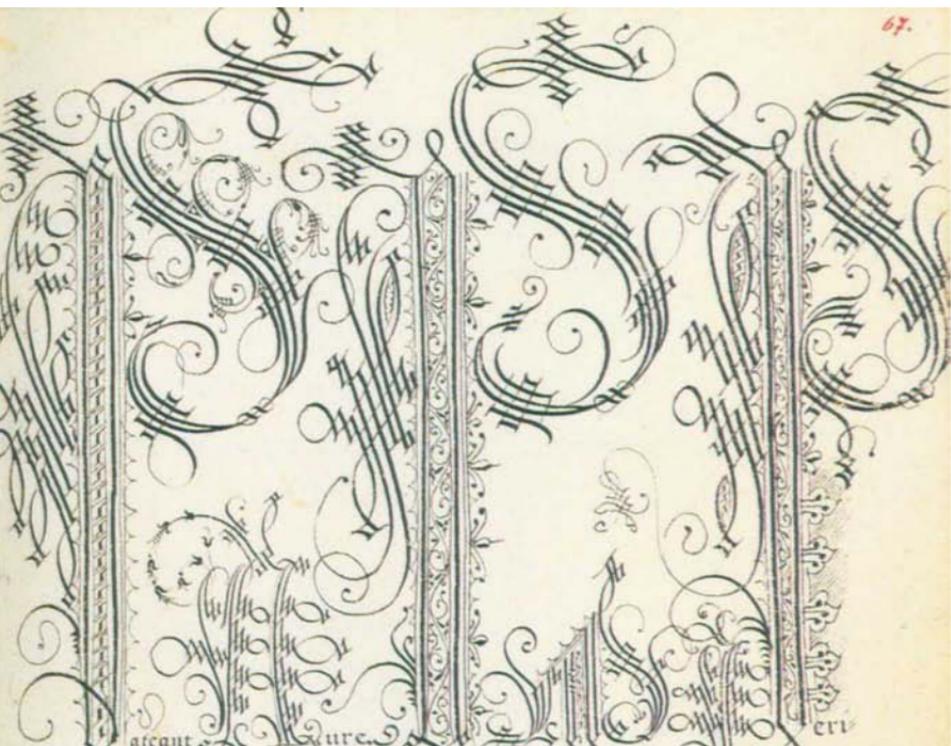
	Folio 65
Odonata Zygoptera Lestidae (?)	<i>Lestes</i> -like damselfly
<i>Iris xiphiium</i> L.	Spanish iris
Odon. Zygoptera	<i>Coenagrion</i> -like damselfly
Coenagrionidae (?)	
<i>Ornithogalum umbellatum</i> L.	Star-of-Bethlehem

Sicut veritas later nigraeque sine balneo. Et sic nos trahebat. In te diamimus
 exultamus. Eas. Ad te supplicamus amantem te. Nos in hac corporum valle. Et
 ad vocem nostram. Nos tuos miserabiles oculos ad nos convertere. Et sicut benedictum fru-
 tum ventis sui nobis post hoc exilium ostendit. Et dicitur. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et
 nobis sanctis dei genitrix. Et dicitur. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis.
 paterne dei. Et sic a nobis.
 basaculum. Et sic a nobis.
 ratione. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis. Et sic a nobis.



	Folio 66
Pulmonata Helicidae	Terrestrial mollusk
<i>Arianta arbustorum</i> (L.) (?)	
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L.	Poppy anemone
Diptera Tipulidae	Crane fly(?)

	Folio 67
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
<i>Trollius europaeus</i> L.	Globeflower
	Folio 67v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of globeflower
	Folio 68
Odonata Zygoptera	Unidentifiable damselfly
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
Heteroptera Pyrrhocoridae	Derived from <i>Pyrrhocris apterus</i> (L.) (common firebug) (?)
Lepidoptera Lasiocampidae	Caterpillar (resembles superficially <i>Philudoria potatoria</i> [L.] [drinker]; <i>Lasiocampa quercus</i> [L.] [larva of oak egger moth] [?])
<i>Cornus mas</i> L.	Carnelian cherry, in fruit
Chilopoda	Centipede



arcant... ure... eri

cordie tue Domine precibus multiplicantium. et ut ceteris
tibus desiderata concedas fac eos. Quia tibi sunt placita po
re. Deus qui omnipotentiam tuam faciendo mariae Et miserando
manente la multiplica super nos. Ad misericordiam tuam. ut ad tua pr omi
a Currate caelestium honorum facias e e Con ortes. et cetera



I

A

scenda Inquitha nauiculam et trans
sectavit. et quis mirum fratres. Chri
stus venit suscipere Infirmi
tates nostras et
sua nobis conferre remedia sanitatis. quia
medicus qui non infert sanitatem. Infirmi
tates curare nescit. et qui non fuerit cum
infirmis. Infirmis non potest
conferre sanitatem. Christus ergo ut e



	Folio 69
<i>Papaver somniferum</i> L.	Opium poppy
<i>Silene vulgaris</i> (Moench) Garcke	Bladder campion
<i>Vicia faba</i> L.	Broad bean

ΕΞ ΘΓΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΙ ΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΟΜΩΣ ΑΙΔΑΟ
 ΠΥΛΗΣΙΝ. ΟΣ Χ' ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΚΕΥΘΗ
 ΕΝΙ ΦΡΕ ΙΝ. ΑΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΣΙΠΗ ΟΥΚ ΑΓΑΘ
 ΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΟΙΡΑΝΗ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΣ ΒΕΤΩ.
 ΕΥΧΕΛΡΑΙ. ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΘΙΩΝ ΧΑΤΕΟ
 ΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΩ ΠΟΙ

Αλεξανδρος ο βασιλευς ιδων Διογηνιν κοιμωμενον εν
 πτω ιση. ηηη κρη θρενων, εδ ειλισηος, ανερασ εαν ο
 βασιλευς κρησα, θηλω τωης γαλακταων η θρενων πθου.
 ης αν παρρησι οδυρεσιν αι θρενες.
 Ο αυτος βασιλευς επιλατρεσης της σακτρος ελυαπεισδος.
 εφη, εν ποσιν τα εω τρεις μετακελετας ειναι.
 μισοι αν επι τη γωακι ωρευσσαι λογον απορη.
 τον ελεγον δε πλαυτος, επο θωατεν περυσσαι την ε
 τριτην, ελι κειον ηαερον οδλαθεταο ζαινεν.



	Folio 70
<i>Leucojum vernum</i> L.	Spring snowflake
<i>Hyla arborea</i>	Common tree frog
<i>Cheiranthus cheiri</i> L.	Wallflower
Prosobranchia Nassidae	Marine mollusk
<i>Nassarius circumcinctus</i> (A. Adams) (?)	

אֲשֵׁר

הָאֵיִשׁ אֲשֶׁר־לֹא חָלָה בְּעַצְרֵי רְשָׁעִים
 וּבְקִרְהַ חַפְּזָאִים לֹא עָמַד וּבְמִוֶשֶׁב לְצִיִּים
 לֹא יָשָׁב: כִּי אִם בְּהוֹרֵה יַחְנֹךְ הַפֶּזֶז
 וּבְהוֹרָהוּ יַחְפֹּךְ יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה: וְחָלָה

B

Faint handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a Latin or German description of the frog and plants.



Dianthus caryophyllus L. Folio 71
Two imaginary insects
Carnation

GRATIARVM ACTIO

Gratias ago immensis Maieitati ac sempiternæ pietati tuæ, domine sancte. Tri-
 omnipotens æternæ Deus, qui me indignum famulum tuum et peccatorem miserum
 nullis meis meritis, sed tuis multis et immensis exagentibus miserationibus, corpore et
 sanguine domini nostri Jesu Christi filij tui, me dignatus es saturare. Precor, ut hæc sac-
 rosancta communio non sit mihi misere reatus ad peccatum, sed intercessio ad veniam. Sit mihi armatura fir-
 ma fidei, et sartum bonæ uoluntatis. Sit uinculi cuiusque meorum omnium euacuatio, fontis purificati-
 onis, et libidinis exterminatio: humilitatis, charitatis, patientiæ, castitatis, obedientiæ, omniumque uirtutum, atque
 totius sanctitatis et salubris conuenientis contra aspidas omni memoriam meorum firma de-
 fensa omnium actuum uirtus, tam corporalium quam spiritualium perpetua gubernatio
 in te uero DEO et uero firma ad te et tuis deinceps uis felix consummatio. Amen.



INDUITE TANquam ERECTI DEI

sanctæ & dilecti, uiscera miserationum, benignitatem, modestiam,
 mansuetudinem, lenitatem, sufferentes uos inuicem, & condonâ-
 uobis mutuo, si quis aduersus aliquem habuerit querelam, quæ
 admodum & Christus condonauit uobis, ita et uos. Super au-
 tem omnia hæc charitatem, quæ est uinculum perfectionis.

Et pax Dei palmam ferat in cordibus uestris, in quam Dei et
 domine DEI S. Patris sancti Spiritus, & omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, & beati
 spiritus Conditor omnium luminum, benedic nos homines per te creatos, sancti spi-
 ritus atque benedic tos, qui illuminasti omnem hominem, ut a te uero lumine
 accendamus atque illuminemur igne claritatis tuæ, ut ad uitam æternam
 peruenire mereamur per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen. g.

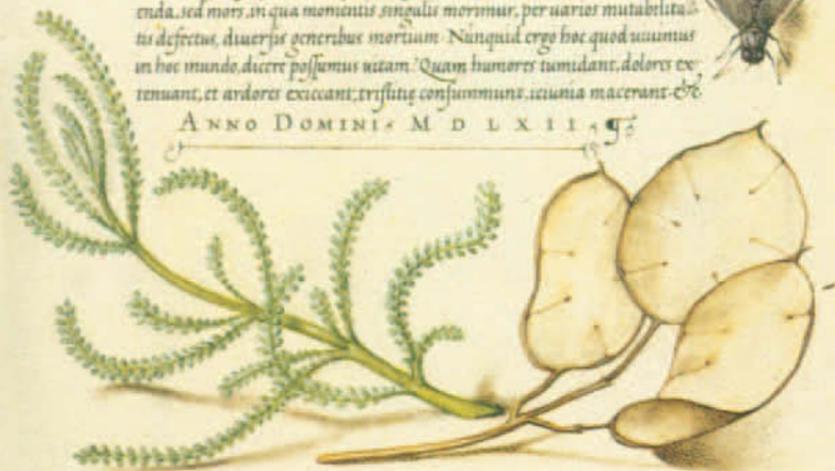


	Folio 72
Diptera Muscidae	Common house fly
<i>Musca domestica</i> (L.) (?)	
<i>Santolina chamaecyparissus</i> L.	Lavender cotton
<i>Lunaria annua</i> L.	Money plant

O ANIMA MEA SI QVOTIDIE OPORE
 ret nos tormenta perferre. Si ipam gehennam longo tempore tolerare: ut xp̄s
 in gloria uidere possēmus. Et sanctus eius sociari. Nonne dignum esset pati om
 ne quod triste est. ut tanti boni. tanteque glorie participes haberemur. Insidie
 tur ergo Demones. parēt suas tentationes. frangant corpus ieiunia. prēmant
 uestimenta. sabores grauent. uigilię exiccant. clamet in me iste. inquietet me ille. uel il
 le. Frigus incuruet. conscientia murmuret. calor urat. caput doleat. pectus doleat. in
 flectur stomachus. pallēscat uultus. infirmetur totus. Deficiat in dolore uita mea. et
 anni mei in gemitibus. ingrediatur putredo in omnibus ossibus meis. et subter me sca

T EDET ENIM ME DOMINE VALDE. VI
 te huius. Et istius erumnose peregrinationis. Vita hęc. uita misera. uita ca
 dica. uita incerta. uita laboriosa. uita immunda. uita domina omnium ma
 lorum. regina superborum. plena miserie et erroribus. Que non est uita dic
 enda. sed mors. in qua momentis singulis morimur. per uarios mutabilita
 tis defectus. diuersis generibus moriuim. Nāquid ergo hoc quod uiuimus
 in hoc mundo. dicere possumus uitam? Quam humores tumidant. dolores ex
 tenuant. et ardores exiccant. tristitię consummunt. ieiunia macerant. Et

ANNO DOMINI. M D L X I I .



	Folio 73
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
<i>Lilium martagon</i> L.	Martagon lily, pink
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear

	Folio 74
Odonata Zygoptera	Imaginary damselfly
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
	Imaginary insect
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
Coleoptera Coccinellidae	Two-spot ladybird/two-spotted lady beetle
<i>Adalia bipunctata</i> (L.)	
<i>Juglans regia</i> L.	English walnut
Prosobranchia Naticidae	Marine mollusk
<i>Naticarius millepunctatus</i> (Lamarck)	

	Folio 75
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear
Odonata Zygoptera	Lake demoiselle (a damselfly)
Calopterygidae	
<i>Calopteryx virgo</i> (L.)	
<i>Rana (arvalis</i> [?])	Moor frog
<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i> L.	Hyacinth

	Folio 76
Odonata Anisoptera	Dragonfly
Aeshnidae <i>Aeshna</i> sp.	
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i>	Carnation
Hymenoptera Ichneumonidae	Imaginary “hymenopterous” “ichneumonfly-type” insect

Incumbat pro Nobis gratiam Domini Jesu Christi Anathemam Christianam per
 scripturam, non potestem vixi semper Maria mater tua. Quia secretissimum mi
 sericordiam in tua passionis et crucis tuae dolens gladius percussit, et non
 ut sua virgine pater dulcissime Deo et et Amorem. Miris quibus quod dilectio Mater
 tua habuit quando te vidit et te apparuit in illa sanctissima nocte lactis, et per
 passionem quod habuit quando te vidit, sanctissima humilitate clausura deprecari et gustare
 me illuminare regem hanc libertas sancti ut non ulteriores, singularem valeat unicum
 liberis, vita mea. O Domine Jesu Christo, adore te in Cruce pendente et trucidatam
 necem in capite portante. Deprecor te ut tua cruce libertas me ad angelis perca
 ritate. Deprecor Jesu Christo, adore te in cruce ulnervatum, felle et aceto potatum
 Deprecor te ut tua ulnervata vixi remedium anime mea. O Domine Jesu Christo.



	Folio 77
Hymenoptera Ichneumonidae	Imaginary "hymenopterous" "ichneumonfly-type" insect
<i>Juglans regia</i> L.	English walnut
<i>Hypericum maculatum</i> Crantz	Imperforate Saint John's wort
Crustacea Decapoda	Crayfish

O Nimo folia Mexina celi. Reserens labem aues uertis
 praepotens. Darys cremit. cultor maximo Varum. terra ter
 renis alios Locanant. Nulla crementis duplicata quosdam:
 trina centeno: cumulara. Fructu te sacre ornant. Nunc potens nostri
 metino. Opimus pectoris duros lapides repelle: aspectum planans
 nec et Reflexos dirige Galles. ut pius mundi fatos et Redempcio
 mentibus pulsa Illusione puris. et ite dignetur uenire. Sacratos
 ponere grossus Laudibus riuos celebrant superni te deus
 impleo puritque Eius, supplices at Nos Vanam precamur
 patre Pedemius et al.



	Folio 78
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> L.	Blackberry
<i>Silene nutans</i> L.	Nottingham catchfly

M

ARDI MARIA PISTICAI
 SUPPSIT LIBRAM MOX
 OPTIMO: UNXIT BEATOS
 DOMINI PEDAS RICHA
 DO VHCARYQIS. HONOR
 DEOUS IMPARIUQ
 SIT TRINITATI UNICE
 PATRI UNTO. PARHOLE
 MO: PER IN.
 ET O:



	Folio 79
	Imaginary insect
<i>Dianthus barbatus</i> L.	Sweet william
Arachnida Araneae	Spider
Prosobranchia Columbelloidea	Marine mollusk
<i>Columbella rustica</i> (L.)	
Turbinidae, operculum	Eye of Santa Lucia
of <i>Astraea rugosa</i> (L.)	

Homo autem Christus in quo capiuntur omnia & factus autem ait: Sicrat enim ad occise
 nem datus est et sicus agnus coram eundem se sine uoce: sic non aperuit os suum
 in humilitate iudicium eius sublatum est: generationem eius quis enarrabit: multa
 quidem & alia plurima a prophetis predicta sunt in Lascia. **M**ysterium Iesu
 Christi. Ipse enim adductus est ut agnus occisus: ut omni: uelut ab aegypto nos a
 mundi cultu redimeret: & saluaret nos de manu Diaboli: quasi de manu Pharaonis: &
 consignaret animas nostras proprio spiritui: & membra corporis nostri suo sanguine pre
 uosa. Hic est qui in confusione moras mortem uidit: & descendit in planctum iusti
 tiae. Noli esse mihi Domine alienus: parce mihi. In die mala: confundantur omnes qui me per
 sequuntur. & non confundar. *Ps. confundantur omnes inimici mei qui querunt animam meam.*



	Folio 8o
Coleoptera Coccinellidae	Fourteen- or ten-spot ladybird
<i>Propylaea quatuordecimpunctata</i> (L.)	
or <i>Adalia decempunctata</i> (L.) var.	
<i>Viola tricolor</i> L.	European wild pansy

Ne putarent homine hanc a m a e e factum quia mor-
 tuu te ut ex t. La zatus unus erat ex recumbentibus uidebat:
 Loquebatur: epulabatur, verita ostendebatur: n-facilita u
 agorum confundebatur. Discumbebat ergo dominu cum La zato.
 Et cateru ministrabat Martha vna ex sororibus La zati. Maria
 altera soror La zati accepit Libram vniuenti Nardi pistici pre-
 cio: Et unxit pede se su: et ex tet se capillis suis pedes eius. Et do-
 mu impleta est ex odore unguenti.



	Folio 81
	Imaginary insect
	(elements of butterfly, moth)
<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> Jacq.	English hawthorn
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	European filbert, fruits grown together

Sancram et desiderabilem glorio-
 sam ac singularem solemnitate
 hoc est natiuitatem Domini sal-
 uatoris fratres dilectissimi de-
 uotione fidelissima suscepturi totis vi-
 ribus nos debemus cum ipsius adiu-
 torio preparare et omnes latebras
 anime nostre diligenter aspicere ne
 forte sit in nobis aliquid peccatum ec-



Tagetes patula L. Folio 82
French marigold

quem christi uiderit charitati luce uel titum uel titia uel
 misericordie margariti ornatum: ca sum humilem: misericordem
 benignum et obrium: i talem muerit uel agnouerit: corpu et an
 quum uum et non ad uatum: ea ad Remedium er acer totum



	Folio 83
<i>Punica granatum</i> L.	Pomegranate
	Worm
<i>Prunus persica</i> (L.) Batsch	Peach

omnipotens sempiternus Deus qui gloriosæ uirginis
Mariæ corpus et animam ut dignum filij tui habitaculum
preparasti: da ut eius commemoratione lætari eius
pia intercessione ab instantibus et a morte perpetua li-
beremur: per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui et



Folio 84
Imaginary insect
Hyssopus officinalis L. Hyssop

Handwritten text in a highly decorative, cursive script, possibly a historical form of Gothic or Fraktur. The text is arranged in several lines, with large, ornate initial letters and extensive flourishes that intertwine with the letters. The text is difficult to decipher due to the extreme stylization and the density of the decorative elements.



Folio 85

LEFT ARRANGEMENT:

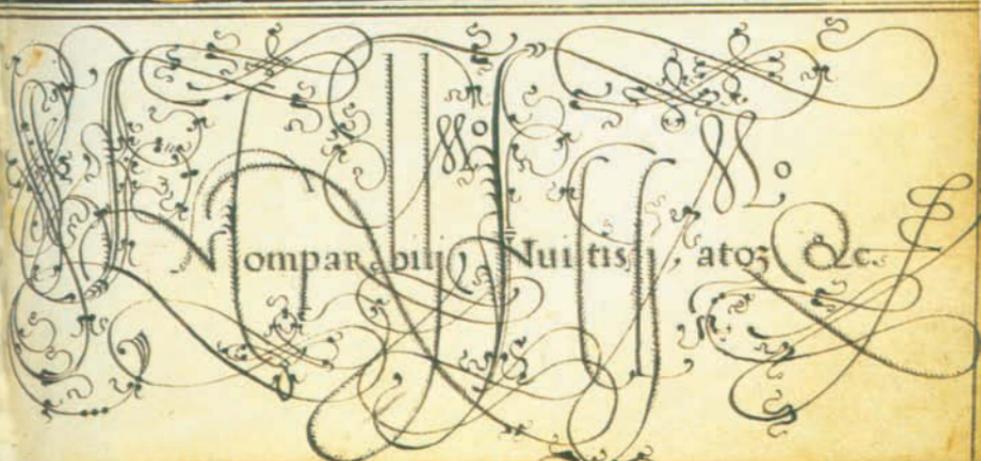
<i>Lilium candidum</i> L.	Madonna lily
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L.	European columbine
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulip, white/pink
<i>Rosa centifolia</i> L.	Cabbage rose
	Peacock

RIGHT ARRANGEMENT:

<i>Lilium bulbiferum</i> L.	Orange lily
<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> L.	Tulips, red/brown and yellow
<i>Viola tricolor</i> L.	European wild pansy
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose
<i>Anemone coronaria</i> L.	Poppy anemone
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L.	European columbine
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable butterfly
	Unidentifiable dragonfly-type insect
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable butterfly



Dem Allerdurchleuchtigsten vnd
Groszmechtigsten Fürsten vnd Herrn Herrn
Martin Romischen Kayser zu allen Zeiten / me-
rer des Reichs in Germanen zu Hispanien &c.



Comparabili Nuntio, ato, &c.

Folio 86

The Burning of Troy

• VBI HELENA IBI TROIA •
• VBI LAVS IBI LABORS •

Dem allerdurchleuchtigsten
Groszmechtigsten Fürsten vñnd
Herzu herzu Carli Römische
Kaysers zu allen zeiten merer des
Reichs in Germanien zu Lasti
lien Aragon Leon baiden Sicil



	Folio 87
<i>Campanula rapunculus</i> L.	Rampion
<i>Dictamnus albus</i> L.	Dittany
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear

V

 tris mea aurius percipere omnia in te. pro clamorem meum. Intende voci Orationis

 mea: Rex meus et deus meus: quoniam ad te Orabo: mane Exaudies vocem meam.

 Mane assisto tibi et videbo: quoniam non deus uolens iniquitatem tu es. Neque

 habitabit iuxta te malignus: neque permanebunt in iusti ante oculos tuos. odisti omnes

 qui operantur iniquitatem: perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium: uirum sanguinum

 et dolosum abominabitur dominus: ego autem in multitudine misericordiarum tuarum. Introibo

 in domum tuam adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo. Domine deduc me

 in iustitia tua propter inimicos meos: dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam. Quoniam non

 est in ore eorum ueritas: cor eorum uanum est. Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum: lingua

 suis dolose aegrotant: iudica illos deus. Decidant a cogitationibus suis secundum multitudinem



Folio 88
Phaseolus vulgaris L. Kidney bean
Bellis perennis L. English daisy
"Hortensis"

Manus tu domini. Ecce tu. Me: G
 Domine tu. Me: G
 Si relinqueris me. Memoro
 Valo quod sicut tu. Me: G
 in. Me: G. Reducis me non. Me: G

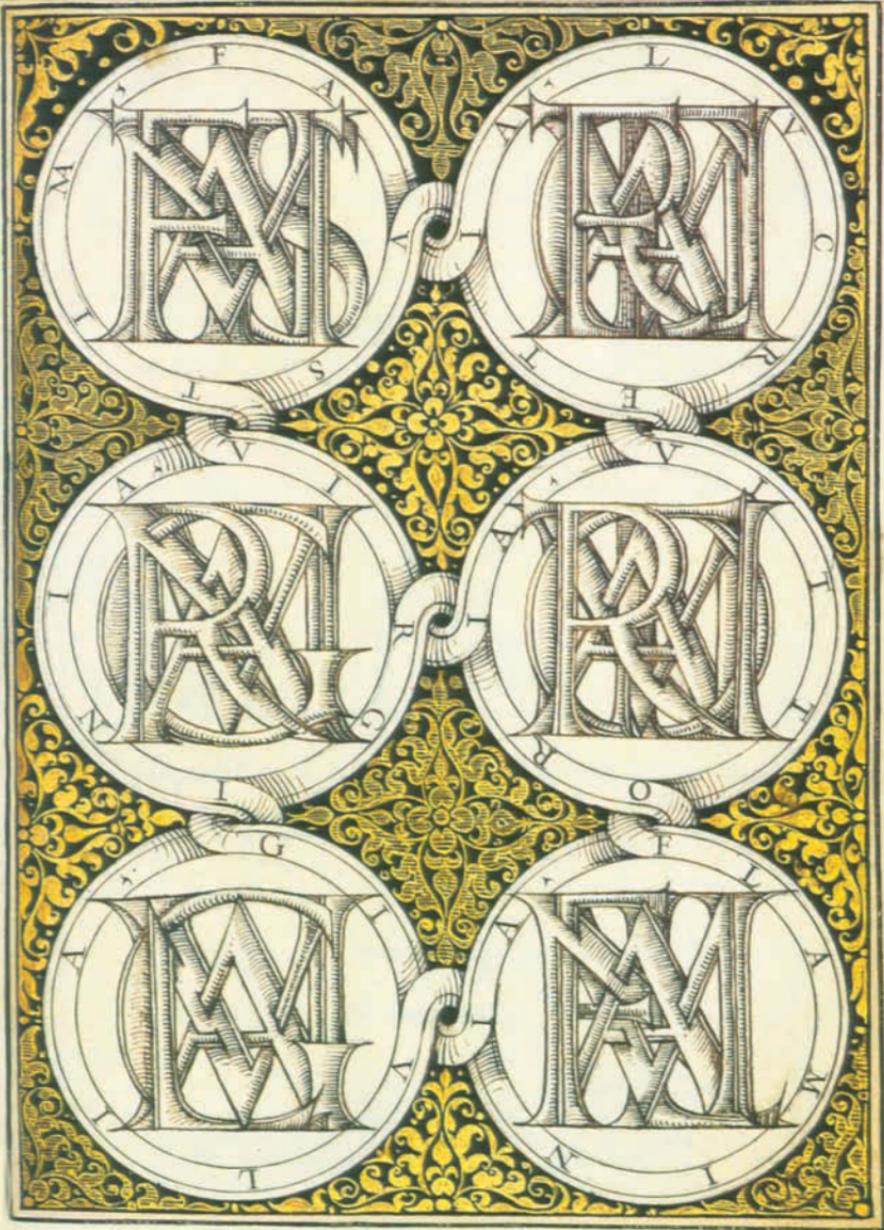


Folio 89
Two imaginary insects
Satureja acinos (L.) Scheele
Basil thyme
Two imaginary insects
Pulmonata Helicidae
Two imaginary land snails
(derived from *Cepaea* sp. [?])

Folio 89v
Intertwined trompe l'oeil stems
of basil thyme

Folio 90
*Superimposed Letters Spelling the Names
of Illustrious Women of Ancient Rome*





	Folio 91
Bivalvia Arcidae <i>Arca noae</i> L.	Noah's ark shell
<i>Achillea ptarmica</i> L.	Sneezewort

Beatæ Nobis gaudis. Anxi relaxavit orbita. cum Spiritus Para
 clous: Effulsit in discipulos. Ignis Vibrante lumine:
 lingua figuram detulit. Verbis ut essent proflui: Et carita
 te feruidi. linguis loquuntur omnium: Turbæ pauent &
 gentiliùm. Multo madere deputant: quos Spiritus Re
 pleuerat. Tactata sunt hæc Mystice pascha peracto
 tempore sacro. Dicunt Numero: quo lege fit Remissio
 re. Tunc Deus Tyrrine vultu precamur.

Madolphino di Bartholomeo Alabranda et Lorenzo Ma
 legonelle et Compagni di Lionedion dare qz di. xxxviii di
 Ottobre per la ualua di tantj drappi hanti qz di detto p somma
 et quantita di due h nouecent. d. di Camera. Et quel d mai
 sono da pagarsi per tutt el sopradetto Com' in qz appare per
 h ricordi nri. Et piu deno dare qz. 1^{to} di d^{to} per somma.



	Folio 92
	Unidentifiable insect
<i>Lilium bulbiferum</i> L.	Orange lily
	Imaginary mayfly-type insect
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
<i>Malus domestica</i> Borkh.	Common apple
Diptera Tabanidae	Horse fly

Sacris solemnibus iuncta sine gaudio. Et ex precordiis
 sonant præconia: recedant Vetera nova sint omnia:
 corda voces Et opera. Dolles recolitur cæna nonisima. quæ
 Christus creditur. Agnum et alyma: dedisse Fratribus:
 iuxta legitima: priscis in dulca patribus. Post agnum
 Typicum: expletis opulis: corpus Dominicum datum di-
 scipulis: sic totum omnibus: quod totum singulis eius fate-
 mur manibus: dedit Fragilibus: Corporis fereulum: dedit et.



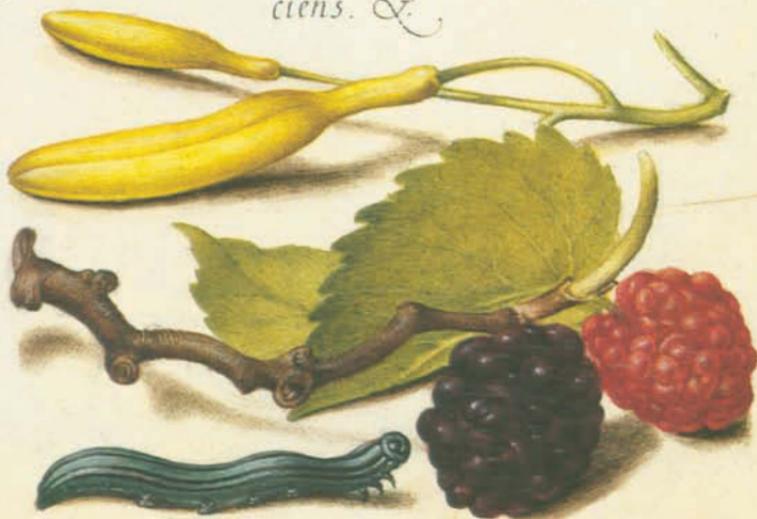
	Folio 93
<i>Crocus augustifolius</i> Weston	Cloth-of-gold crocus
Coleoptera	Unidentifiable beetle
<i>Digitalis purpurea</i> L.	Common foxglove

Dominus et adorare tua regias me
 neque in tua tua corpias me. **Q**uom
 am supplet tua niteri sunt multi et cor
 fructu super me stantium tiam
 am te et carno and a tere tra tua
 unum et carno and a tere tra tua



	Folio 94
<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i> L. (?)	Hyacinth, white bud
<i>Morus nigra</i> L.	Black mulberry
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar

Doctrina Spiritus non curiositatem acuit, Sed chari-
 tatem accendit. Ipse est christianus qui in do-
 mo sua peregrinum se cognoscit. Nouit Deus mutare
 sententiam: Si tu noueris emendare delictum. Vehemen-
 ter Ecclesiam Dei destruit meliores laicos esse quam
 clericos. Quocunquè tempore non cogitaueris Deum
 putate tempus illud amisisse. Pudicitia est virtus
 non solum impetum libidinis coercens, sed et signa co-
 hibens. Patria nostra sursum est ibi hospites non
 erimus. Sicut ligat Diabolus, qui peccata conellit:
 ita soluit christus qui delicta remittit. Nil ma-
 gnum in rebus humanis, nisi animus magna despi-
 ciens. &



Lepidoptera Folio 95
Two unidentifiable caterpillars

Domine, deus later, sanctissime ac omnipotens, Lumen indeficiens, et
 beatissime Conditor omnium luminum, benedic Nos homines, per te
 creatos, sanctificatos, atque benedictos, qui illuminasti mundum
 omnem, ut a te uero lumine accendamus, atque illuminemur,
 igne claritatis tue, ut ad uitam eternam peruenire mereamur.

Transi ego in misericordiam sempiternam. *Dea* et peccati tui. Domine
 sancte pater, omnipotens eterne Deitas, qui me indignum tuum
 famulum et peccatorem miserum, nullis meis meritis, sed per mul-
 tis dimissionis tuis excipitibus miserationibus custodis. Et

	Folio 96
Lepidoptera	Three imaginary lepidopterans (two imaginary butterflies; one imaginary moth with butterfly antennae)
Arachnida Araneae	Spider
<i>Bellis perennis</i> L. "Hortensis"	English daisy, two flowers



Respice domine in sanctum testamentum tuum, et animas
 pauperum tuorum ne derelinquas in finem. Exurge
 domine, et iudica causam tuam: et ne oblitiscaris voces
 querentium te. Per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum
 filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in secula, amen.

Siquidem radix omnium malorum est studium pecunie, quam quidem dum
 appetunt abstrahunt a fide, seiplos implicaverunt doloribus ac
 tentationibus innumerabilibus. In terra homo Dei ipse fugio.

M · D · L · X · I · G



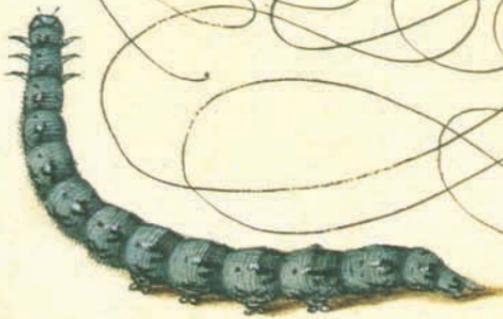
	Folio 97
	Unidentifiable insect (fly or bee [?])
<i>Primula vulgaris</i>	Balkan primrose
Huds. var. <i>rubra</i> (Sibth. & Sm.) Hayek	
<i>Cyclamen purpurascens</i> Mill.	Alpine violet

Plerique varias Significationes de vineæ
 appellatione deriuant, sed euidenter
 esaias Vineam domini sabaoth domum Israel
 esse Commemoratur. hanc uineam quis alius
 Nisi Deus condidit: hic est ergo qui loca
 uit eam: et peregre profectus est: non quia
 ex loco ad locum profectus est dominus, qui
 ubique semper præsens est: Sed quia
 presentior est diligentibus: Negligentibus
 abest. Multis autem Temporibus abfuit.
 ne prospera uideretur ex actio. &

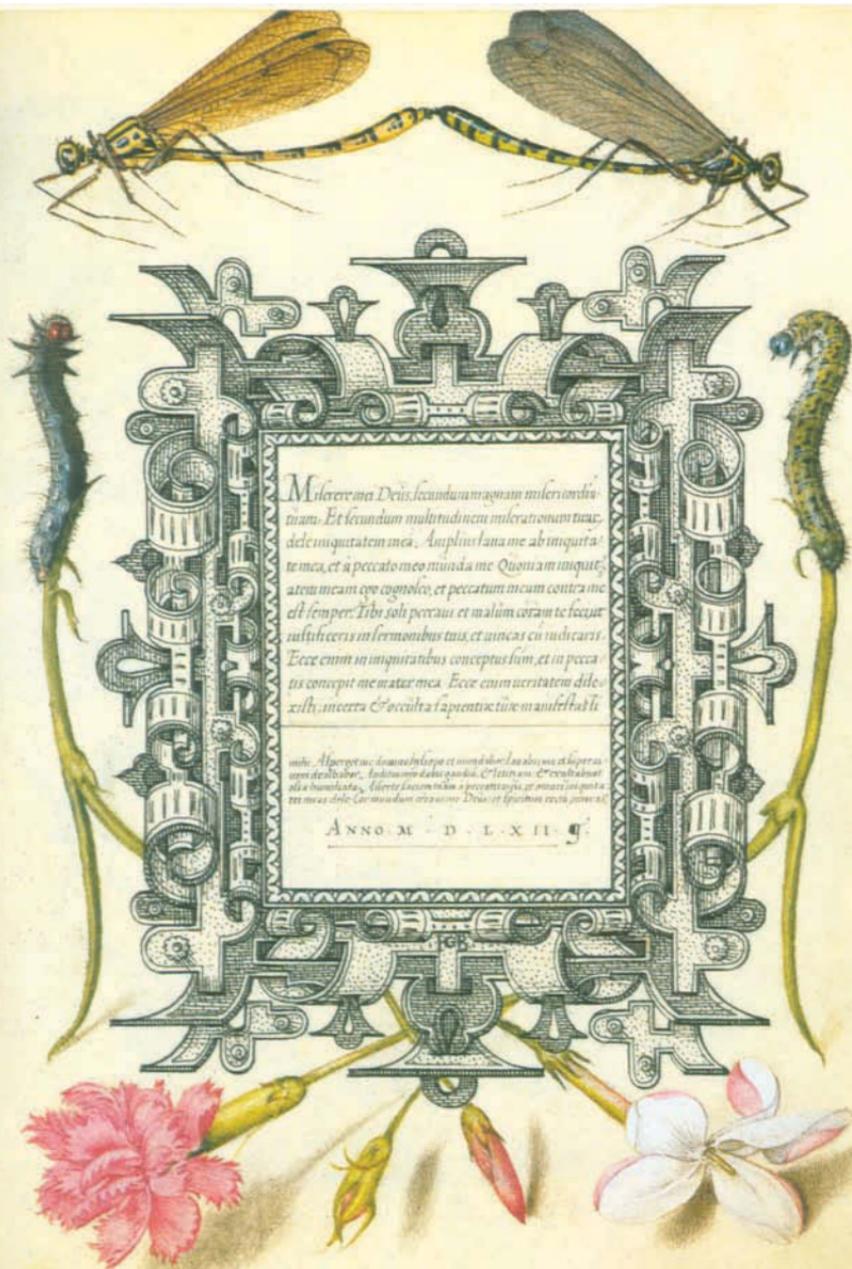


Lepidoptera Folio 98
Imaginary caterpillar
(inaccurately placed abdominal legs)
Imaginary insect

Handwritten text in a highly decorative, cursive script, possibly a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with the words being difficult to decipher due to the extreme flourishes and overlapping lines. Some legible fragments include "Vna", "om", "n", "p", "q", "r", "s", "t", "u", "v", "w", "x", "y", "z", "aa", "ab", "ac", "ad", "ae", "af", "ag", "ah", "ai", "aj", "ak", "al", "am", "an", "ao", "ap", "aq", "ar", "as", "at", "au", "av", "aw", "ax", "ay", "az", "ba", "bb", "bc", "bd", "be", "bf", "bg", "bh", "bi", "bj", "bk", "bl", "bm", "bn", "bo", "bp", "bq", "br", "bs", "bt", "bu", "bv", "bw", "bx", "by", "bz", "ca", "cb", "cc", "cd", "ce", "cf", "cg", "ch", "ci", "cj", "ck", "cl", "cm", "cn", "co", "cp", "cq", "cr", "cs", "ct", "cu", "cv", "cw", "cx", "cy", "cz", "da", "db", "dc", "dd", "de", "df", "dg", "dh", "di", "dj", "dk", "dl", "dm", "dn", "do", "dp", "dq", "dr", "ds", "dt", "du", "dv", "dw", "dx", "dy", "dz", "ea", "eb", "ec", "ed", "ee", "ef", "eg", "eh", "ei", "ej", "ek", "el", "em", "en", "eo", "ep", "eq", "er", "es", "et", "eu", "ev", "ew", "ex", "ey", "ez", "fa", "fb", "fc", "fd", "fe", "ff", "fg", "fh", "fi", "fj", "fk", "fl", "fm", "fn", "fo", "fp", "fq", "fr", "fs", "ft", "fu", "fv", "fw", "fx", "fy", "fz", "ga", "gb", "gc", "gd", "ge", "gf", "gg", "gh", "gi", "gj", "gk", "gl", "gm", "gn", "go", "gp", "gq", "gr", "gs", "gt", "gu", "gv", "gw", "gx", "gy", "gz", "ha", "hb", "hc", "hd", "he", "hf", "hg", "hh", "hi", "hj", "hk", "hl", "hm", "hn", "ho", "hp", "hq", "hr", "hs", "ht", "hu", "hv", "hw", "hx", "hy", "hz", "ia", "ib", "ic", "id", "ie", "if", "ig", "ih", "ii", "ij", "ik", "il", "im", "in", "io", "ip", "iq", "ir", "is", "it", "iu", "iv", "iw", "ix", "iy", "iz", "ja", "jb", "jc", "jd", "je", "jf", "jg", "jh", "ji", "jj", "jk", "jl", "jm", "jn", "jo", "jp", "jq", "jr", "js", "jt", "ju", "jv", "jw", "jx", "jy", "jz", "ka", "kb", "kc", "kd", "ke", "kf", "kg", "kh", "ki", "kj", "kk", "kl", "km", "kn", "ko", "kp", "kq", "kr", "ks", "kt", "ku", "kv", "kw", "kx", "ky", "kz", "la", "lb", "lc", "ld", "le", "lf", "lg", "lh", "li", "lj", "lk", "ll", "lm", "ln", "lo", "lp", "lq", "lr", "ls", "lt", "lu", "lv", "lw", "lx", "ly", "lz", "ma", "mb", "mc", "md", "me", "mf", "mg", "mh", "mi", "mj", "mk", "ml", "mm", "mn", "mo", "mp", "mq", "mr", "ms", "mt", "mu", "mv", "mw", "mx", "my", "mz", "na", "nb", "nc", "nd", "ne", "nf", "ng", "nh", "ni", "nj", "nk", "nl", "nm", "nn", "no", "np", "nq", "nr", "ns", "nt", "nu", "nv", "nw", "nx", "ny", "nz", "oa", "ob", "oc", "od", "oe", "of", "og", "oh", "oi", "oj", "ok", "ol", "om", "on", "oo", "op", "oq", "or", "os", "ot", "ou", "ov", "ow", "ox", "oy", "oz", "pa", "pb", "pc", "pd", "pe", "pf", "pg", "ph", "pi", "pj", "pk", "pl", "pm", "pn", "po", "pp", "pq", "pr", "ps", "pt", "pu", "pv", "pw", "px", "py", "pz", "qa", "qb", "qc", "qd", "qe", "qf", "qg", "qh", "qi", "qj", "qk", "ql", "qm", "qn", "qo", "qp", "qq", "qr", "qs", "qt", "qu", "qv", "qw", "qx", "qy", "qz", "ra", "rb", "rc", "rd", "re", "rf", "rg", "rh", "ri", "rj", "rk", "rl", "rm", "rn", "ro", "rp", "rq", "rr", "rs", "rt", "ru", "rv", "rw", "rx", "ry", "rz", "sa", "sb", "sc", "sd", "se", "sf", "sg", "sh", "si", "sj", "sk", "sl", "sm", "sn", "so", "sp", "sq", "sr", "ss", "st", "su", "sv", "sw", "sx", "sy", "sz", "ta", "tb", "tc", "td", "te", "tf", "tg", "th", "ti", "tj", "tk", "tl", "tm", "tn", "to", "tp", "tq", "tr", "ts", "tt", "tu", "tv", "tw", "tx", "ty", "tz", "ua", "ub", "uc", "ud", "ue", "uf", "ug", "uh", "ui", "uj", "uk", "ul", "um", "un", "uo", "up", "uq", "ur", "us", "ut", "uu", "uv", "uw", "ux", "uy", "uz", "va", "vb", "vc", "vd", "ve", "vf", "vg", "vh", "vi", "vj", "vk", "vl", "vm", "vn", "vo", "vp", "vq", "vr", "vs", "vt", "vu", "vv", "vw", "vx", "vy", "vz", "wa", "wb", "wc", "wd", "we", "wf", "wg", "wh", "wi", "wj", "wk", "wl", "wm", "wn", "wo", "wp", "wq", "wr", "ws", "wt", "wu", "wv", "ww", "wx", "wy", "wz", "xa", "xb", "xc", "xd", "xe", "xf", "xg", "xh", "xi", "xj", "xk", "xl", "xm", "xn", "xo", "xp", "xq", "xr", "xs", "xt", "xu", "xv", "xw", "xx", "xy", "xz", "ya", "yb", "yc", "yd", "ye", "yf", "yg", "yh", "yi", "yj", "yk", "yl", "ym", "yn", "yo", "yp", "yq", "yr", "ys", "yt", "yu", "yv", "yw", "yx", "yy", "yz", "za", "zb", "zc", "zd", "ze", "zf", "zg", "zh", "zi", "zj", "zk", "zl", "zm", "zn", "zo", "zp", "zq", "zr", "zs", "zt", "zu", "zv", "zw", "zx", "zy", "zz".



	Folio 99
Odonata Zygoptera	Two damselflies (inaccurately shown copulation)
Lepidoptera	Unidentifiable caterpillar
Lep. Pieridae	Caterpillar of <i>Pieris brassicae</i> (L.) (large white) (?)
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
<i>Jasminum officinale</i> L.	Poet's jasmine



	Folio 100
Hymenoptera Eumenidae	Potter wasp (inaccurate rendering of <i>Eumenes</i> sp.)
Diptera Syrphidae	Hover fly/flower fly
Lepidoptera Sphingidae	Horntail caterpillar (derived from <i>Hemaris</i> [= <i>Haemorrhagia</i>] <i>fuciformis</i> [L.] [broad-bordered bee hawk-moth] [?])
Lep. Sphingidae	Resembles (horntail) caterpillar of <i>Macroglossum stellatarum</i> (L.) (hummingbird hawk-moth)

D O I O R

V A I D E

R O O T E



A T O



S I D E



	Folio 101
Lepidoptera Sphingidae	Horntail caterpillar (resembles superficially <i>Hemaris fuciformis</i> [L.] [broad-bordered bee hawk-moth])
Lep. Sphingidae <i>Smerinthus ocellata</i> (L.)	Eyed hawk-moth
Coleoptera	Unidentifiable beetle
Col. Coccinellidae	Two-spot ladybird/two-spotted lady beetle
<i>Adalia bipunctata</i> (L.) (?)	



nd So wollen

wir bezund das heylig
Euangelion hören / vnd
Gott vmb genad bitten

A Vff das wir vnserem lieben Her
ren Gott heut seinen dienst leisten / vnd
nach seinem befehl den Feirtag / das ist

heilgen mit Gottes wort / welches allein heilig ist / vnd alles heilig mac
het / zubringen. So wollen wir jzund das heilig Euangelion hören / vnd
Gott vmb gnad bitten / das wirs also hören / auff das sein Ehr gepreiset



	Folio 102
<i>Lilium martagon</i> L.	Martagon lily
<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> Mill.	Tomato



credam. Dominum in omni terra. Longe laus eius in ore meo. In do-
 mine laudabuntur: anima mea audiat et manifestet et letetur. Magnificate
 dominum mecum. Et exultentus nomen eius in aduersum. Exultat dominum
 et exultabit me et exultabit tribulationibus meis caput me. Accedite
 ad eum et illuminamini: et facite iuste non confundatur. Ipse dixit clam-
 auit. et dominus exultabit eum: et de omnibus tribulationibus eius salua-
 bit eum. Tunc dicit Angelus domini in circuitu timoratum eius. et ceteros eos.
 Suscite et videte quam sitatus est dominus. Beatus vir qui sperat in eo.

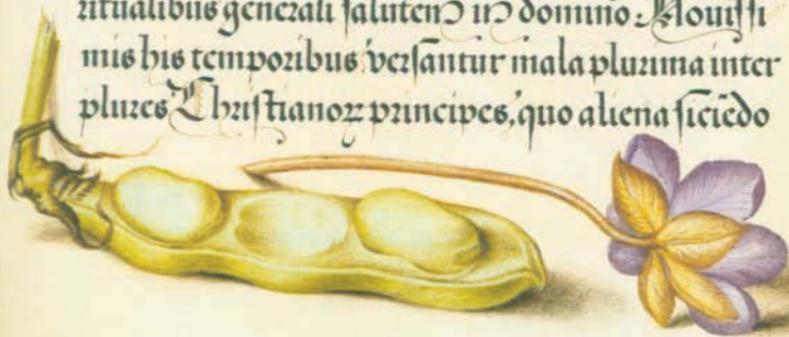
an michelichigsten ochtachten iulien vund er
 ren seerit. Walsgrauen zu Pragich. Marcellian. Vnuerstysant
 darsen. Sach den die suschriuenent. Zelman vund. Welen. Burger
 maister vund. Rath der Stadt. In duntzra inene gausstac. lichte herrenze.
 und alle darschneidung. In duntzra inene gausstac. lichte herrenze.
 der vundschneidung. In duntzra inene gausstac. lichte herrenze.
 allen duntzschneidung. In duntzra inene gausstac. lichte herrenze.
 In duntzra inene gausstac. lichte herrenze.



	Folio 103
<i>Vicia faba</i> L.	Broad bean
<i>Hepatica nobilis</i> Mill.	Liverleaf



conardus Nucronicus **M**Di era
 tione **D**ivina tituli sancte **I**ecilie
Presbiter **C**ardinalis **R**apier. **D**iscre
 to viro **C**licario **V**enerabilis in **C**hristo
 patris **D**ei gratia **A**rchie **V**enetiarum in **S**pi
 ritualibus generali salutem in domino. Nouissi
 mis his temporibus versantur mala plurima inter
 plures **C**hristianoz principes, quo aliena sciendo



	Folio 104
	Imaginary insect
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
<i>Hyacinthoides non scripta</i> (L.)	Bluebell
Rothm. "Carnea"	
Lepidoptera Saturniidae	Saturniid caterpillar
	(derived from young larva of <i>Saturnia</i> <i>pavonia</i> L. [emperor moth] [?])



Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo domini
 in quia nos qui vivimus qui restitui sumus
 in A dicitur domini precavimus eos et
 D ante nos qui vivimus qui relinquitur
 simul rapemur in illis in nubibus obvia
 Christo in aera Et sic semper cu dno et i

IUSTITIA AD
 MINISTRANDA

... ..

Folio 105
Moses Receiving the Ten Commandments
The Israelites Dancing around
the Golden Calf



VVENTVS ENIM

habitus eorum in defensione
CUI DEFENSIO

prouintiarum, cui bello

rum est committenda for

tuna, et genere, si copia lu

ppetat, et moribus debet

excellere. Honestas enim idoneum militem reddit: veres
cundia, dum prohibet fugere, facit esse victorem. Nihil
enim magis in itinere, uel in acie custodiendum est,
quam vt omnes milites incedendi ordinem seruent.



Folio 106
A *Sloth* (?)

BEATI ILLI, QUI SUBVENI
VNT MISERIS: QUONIAM E
IS REPENDITVR, VT PER

MISERICORDIAM DEI DE MI
SERIIS LIBERENTVR: NAM
ID IPSVM VIDETVR IVSTVM
VT QUI A POTENTIORE A
DIVVARI VULT, ADIV
VET INEQUIREM IN
QVO IPSE EST POTENTIOR

MISERICORDIA LACRIS, VBI IPSE PROMPTIO. NIHIL
TAM COMMENDAT CHRISTIANVM, QVAM MISERECORDIA
STATIS. A. V. M. DOMINI. M. D. LXXI. &.



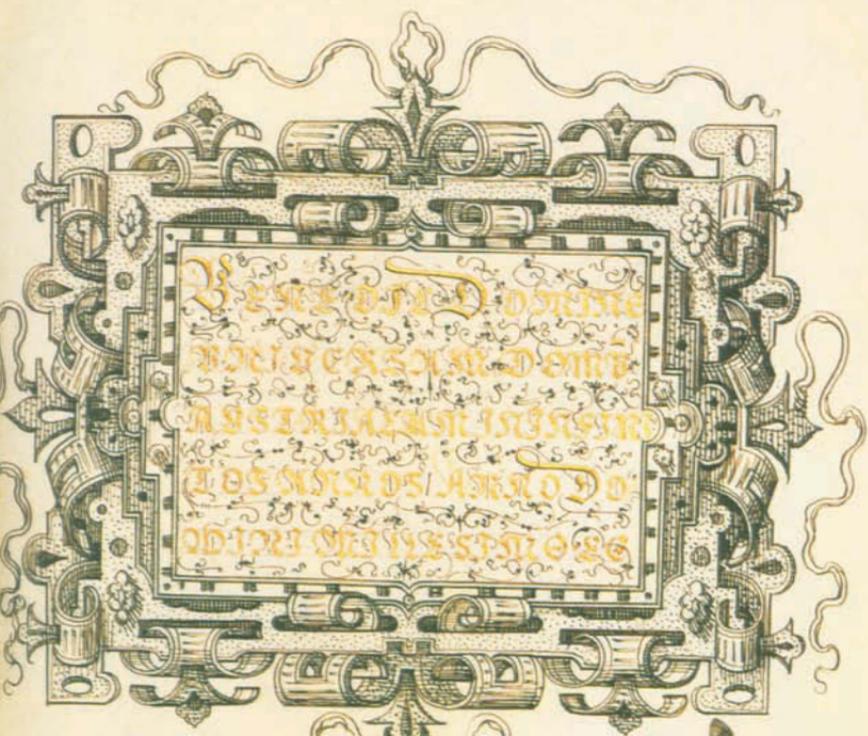
Folio 107
Rosa gallica L. French rose
Malus domestica Borkh. Common apple, two cores

Confitemini domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius. Dicat nunc Israel, quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius. Dicat nunc domus Aaron, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius. Dicat nunc omnes qui timeant dominum, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius. De tribulatione invocavi dominum, et exaudivit me in latitudine domus sue. Dominus mihi adiutor, et exaspiciam inimicos meos. Dominus mihi adiutor, non timebo quid

Latet mihi bonus Dominus, et confidere in domino, quam confidere in homine. Bonus est sperare in domino, quam sperare in principibus. Confitemini ita quod vos vultis, et invocare nomen eius. Annuntiate inter gentes opera eius. Cantate, exultate et psallite ei, in sacris omnia mirabilia eius. Quis enim in caeteris locis vult sperare, nisi in quo solus deus est. Certe, dominus est confidendum, quia non timetis tempus. Quis enim in caeteris locis vult sperare, nisi in quo solus deus est. Certe, dominus est confidendum, quia non timetis tempus. Quis enim in caeteris locis vult sperare, nisi in quo solus deus est. Certe, dominus est confidendum, quia non timetis tempus.



	Folio 108
Mecoptera Panorpidae	Common scorpionfly (?), male
<i>Panorpa communis</i> (L.)	
or other <i>Panorpa</i> sp.	
	Imaginary insect
<i>Lacerta vivipara</i> (?)	Viviparous lizard, ventral view
Hymenoptera Tenthredinidae (?)	Unidentifiable insect larva (sawfly larva [?])



	Folio 109
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear
<i>Omphalodes verna</i> Moench	Creeping forget-me-not

Non dormientibus prouenit Regnum Caelorum. Nec otio, et desidia
 torpentibus, beatitudo aternitatis re-promittitur. Time dominum
 Ex toto corde, et sacerdotes eius omni honore uenerare. Pigrina
 est animi inertia uel fatigatio qua quis bonum inchoatum, consummare fastidit.
 Sans ibi vacillar humanum studium ubi non requiritur dei auxilium. Prin-
 ceptis dei uiuam refert imaginem: Vir iustus non est nocet qui nemini. Sed qui
 potest malum nec uult admittere. Omnia sunt ex deo, secunde simul res. Et
 aduersa mors. Diuitia paupertas Et diuitia. Primo querite regnum dei, et om-
 nia aduenient uobis dicit dominus. Sicut fulgur exit ab oriente, Et appa-
 ret usque in occidentem, ita erit aduentus filij hominis.



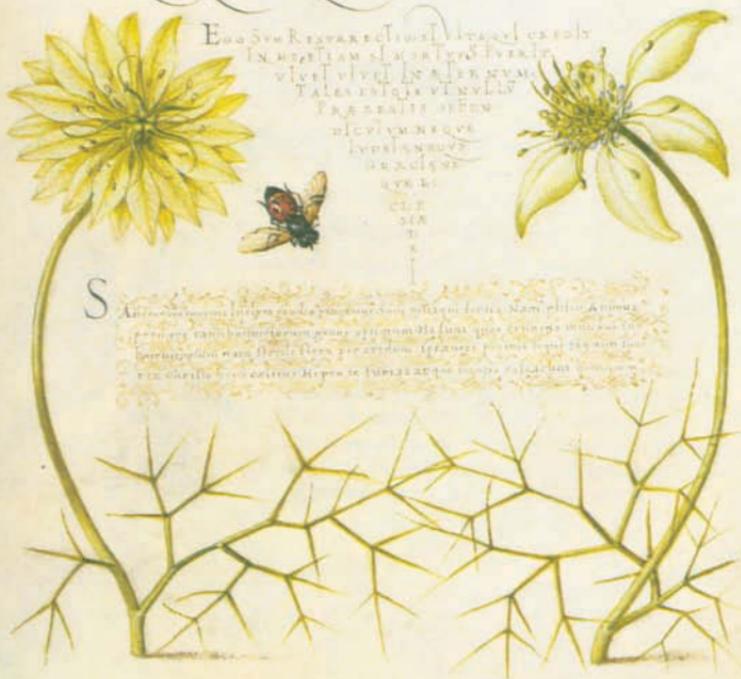
*Altera in pino Gallica Chamaemelum in pino dicitur
 dicitur adhibere. Peruenit ex eo aduersus omnes morbos
 huiusmodi etiam aduersus omnes morbos in quibus
 morbus. Una quaeque uero dicitur esse fructus
 que dicitur aduersus omnes morbos. Et
 huiusmodi morbus. Quod dicitur aduersus
 morbos. Et dicitur aduersus morbos.
 Et dicitur aduersus morbos.
 Et dicitur aduersus morbos.*

*Altera in pino Gallica Chamaemelum in pino dicitur
 dicitur adhibere. Peruenit ex eo aduersus omnes morbos
 huiusmodi etiam aduersus omnes morbos in quibus
 morbus. Una quaeque uero dicitur esse fructus
 que dicitur aduersus omnes morbos. Et
 huiusmodi morbus. Quod dicitur aduersus
 morbos. Et dicitur aduersus morbos.
 Et dicitur aduersus morbos.*



Folio 110
Nigella sativa L. Black cumin, double flower
Imaginary Hymenoptera-like insect
Nigella sativa L. Black cumin, single flower

SICUT SUMENDA SVNT AMARA SALVBRIA
 ITA SEMPER VITANDA PERNICIOSA
 DVLCEDO·HOLCAVSTVM IVSTI ALTARE ORNAT
 ET DITAT, ET ODOR SVAVISSIMVS EST CORAM
 ALTISSIMO. AMEN DICO VOBIS, QVATENVS FE-
 CISTIS VNI DEHS FRATRIBVS MEIS MINIMS,
 MIHI FECISTIS·EMOLIRI ADVLATIONIBVS NON
 SOLVM FORTITVDINIS NON ESSE, SED ETIAM IGNA-
 VIÆ VIDEVR·NOS AD PATRIAM FESTINANTES·
 MORTIFEROS SIRENARVM CANTVS SVRDA AV-
 RETRANSIRE DEBEMVS·



	Folio 111
<i>Primula veris</i> L.	Cowslip
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i> L.	European columbine
<i>Corylus maxima</i> Mill.	Giant filbert; hazelnut weevil
once infested with <i>Curculio nucum</i> L.	
(Coleoptera Curculionidae)	



orketten waren die Künste
 hoch geacht. Wer kunnt gelt hatt
 der füret den pracht. Ob er gleich ni
 chtes maus noch fan. Doch hatt vn

lieb em yederman der Gelerthe muß ihunnt Dahmden bleiben
 Sind den spot aus ym lossen treiben. Ober gleich vn der Künst
 ist bewert. So gar hatt sich die Weidt verkert. Dem ichur
 te. Keuschen vmd mit Engel zungen rede vmd hette die liebe
 nicht so ware ich ein dhonend ertz oder ein flingende schelle. zc.

Dem Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vmd
 herren heeren. D. Pfälzgrauen Kuegich. Hieronimus
 Zuertrossen zünfften. Nach dem die fürleuchtigen
 Esamen vmd. Heyßen. Dürgermaister vmd. Rath der
 Stat. Rüdemburg. nieme günntige liebe. zc.

Dem Allerleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vmd
 übermüchtigen. Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus.
 Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus.
 Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus.
 Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus. Hieronimus.



	Folio 112
Lepidoptera Pieridae	Imaginary butterfly (based on <i>Pieris</i> or related species [white])
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	Sweet cherry
Pulmonata Helicidae	Two imaginary land snails (derived from <i>Cepaea</i> sp. [?])
	Folio 112v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of sweet cherry
	Folio 113
Odonata Zygoptera	Damselfly Imaginary insect (based on hymenopteran; vespidlike abdominal color; ichneumonidlike ovipositor; nonhymenopteran wings)
Prosobranchia Columbelloidea	Marine mollusk
<i>Columbella rustica</i> (L.)	
Prosobranchia Cassidae	Marine mollusk
<i>Galeodea echinophora</i> (L.)	

W **S** **E** **R** **D** **M** **A** **N** **D** **V** **O**
W **E** **R** **D** **M** **A** **N** **D** **V** **O**

Von Gottes gnaden Erleuchteter Römischer Kayser zu allenzeiten
 in Christi des Reichs in Germanien zu hingen Teuch und Dalmatien
 in Spanien und Sclawonien in König Insaunt in Schwaben
 in Carinthien in Österreich Herzog in Burgund in Brabant
 in Sicilien in Ahernden in Calan in Luttenburg in Wirtenberg
 Ober und Nider Sclawen Fürst in Schwaben Marggrau
 gnade des Heiligen Römischen Reichs in Burgund zu Marce

in Ober und Nider Sclawen Erleuchteter Römischer Kayser zu allenzeiten in Christi des Reichs in Germanien zu hingen Teuch und Dalmatien in Spanien und Sclawonien in König Insaunt in Schwaben in Carinthien in Österreich Herzog in Burgund in Brabant in Sicilien in Ahernden in Calan in Luttenburg in Wirtenberg Ober und Nider Sclawen Fürst in Schwaben Marggrau gnade des Heiligen Römischen Reichs in Burgund zu Marce



W **E** **R** **D** **M** **A** **N** **D** **V** **O**
W **E** **R** **D** **M** **A** **N** **D** **V** **O**



Von Gottes gnaden Erleuchteter Römischer Kayser zu allen
 Zeiten in Christi des Reichs in Germanien zu Salsburg
 in Aragon Leon beider Sicilien Hierusalem in Spanien in
 imatischen Branten Navarra Granada Tolleten Pale
 mus Salicien Malicia Cipalis Sardnien Sordy
 da Zoficia Nürren Siennis Algarbien Algerien



Handwritten text in a Gothic script, possibly a title or a section header.

Handwritten letter 'W' in a Gothic script.

Block of handwritten text in a Gothic script, likely a paragraph or a list of items.



Handwritten text in a Gothic script, possibly a title or a section header.



Block of handwritten text in a Gothic script, likely a paragraph or a list of items.



DEUS PATER SANCTI

SPS QVI IN CAVIS

CAVIS QVI IN CAVIS

CAVIS QVI IN CAVIS

CAVIS QVI IN CAVIS

DEUS PATER SANCTI

*In me omniu' virtutu', ac fons ditor omniu' lumiu' suis sunt omnia quae sunt optima
 misere secundum multitudinem miserationu' tuarum, amorem illum ardentem
 beatissimij tui nominis. Et presia in nobis si Christianae religionis
 augmentum et te tuo diuino auxilio nutras, ad omnia pie
 tatis spualia accedamus. Et tibi Deo soli immor-*

TALI PERPETUIS TEM

FORIBVS SERVIRE

VALEAMVS ME

D L X I I

.G.B.



	Folio 114
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.	French rose
<i>Tropaeolum minus</i> L.	Dwarf nasturtium

LECTIO ACTVVM APOSTOLORVM IN DIEBVS

illis: Per manus autem Apostolorum fiebant signa & prodigia multa in plebe: & erant unanimiter omnes in porticu Salomonis. Ceterorum autem nemo audebat se coniungere illis: sed magnificabat eos populus. Magis autem augebatur eorum in domino multitudo virorum ac mulierum: ita ut in plateis cicerent infirmos, et ponerent in lectulis & grabbats, ut ueniente Petro, saltem umbra illius obumbraret quenquam illorum, & liberarentur ab infirmitatibus suis. Conuertedat autem & multitudo peccatorum ciuitatem in Hierosolima: confertis operis & uentatis a spiritibus immundis, qui curabantur omnes. ¶ Omnipotens omnipotens D. E. V. S. in cuius iussu omnia potestates manū & potentiam suam renouat. Respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut terram quam angustias tuas domui noster Iesus Christus proprie sanguine consecrauit, de uinculis inuicem non eratis trahi solent, at eam in Christiana religione sanctissime seruatis, seruis concedas.



Lepidoptera Pieridae Folio 115
Two butterfly pupae
(right one resembles pupa of *Pieris
brassicae* [L.] [large white])

GRandissimo diletto giustano. le humane menti benignissimo lettore. nella dolce rimen-
branza delli santi preceppi de' antichi Philosophi. et delli preclarissimi fatti de' inditti et
fortissimi Imperatori. Onde il gran stupore di natura. et principe di Peripatetici in
seguaua ad Aless. Macedi. uolgere. Et riuolgere gli annali della antichità. da quali

DEsideroso caldamente dimonstrare alla Illi. et R^{ma}. S. V. lafferione grandissima che
gli porto. ho scritto queste inofre. ad instantia del Clarissimo et molto magnifico M^r. Rai
mondo Manfredonio dignissimo proueditore. del sacro. et inuittissimo Imperatore. Pero
le ho uoluto prima far uedere alla Illi. et R^{ma}. S. V. accio che occorrendogli seruirsi dell'opra. et di quella
minima uirtude. che dall'onnipotente Iddio. et dalla maestra natura. me' stato concesso. quella sappia esserne
pattoue. et alla buona grana della Illi. et R^{ma}. S. V. humillimamente in raccomandando. Et

ORATIO PVLCHERRIMA AD DEVM PATREM. M. D. LXXII.

Deus Pater sanctissime omnia seruato ac Condere omni homini. cuius sint omnia que sunt optima.
insere secundum iustitiam tuam in iustitiam tuam. et in illis uolentem beatissimi tue. neminis.
Et praesertim nobis christiane perfectionis. religionis sempiternum augmentum. Et tuo diuino au-
xilio. nutriu ad omnia pietatis studia accedamus. Et tibi DEO soli et immortali perpetuis
temporibus seruire. qualiamus Per Christum dominum nostrum. AN. M. D. LXXII.

Confitemini domino. Et inuocate nomen eius. Annuntiate inter gentes opera eius Ca-
tate. Et psallite ei. narrabo omnia mirabilia eius. Laudabimus in nomine sancto eius
lectetur cor. querecenti domini. Quere domini. Et confirmamini. quere facie
eius semper. Memorare mirabilium eius que fecit. prodigia eius in uniuersa terra.



	Folio 116
Lepidoptera Arctiidae	Scarlet tiger-moth
<i>Callimorpha dominula</i> (L.)	
<i>Consolida regalis</i> S. F. Gray	Larkspur
	Imaginary ichneumonflylike insect
Lep. Papilionidae	Imaginary caterpillar
or Saturnidae	(based on <i>Papilio machaon</i> L. [swallowtail] or mature larva of <i>Saturnia pavonia</i> L. [emperor moth] [?]; colors and structure different from both; inaccurately placed legs)

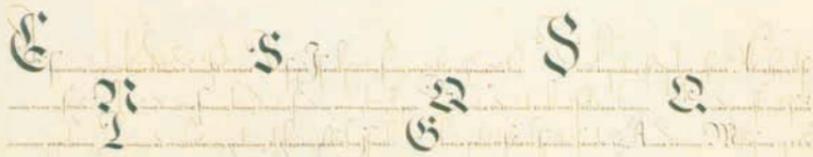


agnoscat anima mea dominum et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo.

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae ecce ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes. Quia fecit michi

mirabilia quae non potest etiam et sanctissimi spiritus esse. Et misericordia eius a proteritis in propitios timentibus eum.

Fecit ut habitarem in tabernaculo suo et servit superbis in corde suo. Deposuit potentate de sede et exaltavit humiles.



	Folio 117
Ephemeroptera (?)	Mayfly (?)
<i>Prunus armeniaca</i> L. (?)	Apricot, fruits grown together
<i>Phalaris arundinacea</i> L. "Picta"	Reed grass
	Folio 117v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of reed grass
	Folio 118
Lepidoptera	Imaginary butterfly (shows characteristics of Lycaenidae [copper] and Satyridae [brown])
Prosobranchia Cassidae	Marine mollusk
<i>Phalium saburon</i> (Bruguère)	
<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.	Common pear

W **A** **B**

Im Allerdurchleuchtigsten Rosmech-
tigsten fürsten vmd. Herren ferdinand Romischen kaisern zu
allen zeitten Kierer des Reichs zu Germanen zu Hungern Schamb
Dalmatien Croaticn vmd. Sclauonien: zc. König in sachsen in
sachsen Erzhertogen zu Osterreich Hertogen zu Burgundi Braba-
nd zc. Grafen zu Habsburg vmd. flandern zc. In dem genedigsten



Handwritten text in a smaller, cursive script, likely a continuation of the main text or a separate note.

W **A** **B**

Handwritten text in a smaller, cursive script, continuing the text from the previous block.



G
Handwritten text in a smaller, cursive script, possibly a new section or a specific note.



Decorative initial letters 'B', 'A', and 'G' in a highly ornate, calligraphic style with elaborate flourishes and scrollwork.

Text in a Gothic script, appearing to be a Latin passage, possibly a liturgical or scholarly text.

Handwritten notes or signatures in a cursive script, located below the main text block.



Decorative initial letters 'B' and 'G' in a cursive script, located in the lower right quadrant of the page.

Several lines of faint, handwritten text or musical notation, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.





Odonata Zygoptera Folio 119
Two imaginary damselflies



M N I P O
T E N S



tuum honorum nobis subsidia tribuas et futura Per dominum
nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum. et Anno dom.

millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo Georgius Richka de Ra
zma Hungarus qui supra nomen propria scripsit. vivat.



D
Qui benedicti omnium remuneratores et Cantilium et viciniam daram
et viciniam que castellan salustissimus anno postatus Anna 1561

Lychnis flos-cuculi L. Folio 120
Cuckoo flower

arum laudis habet virtutum corona, qui et labo

re non deservit, vult tamen habere palmam

sed non habet gloriam. hec est margarum ratio virtutum. Ve qua

to plus homo laborat, tanto plus mercedis accipiat. Anno

domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo. Cum accepissetur prima placens et odiosa
 Quom est matra laborum, percoloni paldentoni. Quom curatio virtutum malis domus etc.



 Sicut dicitur in
 libro Genese
 et dicitur in
 libro Genese



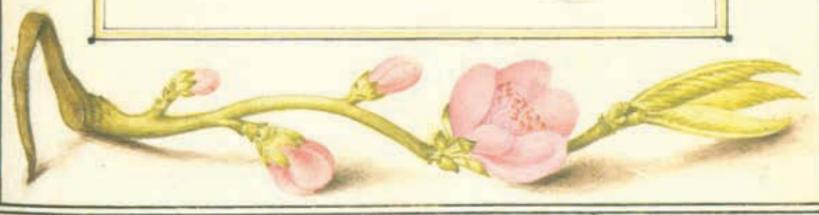
Prunus dulcis (Mill.)
D. A. Webb

Folio 121

Almond, in flower

PACIENTIA AD
IUSTITIA
MULIER HOMO
NESCIAT
IUSTITIA

*PACIENTIA RELIGIOSI VIRI EST LABORUM AC DOLORE
 OMNIA SPEI TU RARUM RERUM ET AMORE DOMI
 NINI GRATIA TOLERANTIA PACIENTIA EST QUE VI
 NCIT OMNIA ADIERS. NON COLIT CYANDO. SED SI
 FERENDO NON QUANTUMQUE ERRORE TYLA AGENDO ITA EST OVA FERE
 TOTUS VOLUNTAS ABSTERGIT IPSE EST QUI CLUPIDUS ANIMAL DEO RAO
 DIT Nihil POTEST EIA FORTIUS Nihil GREVIS OIAM SI DIA RUM TEL
 IT. NON RESPONDEAS CONFRAKLI. ANNO M D LXXII 8*



	Folio 122
	Imaginary Hymenoptera-like insect
Lepidoptera	Imaginary mothlike insect
	Imaginary Hymenoptera-like insect
<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i> L.	Carnation
<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i> L. (?)	Judas tree
"Alba"	



DISCORDIA
 SEMPER
 UT ET IMH SU
 M O I S P E R M I
 S O E R E

Deus uenerunt gentes, in hereditatem tuam: polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt iherusalem in pomorum caltodiam. Posuerunt morticinia seruatorum tuorum, et eam uolantibus celi: carnes sanctorum tuorum belis teris. Effuderunt sanguinem prophetarum tanquam aquam in circuitu iherusalem: et non erat qui sepeliret. Facti sunt et



Folio 123

<i>Convallaria majalis</i> L.	Lily-of-the-valley
Lepidoptera Pieridae	Resembles pupa of <i>Pieris</i> sp. (white)
Pulmonata Helicidae	Imaginary land snail (derived from <i>Arianta arbustorum</i> [L.] [?]), sinistral (left wound)



Miserere mei omnipotens Deus secundum magnam et immen-

sam misericordiam tuam. Et secundum multitudinem mi-

serationum tuarum dele omnes iniquitates meas. Amplius

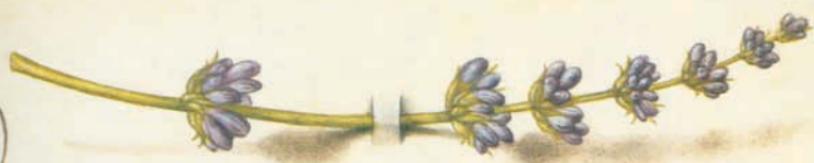
laua me ab iniquitate mea et a peccato meo munda me.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum etc.

Domine Deus. Pater sanctissime et omnipotens. Lumen inefficentis et beatissime conditor omnium luminum. Benedic tu nos homines qui illuminasti hunc mundum ut uerolimine



	Folio 124
<i>Hyssopus officinalis</i> L.	Hyssop
	Imaginary Hymenoptera-type insect
<i>Scopiurus sulcatus</i> L.	
<i>Lychnis flos-cuculi</i> L.	Cuckoo flower
	Folio 124v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of hyssop
	Folio 125
<i>Erythronium dens-canis</i> L.	Dog-tooth violet
Lepidoptera	Two imaginary butterflies



a i m e n e s i c o m p r e n d e n o , e s t i m i m a c o r d i
 d e l l ' u o m i n i c o s t a d v i a n c o s e c o d a i o t t e n i
 R a g o n a m e n t i d a l i d o r o m o d e r n i q u a
 t r a i l e G o r a s e J . B o n k . d e E n n e .



Allmechtiger barmherziger Vatter/Wir sagen dir
 lob vnd danck/dz du auß Väterlicher liebe das werck
 vnserer erlösung wie das inn deinem ewigen Rathsch
 lag surgenommen/vnd der gantzen welt in der heili
 gen Geschafft verkündt ist worden/durch das bit
 ter leyden vnd sterben vnser lieben Heren Jesu Christi außgericht/vnd volbracht
 hatt/wie er solches selb am Creutz bezuget hat/mit diesen wort. Es ist volbrach
 t. Sub vno genad O hynlicher Vatter das wir diß wort nimmer auß her
 tzen lassen/Sonder dar durch on unterlass inn rechten glauben erma
 net werden deiner grossen liebe/vnd des hohen verdiensts vn
 serer lieben Heren Jesu Christi auß das wir auch in
 vnsen gantzen leben inn dem heyligen di
 enst/vnd angefangen wocet treu
 lich vnd mit freydigen her
 zen se .





[Faint, illegible handwriting in a cursive script, likely a letter or manuscript page.]

[Faint, illegible handwriting, possibly a signature or a specific section of text.]





Leporeto
domine in testamentum tuum, et

animas pauperum tuorum ne in-

terdideris. **V**erum domine, et iudica
causam tuam: et ne obliviscaris oratio-

num operacionum tuarum. **S**ergius

Bachan. **V**erum scripsit
Quid domini mille?



INDIVULGIA

Per manus nostras. Appellatam sicuti signa. **S**peridina mul-
ta in plebe. **C**ertum vultu dicitur in peris. **S**onant. **C**etera
autem nota meliora se commogeti sibi. **S**ed in agerabat ex populo. **M**agi autem
excitator videntur in domus multo de vobis. **S**emulera. **S**is ut in plebe excerent. **R**eg-
runt. **C**onferunt vultu. **C**onstant. **S**it vobis. **I**tem sicuti vobis. **S**icuti vobis vobis. **S**icuti vobis
tam quoniam. **E**t liberatatur ab infirmitatibus suis. **C**oncedat autem. **S**peridina de vobis.
Custatam in **S**peridina. **S**peridina agit. **C**oncedat a **S**peridina. **S**peridina agit. **S**peridina agit. **S**peridina agit.

	Folio 126
<i>Satureja acinos</i> (L.) Scheele	Basil thyme
	Imaginary insect
<i>Geranium robertianum</i> L.	Herb robert
	Folio 126v
	Trompe l'oeil stem of basil thyme
	Folio 127
<i>Linaria</i> sp.	Toadflax



In nomine domini induite tanquam

filii Dei viscera miserationum benignitatem

modestiam mansuetudinem lenitatem



Benignus tibi omnipotens Deus semper eterne
 ac misericors quod cum nihil essemus homi-
 nes ad imaginem tuam formaueris



Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in three lines and is mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through.

Handwritten text enclosed in a decorative rectangular frame. The text is illegible due to bleed-through and fading.



Sempiternie omnipotens Deus, in cuius
 manu sunt omnium potestates, et omnium
 iura Regnorum: respice in auxilium Chri-
 stianorum: ut terram quam unigenitus tu-
 us, dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui est

Confitemini domino & Invocate nomen eius, Annunciate suae gentis opera eius Cantate ei, &
 psallite ei. mardo comi a mirabilia eius. Quia dominus in nomine sancto eius, letetur cor quarentium
 dominum. Quereite dominum & confirmamini, quereite faciem eius semper. Noveruntque mira-
 bilium eius quae fecit, prodigia eius, et inditia veritatis eius. Semen Abraham, serm eius, filij Jacob.



	Folio 128
Lepidoptera Pyralidae	Two species of grass moths
Crambinae	
<i>Polygala vulgaris</i> L.	Common milkwort

Domine exaudi orationem meam. au-
 ribus percipe oblectationem meam.
 in ueritate tua exaudi me in tua
 iustitia. Et non intres in iudici-
 um cum seruo tuo, quia non iul-



tificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens. Quia per-
 secutus est inimicus animam meam: humiliavit in
 terra uitam meam. Collocauit me in obscuris sicut
 mortuos seculi: et anxius est super me spiritus me-

us in turbatus est cor meum. Memor fui dierum antiquorum: meditatus sum
 in omnibus operibus tuis, et in factis manuum tuarum meditabar. Expandi ma-
 nus meas ad te: anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi. Velociter exaudi me do-
 mine: defecit spiritus meus. Non auertis faciem tuam a me: et similis ero tunc



	Folio 129
Coleoptera Carabidae	Ground beetle (?) (inaccurate dimensions)
Col. Scarabaeidae	Scarab
<i>Anomala dubia</i> (Scop.)	

Fama seu virtutis Nomen superest tantum, sed

ætera vniuersa mortis erunt. Boet. de ciuit. 1.5.

Viennæ Austricæ, in Nouembri Scripsit. 61.



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THE CONSTRUCTED ALPHABET

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THE CONSTRUCTED ALPHABET

INTRODUCTION

The constructed alphabet bound together with Georg Bocskey's calligraphic codex differs considerably from it. It is made up of heavier vellum, and both sides of each leaf carry writing and illuminations. In contrast to Bocskey's varied, often florid script, the writing is austere, providing a highly simplified guide to the construction of the letters of a Roman majuscule and Gothic minuscule alphabet, including ligatures. The date of the execution of these alphabets is unknown. Obviously, the manuscript was treasured by Emperor Rudolf II, who further enhanced its value by commissioning Joris Hoefnagel to illuminate it. The constructed alphabet may even have been conceived with such decoration in-mind.

Rudolf's high regard for the constructed alphabet becomes clear when it is considered against the backdrop of the reform of letter forms which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During the late Middle Ages, first in Italy and then north of the Alps, the movement later known as the Renaissance took hold, establishing as its main objective the revival of contemporary art and culture through an understanding of the ancient Greco-Roman world. Accordingly, many surviving Roman monuments were measured in order to discover the ancient rules governing proportion.¹ It was believed that through the application of classical governing systems, new works could be created in the antique spirit.

Interest in ancient Roman letter forms increased dramatically following the invention of printing with movable type around 1440. Ancient

literature and contemporary texts written in the classical style were printed and disseminated in classically based fonts.² Roman letter forms had been preserved in inscriptions on architectural monuments, among the most notable of which was that on the Column of Trajan in Rome. These inscriptions consisted exclusively of capital letters. The letters were traced and, like the monuments themselves, analyzed in order to deduce their underlying rules of construction. For example, Albrecht Dürer, the leading proponent of classical proportional theory in the North, appended an essay on the construction of various letters to his printed handbook on proportional theory, *Unterweisung der Messung* (1525). Dürer constructed Roman upper-case letters on square grids, each composed of a hundred (10 x 10) equal parts, repeating this exercise on similar grids of 81 (9 x 9) equal parts.³ He then proceeded to construct a lower-case alphabet in the Gothic script known as *textura*. *Unterweisung der Messung* reflects Dürer's attempt to establish a valid proportional system for *textura*, later called *Fraktur*, the dominant typeface used for the printing of texts in the German language.

It is likely that neither portion of the constructed alphabet in the Getty codex is an original creation. Rather, they probably represent copies or revised versions of earlier alphabets.⁴ This is suggested by the absence from the diagrams of actual construction lines and compass circles.

When Hoefnagel received the emperor's commission to illuminate the alphabets with appropriate imagery, he approached the task as one would have expected a painter who was also a humanistic *homo litteratus* (man of letters) to do. He considered each alphabet as a whole, as a system of signs enabling humanity to create and disseminate its intellectual heritage, a system forming, as it were, an intellectual universe.

This approach is especially clear in the Roman majuscules, where the significance of each letter⁵ is elucidated by a biblical verse that begins (or almost begins) with it. The format is based on medieval alphabets composed of prayers of supplication or penance or songs of praise to God which also served didactic and cautionary purposes. Since biblical verses accompany the entire upper-case alphabet, it can be interpreted as an all-

embracing statement and a microcosmic reflection of the macrocosm.⁶

Hoefnagel's organization of the constructed Roman majuscules thus conforms to an abecedarium, that is, a collection of verses that begin with different letters in alphabetical order from A to Z. With the exception of folio 1, he chose verses from the Psalms exclusively. The imagery on each folio is based on the meaning of the initial word in the verse, the significance of several words, or the message conveyed by the verse in its entirety. Hoefnagel's figural imagery is balanced and symmetrical, uniformly filling the top, bottom, and side margins as well as any empty space in the middle. The folios illustrating the Roman upper-case letters present an integrated whole due to their thoroughgoing reciprocity of form and content. The imagery is both witty and playful. Among Hoefnagel's other manuscript illuminations, it calls to mind those of the Roman missal in Vienna.⁷

The Gothic lower-case alphabet differs markedly from the classically inspired Roman upper-case alphabet. Regarded as barbaric and uncultivated by the Italian humanists of the Renaissance,⁸ the former was decorated accordingly. Excepting the ligatures, each page presents two letters against a total of four grids. Some of the letters appear on more than one page. A grotesque mask usually occupies the center of the folio, from which point intricate forms emanate in all directions. This dynamically constructed page surface contrasts with the classical serenity of the imagery surrounding the Roman capitals.

The relationships among the individual elements in the illuminations are loose in terms of both form and content. Fruits, flowers, various ornaments, and animals, while fancifully and organically intertwined, are not usually depicted naturalistically. There are a few exceptions, especially dogs, monkeys, and live and dead birds. The grotesque masks of the lower-case alphabet are either based on or inspired by a popular series of masks engraved on copper by Frans Huys after works by Cornelis Floris.⁹ The influence of the Huys series was widespread, not only in painting but also in the applied arts. For example, it inspired the decoration of one of the walls of the so-called "Spanish Stable" in the imperial castle in Prague.¹⁰

The emperor thus would have taken particular delight in this aspect of Hoefnagel's decorated alphabet. Indeed, the relaxed, expansive ornamental program of the minuscule alphabet comes as something of a revivifying jolt after the extremely refined representations of the first 129 folia of *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Biblical quotations in Latin are from Robertus Weber, ed., Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, vol. 1: Genesis – Psalmi (Stuttgart, 1983). English translations are from The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version (Baltimore, 1899).

Folio 130

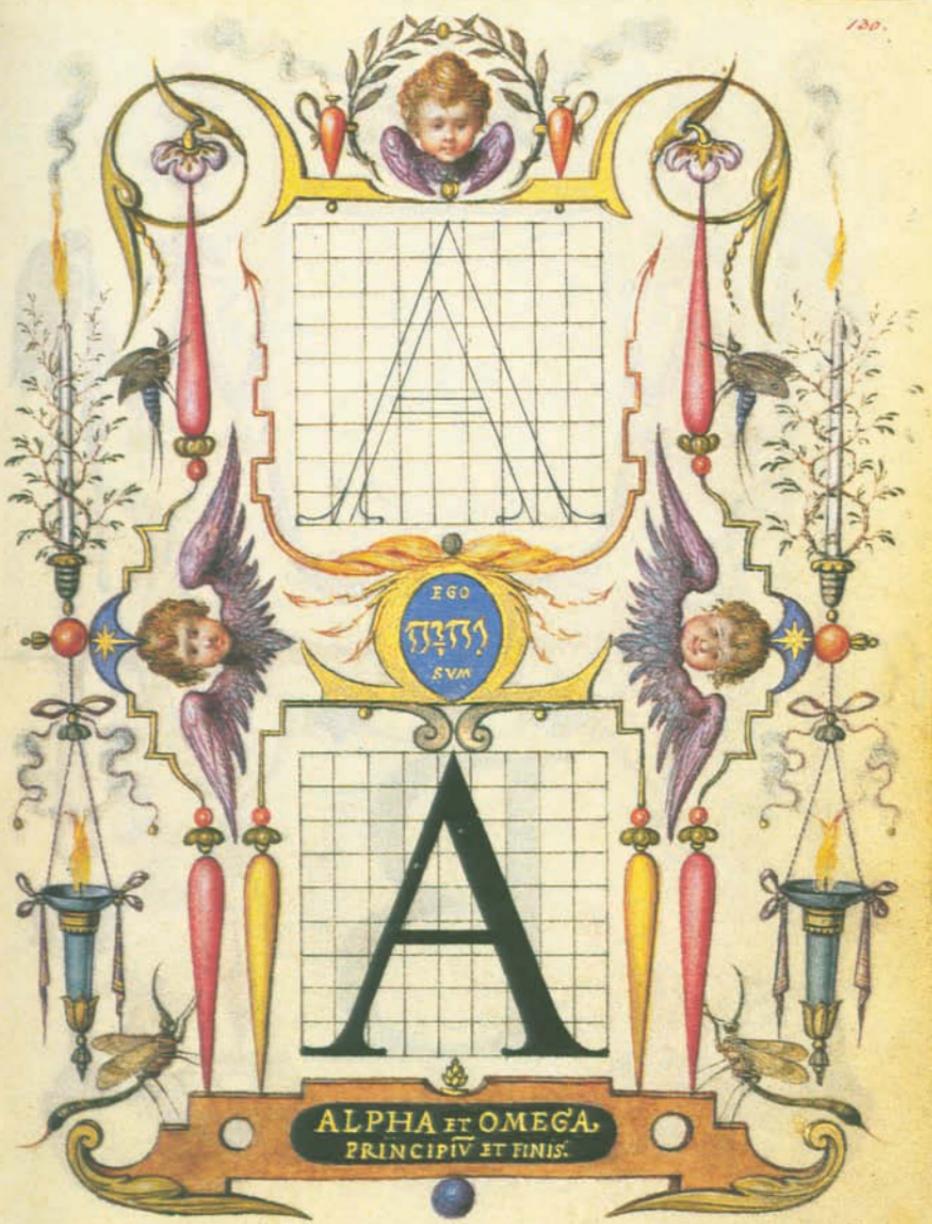
A

ALPHA ET OMEGA, PRINCIPIUM ET FINIS EGO SUM.

Rev. 1.8: *Ego alpha et omega, principium et finis* (1.8: I am the A and the O, the beginning and the end).

The first written symbol, the letter A, pays homage to God, the ruler of heaven and earth, “the beginning and the end,” to whom the Revelation of Saint John the Divine is consecrated. The biblical verse, accompanied by the tetragram of God’s name, is quoted within a stylized omega in the middle of the page and in a cartouche in the bottom margin. With this verse, the first letter of the Greek alphabet¹³ simultaneously refers to the last one; the illumination of the page thus encompasses the entire alphabet. God is understood as the beginning and end of time and space, as universe and eternity. The blue medallion containing the tetragram of his name occupies the center of the folio. It connects the constructional drawing of the letter A with its executed version and is surrounded by the omega, which generates flashes of lightning and thunderheads as symbols of God’s might.¹²

In the upper margin, a cherub is surrounded by a laurel wreath – a sign of God’s fame¹³ – and flanked by incense burners. This angel praises the Lord along with the cherubim in the side margins. At both left and right, eternal lights burn in praise of God, as do candles entwined by olive branches, which symbolize his peace.¹⁴ Four demonic winged insects (the two antennae on the abdomens of the two upper ones indicate that they are Ephemerae, whose life span is a single day) are attracted by the flames, in which they will perish, just as God’s enemies are destroyed by divine power.¹⁵



Folio 130v

B

BENEDIC ANIMA MEA DOMINO, ET OMNIA QUAE INTRA
ME SUNT NOMINI SANCTO EIUS. PSAL. 102

PSS 102.1: *Benedic anima mea Domino et omnia viscera mea nomini
sancto eius* (102.1: Bless the Lord, O my soul: and let all that is
within me bless his holy name).

Just as the illumination of the first page of the constructed alphabet honors God as ruler of the universe, Hoefnagel dedicated the illumination of the second page to the worldly ruler, the emperor, dominating the earthly realm through God's grace and under his aegis. While the biblical verse, which begins with the letter B, praises the celestial Lord, the representation transfers the praise of God to the worldly ruler, Emperor Rudolf II, the illuminator's patron. Occurring at the beginning of the constructed alphabet, this leaf functions as a dedication.

Like the medallion with the tetragram on folio 130, a medallion with the letter R (Rudolf) under the imperial crown occurs at the center of this illumination. In the top margin are symbols of the emperor's sovereignty, the orb and the sword of state; the sword is crossed with a palm frond, a symbol of victory.¹⁶ To the left and right of these imperial insignia are the crowned Hungarian and Bohemian coats of arms, representing the royal dignity of Rudolf, king of both Hungary and Bohemia. In each side margin, an eagle, symbol of the emperor, holds in its beak a swag tied to one coat of arms and to Rudolf's medallion. As on folio 130, flashes of lightning and thunderbolts emanating from colorful wings indicate the emperor's mighty sovereignty. Likewise, the pair of incense burners that lure insects to their death symbolizes his capacity to destroy his enemies. The first and second pages of the alphabet were thus intentionally illuminated as reciprocal folios demonstrating that the power of the Holy Roman Emperor was the earthly reflection of the power of God over the universe.

Folio 131

C

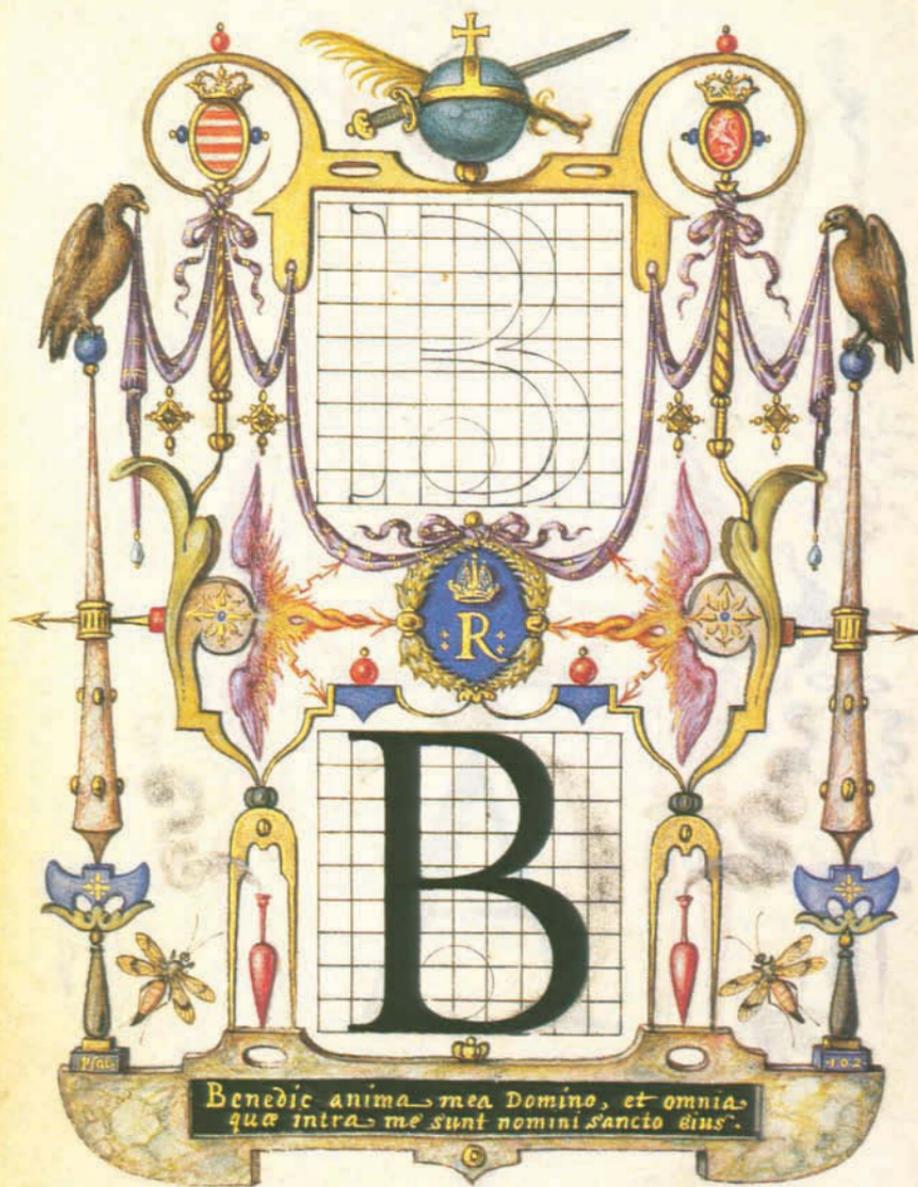
CANTABO DOMINO IN VITA MEA, PSALLAM DEO MEO

QUAM DIU SUM. PSAL. 103

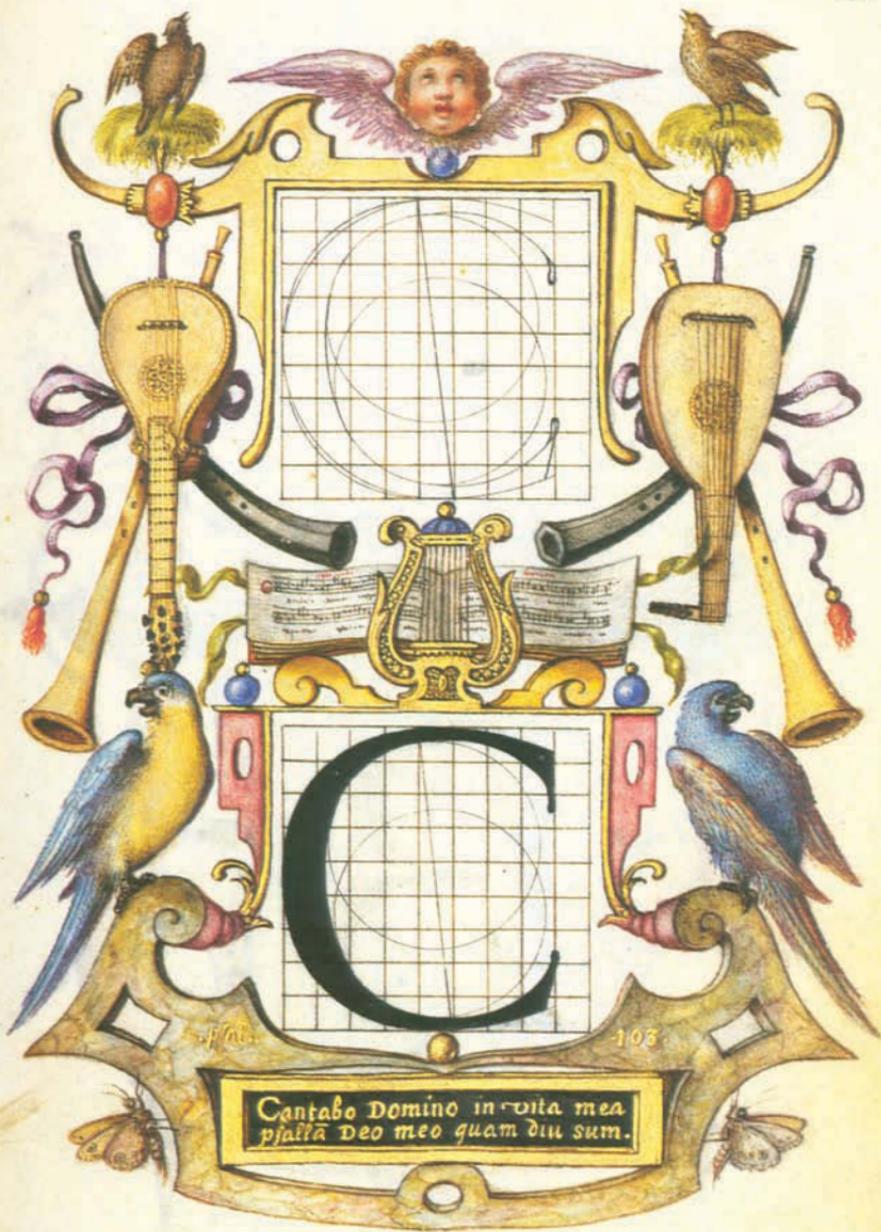
PS 103:33: *Cantabo Domino in vita mea, psallam Deo meo quamdiu sum* (103:33: I will sing to the Lord as long as I live: I will sing praise to my God while I still have my being).

The letter C initiates a series of illuminations based on the theme of praising God. The scrollwork that frames the finished, as opposed to the constructed, letter forms a lectern that supports a small songbook partly hidden by a stylized lyre. The activities of singing (*cantabo*) and its instrumental accompaniment (*psallam*; literally, to play the psaltery) are referred to by almost every other motif in the illumination. Thus sing the cherub with half-open mouth and the two thrushes (*Turdus philomelos*) with open beaks, all with their heads turned toward heaven.

Hanging down on both sides of this folio are woodwind and string instruments – tied together with tasseled ribbons – which yield soft tones that blend harmoniously with the human voice. At the left are a spelter, a shawm, and a cister; at the right, a lute replaces the latter instrument. Below them, on both sides of the executed letter, bright parrots alight on the marbled scrollwork. Though the parrot is not a songbird, they too have open beaks. From the Middle Ages on, the capacity of the parrot to imitate the human voice fostered its symbolic identification with the devout person.¹⁷ Thus, here the creatures of heaven (angels) and earth (humans, birds) sing and make music to praise the Lord. Within this holy concert, only the two insects in the bottom corners of the scrollwork frame are out of tune.



*Benedic anima mea Domino, et omnia
qua intra me sunt nomini sancto eius.*



Cantabo Domino in vita mea
psalms Deo meo quam diu sum.

Folio 131v

D

DEUS MEUS ES TU: IN MANIBUS TUIS SORTES MEAE. PSA. 30
PSS 30.15-16: *Deus meus es tu. In manu tua tempora mea*
(30.15-16: Thou art my God. My lots are in Thy hands).

This verse heralds the psalmist's devotion to and faith in his Creator. The illumination of the folio, too, is intended as a glorification of God. The astrolabe in the middle of the top margin, a symbol of eternity,¹⁸ is pierced by two olive branches, symbols of peace; palm fronds, symbols of victory, unfold to the left and right. From each of the palm fronds hangs a laurel wreath—a sign of fame—surrounding a gold medallion set with precious gems and pearls. In this context, such treasure stands for the Divinity.¹⁹ Just as the devout person praising the Lord is portrayed by the parrot on folio 131, the pious person is here represented in the middle of the page by the head of the dog, who accompanies his master faithfully through every situation in life.²⁰ The dog, already regarded as man's best friend by the sixteenth century, symbolized fidelity in contemporary iconography.²¹

Folio 132

E

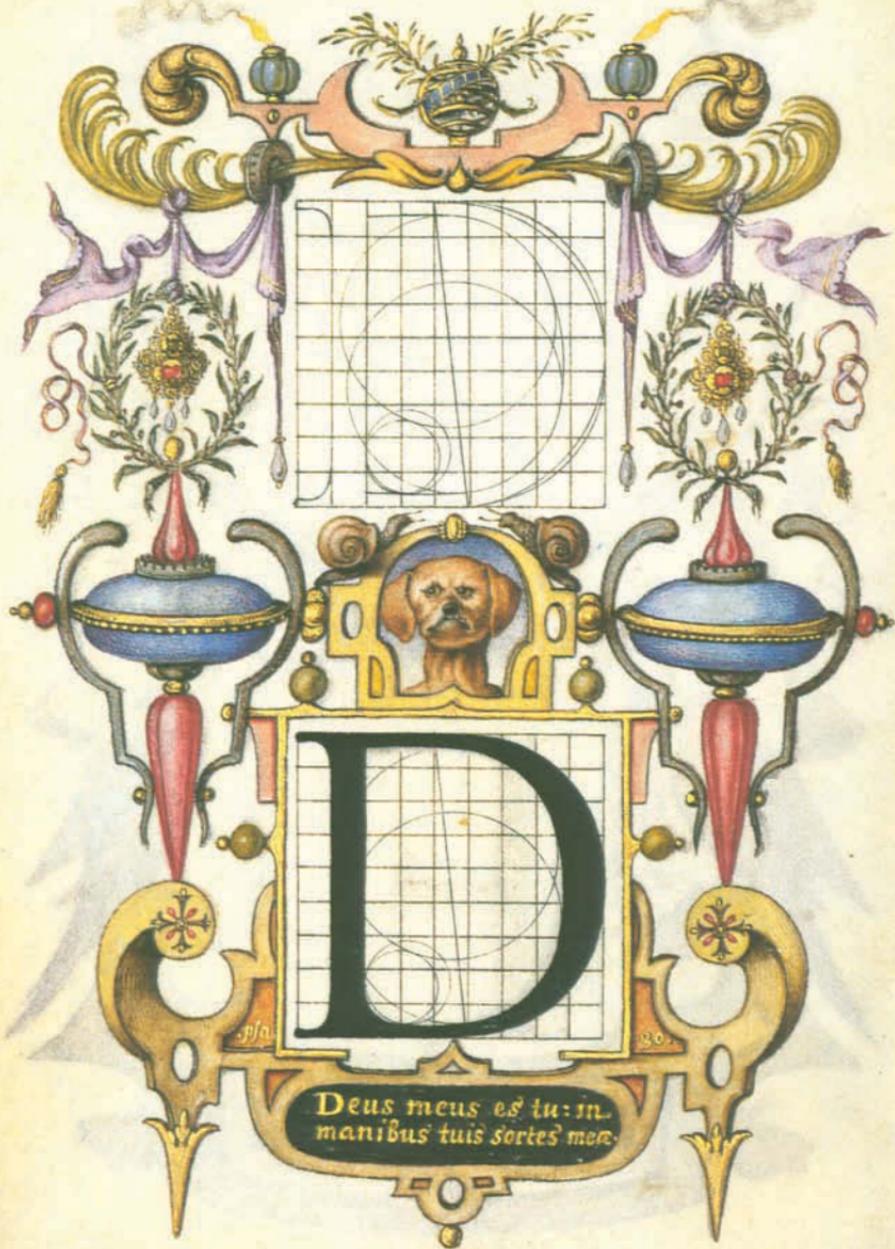
EXALTARE SUPER COELOS DEUS ET IN OMNEM
TERRAM GLORIA TUA. Ps.56

PSS 56.12: *Exaltare super caelos Deus in omni terra gloria tua*
(56.12: Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens: and Thy
glory above all the earth).

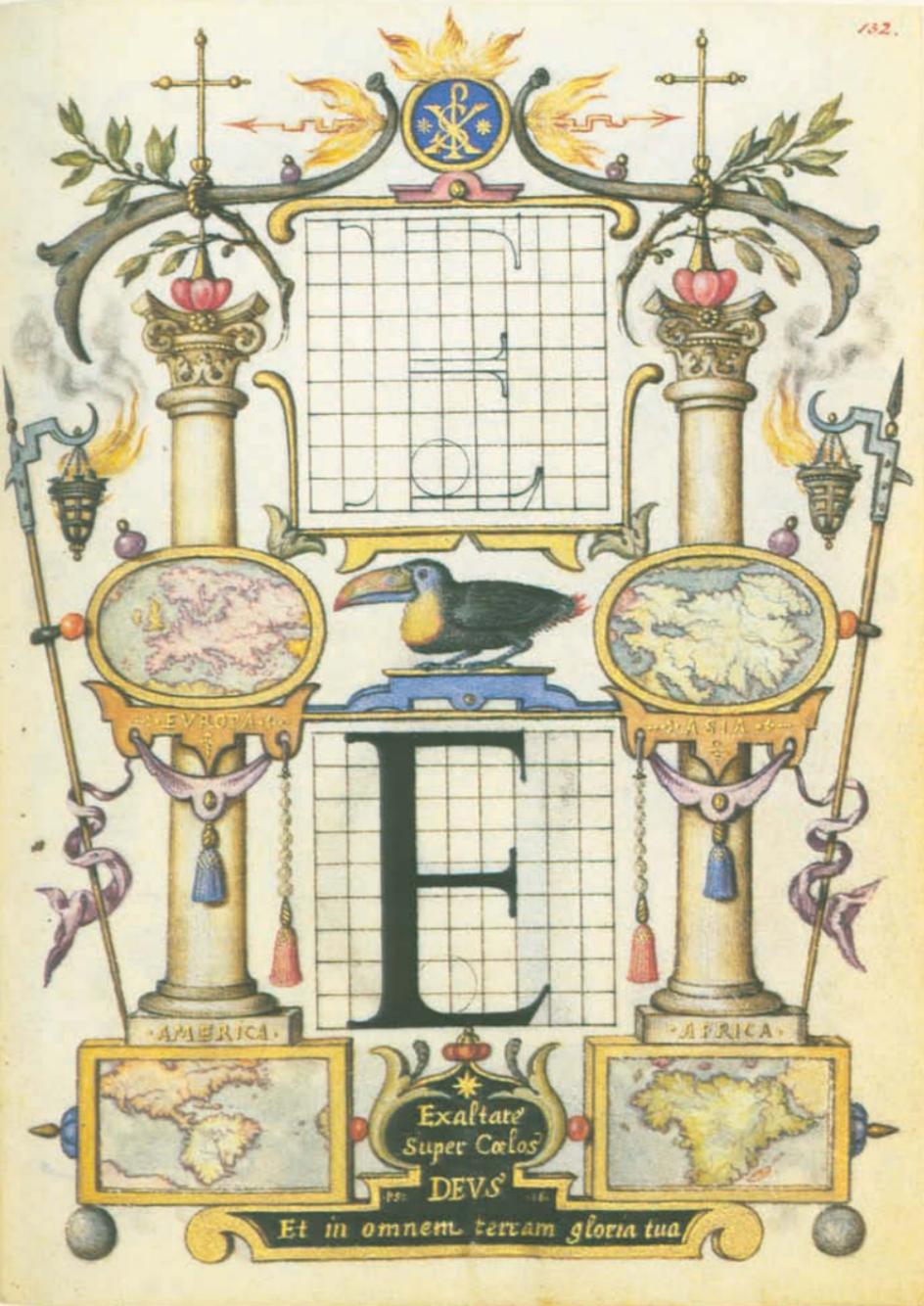
In the top margin is an azure medallion with the Greek letters X, P, and S (the chi-rho-sigma monogram for *Christus*) surrounded by a frame. Lightning flashes and thunderheads emanate from the name of Christ as do horns, attached to laurel branches, signs of his glory. The empire of Christ, symbolized by the Latin cross, stretches across the entire world, as is evidenced by maps of Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa. Combined into a single map, they appear in the same context on folio 101 of one of the writing model books in Vienna (inv. 975).²²

The two columns at the left and right not only create a decorative framework but, together with the maps, bring to mind the so-called Pillars of Hercules, which Emperor Charles V used as his emblem, accompanied by the motto "Plus ultra" (Even farther).²³ This motto proclaimed that his empire extended even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, that is to say beyond the mountains flanking the Strait of Gibraltar. With the Pillars of Hercules, Hoefnagel alluded in the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975) to the power of the emperor.²⁴ Here, they glorify the power of Christ.

The toucan in the middle of the page probably does not have specific symbolic meaning but indicates, through its exotic appearance, the foreign peoples and lands that had been incorporated into the empire and converted to Christianity since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Apparently, Hoefnagel first saw a toucan in 1578, the same year in which he rendered it in an early design for the engraving of Cadiz, Spain,²⁵ used in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*.²⁶ That drawing is dated and inscribed *Avis sive pica Peruwiana allata* (Imported bird, so-called Peruvian magpie). At this time, Cadiz, together with Seville, possessed the trade monopoly on raw goods and exotica from Spanish territories overseas.



Deus meus es tu: in
manibus tuis sortes meae.



Folio 132v

F FIRMAMENTUM MEUM DOMINUS, REFUGIUM MEUM
ET LIBERATOR MEUS. PS.17

Ps 17.3: *Dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus* (17.3: The Lord is my firmament, my refuge, my deliverer).

Whereas the psalmist calls out to the heavenly Lord as his support and refuge, the illumination depicts the wealth and abundance resulting from the rule of God's earthly representative, thus referring to the alphabet's patron, Rudolf II. Rudolf here is considered as the originator of the contemporary golden age, not, however, in his capacity as Holy Roman Emperor but as the ruling archduke of the house of Austria. The lightning flashes representing his might and the abundant cornucopias are attached to the Austrian coat of arms in the middle of the page. Pouring from the cornucopias are ripe fruits of the orchards and fields such as melons, grapes, peaches, cherries, a pomegranate, squash, and ears of corn. This imagery expresses thanks to the emperor of the house of Austria for the overflowing abundance of the golden age newly dawned under his regime.

Fruit garlands and fruit-filled cornucopias – traditional elements of the repertoire of Netherlandish grotesque imagery – burst with life in Hoefnagel's work. On folio 13 of the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975), Rudolf II is honored, this time as emperor, with similar bundles of fruit,²⁷ while cornucopias on folio 60v of Hoefnagel's Roman missal point to the realm of the heavenly ruler.²⁸ The incense bowl in the middle of the top margin, which in the Vienna writing model book burns in God's honor (fol. 13), probably also burns here to honor the heavenly emperor. The two insects, whose comical forms fit so organically into the fantasy architecture of the grotesque ornament, are probably to be understood here in a general sense as beleaguering those who yearn for faith, peace, and abundance.

Folio 133

G

GUSTATE ET VIDETE QUAM SUAVIS EST DOMINUS:

BEATUS VIR QUI SPERAT IN EO. Ps.33

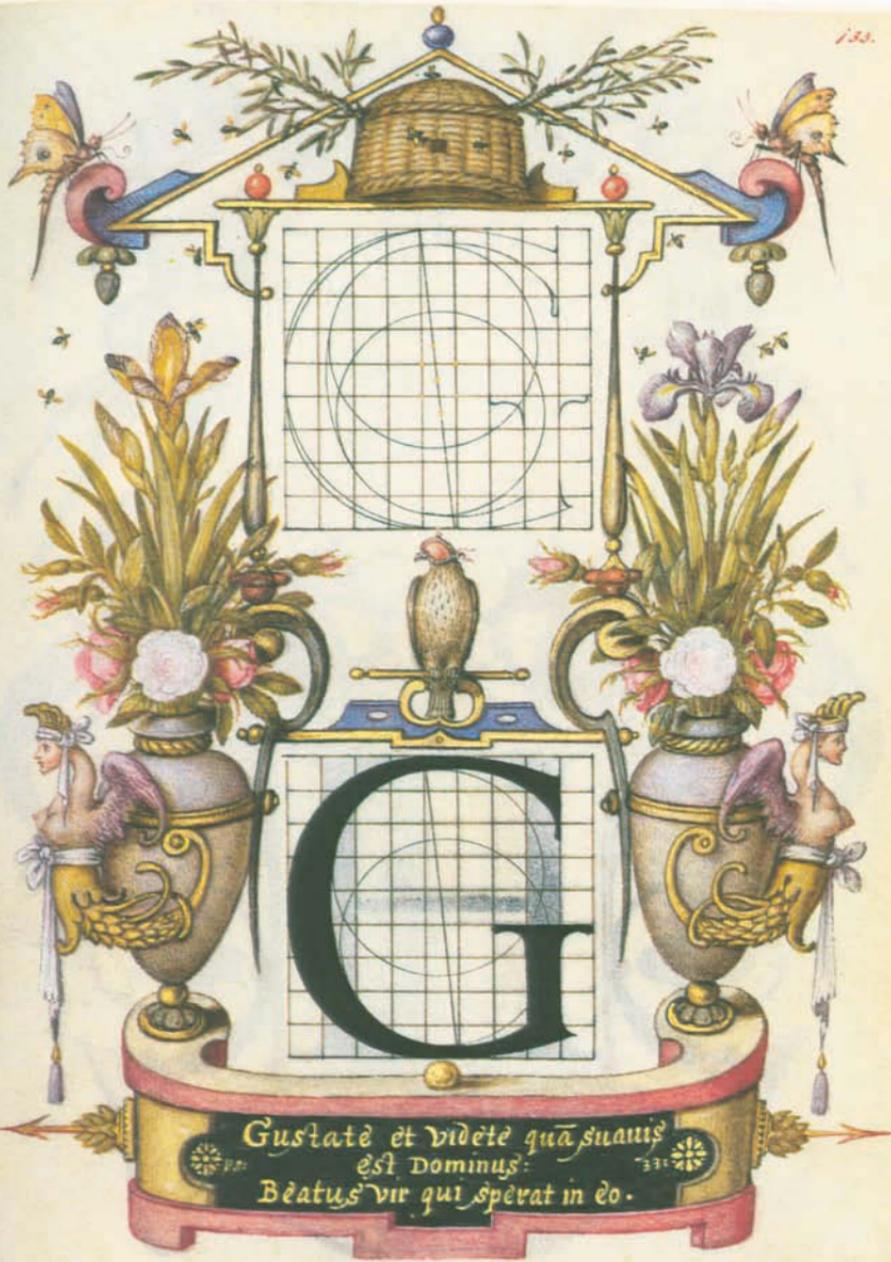
Pss 33.9: *Gustate et videte quoniam bonus Dominus. Beatus vir qui sperat in eo* (33.9: O taste, and see, that the Lord is sweet. Blessed is the man that hopeth in him).

The invitation of the psalmist to taste the sweetness of the Lord is taken literally here: bees –i.e., pious creatures²⁹ –swarm around luxuriant bouquets of roses and irises, exemplifying God's creation, and sip nectar from ripe blossoms. This nectar is transformed into the honey in the hive in the middle of the top margin. Out of the hive, which refers to the house of God and the community of all believers,³⁰ grow olive branches, symbolizing peace. Devilish adversaries in the form of mothlike insects lie in wait for the bees (God's servants) outside the hive. In spite of their small size, the bouquets are composed of flowers based on studies from nature. The partly opened, symmetrical iris bloom at the left is based on the same model used for the iris depicted on folio 65 of the Getty writing model book.

It is difficult to determine whether the symbolism of this illumination transcends natural symbolism such that the bees might refer to believers and the other natural elements to God's creation. Irises and roses are early summer flowers that were closely associated with the Virgin Mary; it is possible that there is a deeper symbolic significance to the bees' sipping nectar from the flowers. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the image of the hive –which is probably used as a symbol here, as is indicated by the olive branches –often referred to the Roman Catholic church, due to the formal similarity to the papal tiara. The image was also used to parody the church, however.³¹

The falcon patiently awaiting removal of its hood in order to regain its sight illustrates the second part of the biblical verse. In sixteenth-century emblematics, the hunting falcon embodied hope³² due to its confidence in its imminent release from darkness.





Gustate et videte quā suavis
 est Dominus:
 Beatus vir qui sperat in eo.

Folio 133v

H

HI IN CURRIBUS ET HI IN EQUIS, NOS AUTEM IN NOMINE
DOMINI NOSTRI. PS.19

Ps 19.8: *Hii in curribus et hii in equis, nos autem nominis Domini Dei nostri recordabimur* (19.8: Some trust in chariots and some in horses; but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God).

This verse forms part of a prayer to be said in time of war, praising the power of the Lord and predicting the downfall of his enemies. The psalmist continues: "They have fallen and died, but we stand resurrected."

The psalmist's plea for protection from the enemies of Israel has been transformed in this illumination into a contemporary prayer for God's help in the battle against the enemies of the empire, especially the Turks, who posed an ongoing threat. In 1593, war broke out again. Like the battle waged by the children of Israel, the fight against the Turks was understood primarily as a religious war. The Muslim Ottomans are symbolized here by monkeys with spurred boots and feathered headgear. They ride into battle on sea horses and fly the Ottoman crescent-moon banner. Lightning flashes and thunderheads, symbols of power, are directed against the charging apes, enemies of the faith. The source of the former is a three-pointed star inscribed with the motto "Sum unus qui unus sum" (I am the triune union), a sign of the Trinity. Hoefnagel frequently depicted apes imitating human behavior;³³ he also delighted in the peculiar shape and scaly tails of sea horses, as can be seen on folio 112 of the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975).

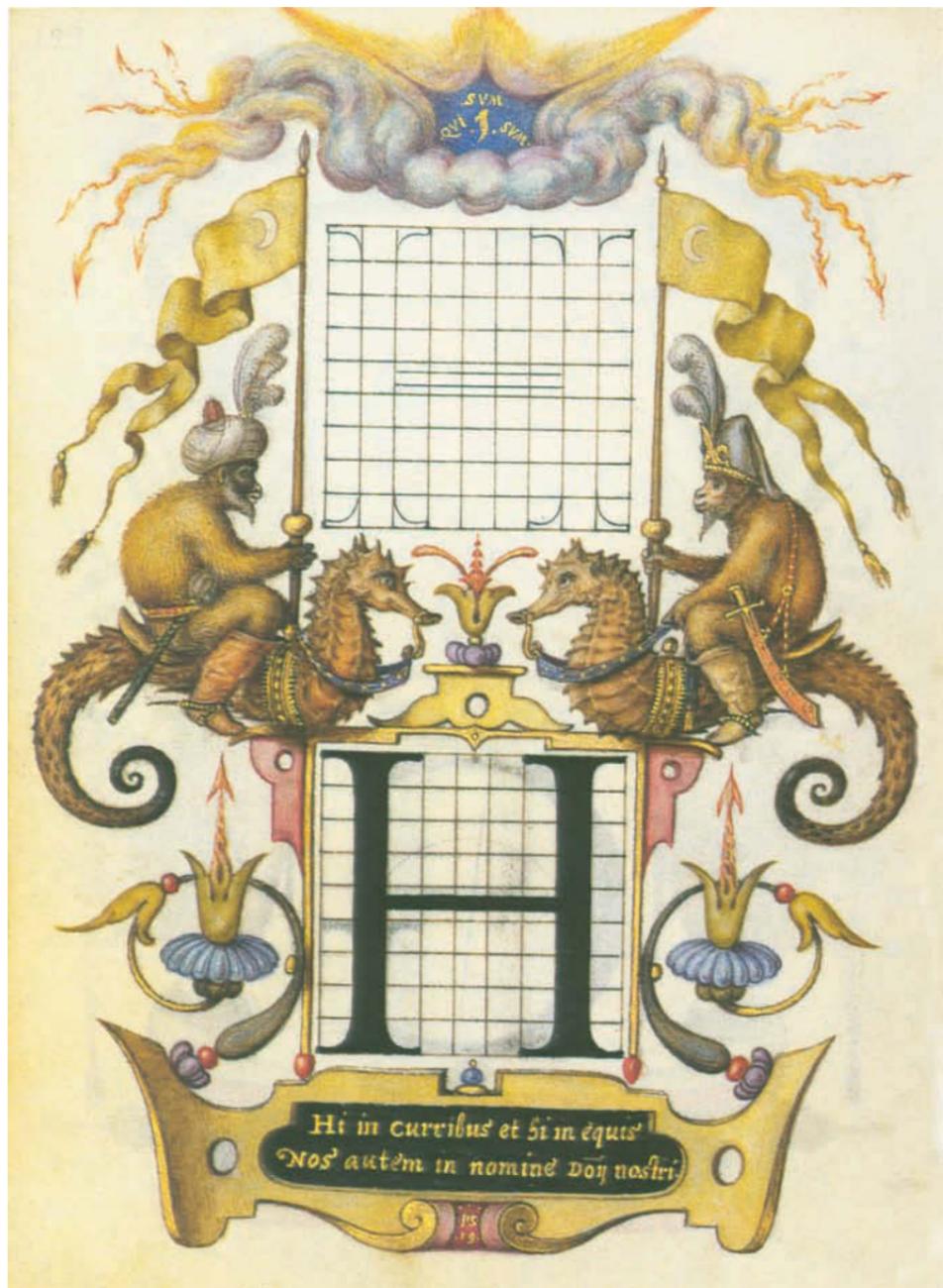
Folio 134

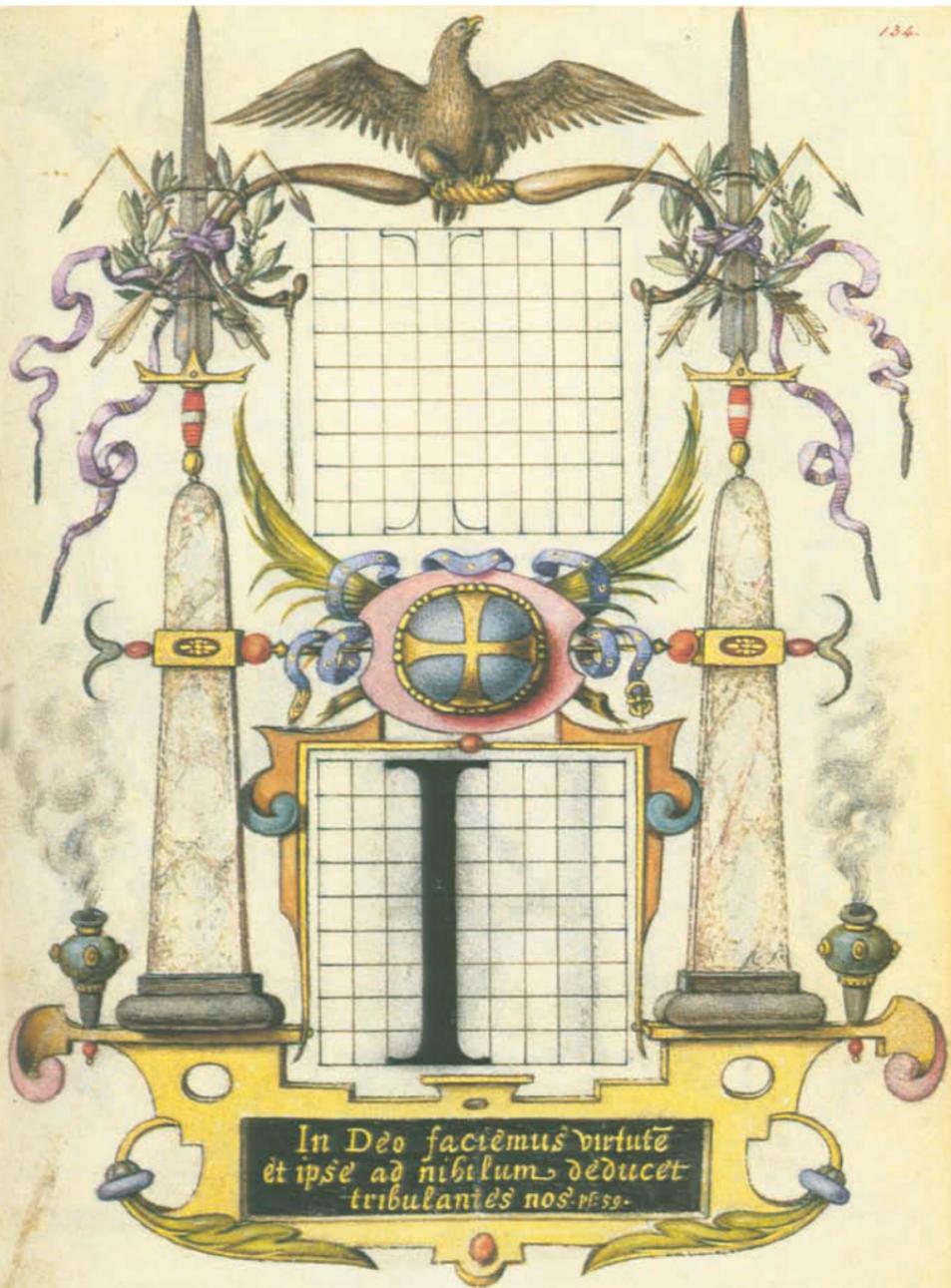
I IN DEO FACIEMUS VIRTUTEM ET IPSE AD NIHILUM
DEDUCET TRIBULANTES NOS. Ps. 59

Ps 59.14: *In Deo faciemus virtutem et ipse ad nihilum deducet tribulantes nos* (59.14: Through God we shall do mightily: and he shall bring to nothing them that afflict us).

Here, too, the battle of the Israelites against their enemies serves as a typological counterpart of the Holy Roman Emperor's war against the Turks. This struggle was waged under the protection and shield of God. The central oblong shield of faith³⁴ decorated with the sign of the cross was to be worn in battle; hence the belt or straps. Behind the shield are two palm fronds signifying certain victory. Hoefnagel's pictorial language here reflects the iconography of the militant Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuit order, which portrayed life as military service for the Catholic church.

An obelisk – symbol of imperturbability³⁵ – at each side of the composition supports a sword whose hilt is decorated with the colors of the house of Austria, red and white. Representing justice,³⁶ these weapons simultaneously refer to the imperial insignia of the sword of state, just as they do on folio 130v. Their decoration with laurel wreaths signifies the emperor's fame. The two broken arrows crossed behind the swords are meant as trophies of his victory, for, according to the second part of the biblical verse, enemies are defeated with the help of God. The one-headed eagle enthroned between the two swords refers to Rudolf II.





In Deo faciemus virtutē
et ipse ad nihilum deducet
tribulantes nos. ps. 59.

Folio 134v

KANTABO DOMINO QUI BONA TRIBUIT MIHI ET PSALLAM
NOMINI DOMINI ALTISSIMI. PS.12

PS 12.6: *Cantabo Domino qui bona tribuit mihi et psallam nomini Domini altissimi* (12.6: I will sing to the Lord, who giveth me good things: Yea I will sing to the name of the Lord the most high).

For the K missing in the classical Latin alphabet Hoefnagel substituted the homophonic C. The content of this verse is roughly equivalent to that on folio 131 for the letter C. The song of praise to God is sung on both folios by birds (*cantabo*), though here the instrumental music-making is expressed by two knotted, winged horns. The birds have alighted on urns decorated with grotesques, out of whose lids spring thin streams of water. The water refreshes three wreaths of roses in the colors of the house of Austria that hang down from the winged horns.

According to the psalmist, fresh, blooming flowers are among the gifts that God gives humanity. Other gifts (*bona*) are the fruits of the fields and trees—here, sheaves of wheat and grapes arranged in a shallow bowl in the middle of the page. The earthly gifts are themselves references to the bread (wheat) and wine (grapes) of the Eucharist. The fountainlike water refreshing the flowers alludes to the sacrament of baptism. Baptism and the Eucharist are the most important sacraments, accepted by all Christian denominations. Hoefnagel also refers to them several times in other works.³⁷

Folio 135

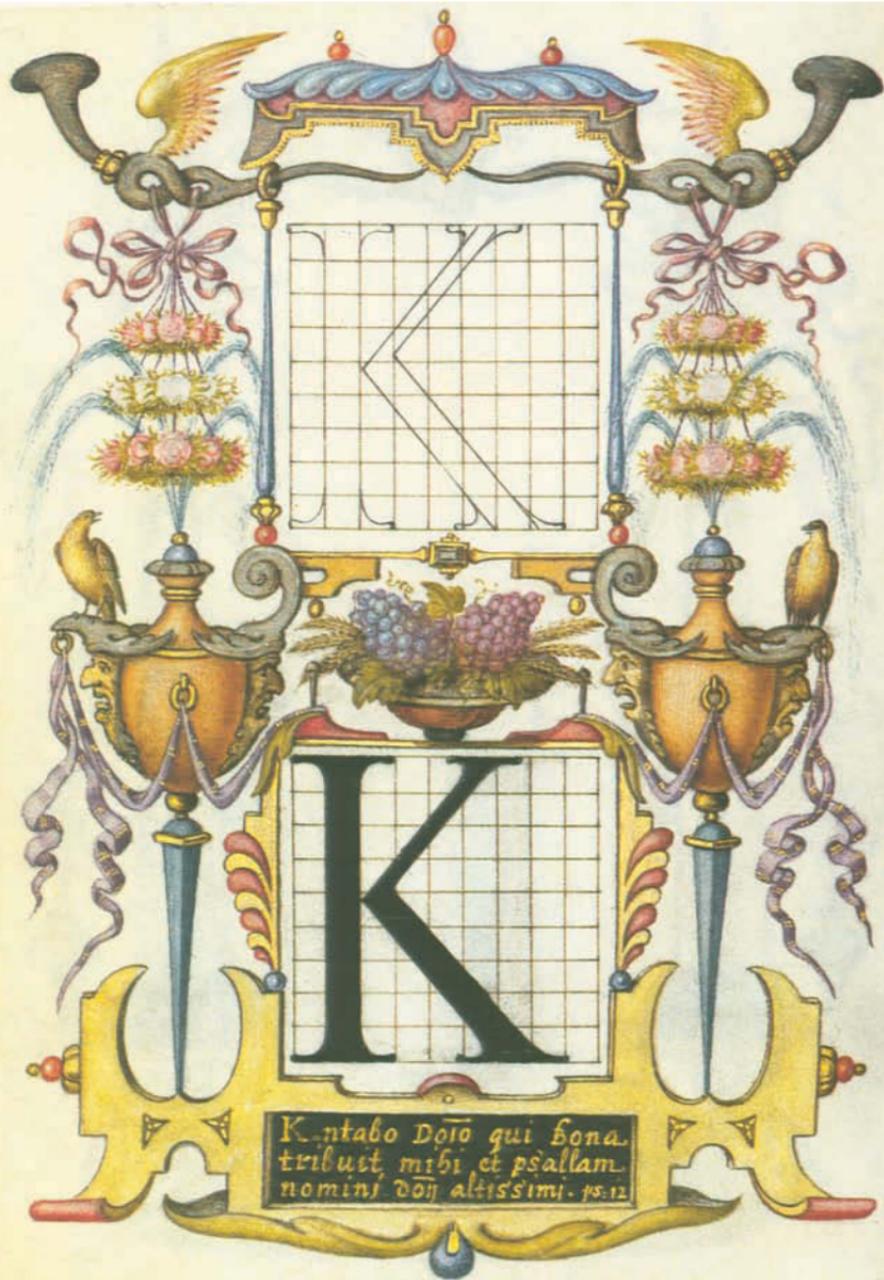
L LAUDANS INVOCABO DOMINUM ET AB OMNIBUS INNIMICIS
MEIS SALVUS ERO. Ps.17

Ps 17.4: *Laudans invocabo Dominum et ab inimicis meis salvus ero* (17.4: Praising I will call upon the Lord: and I shall be saved from my enemies).

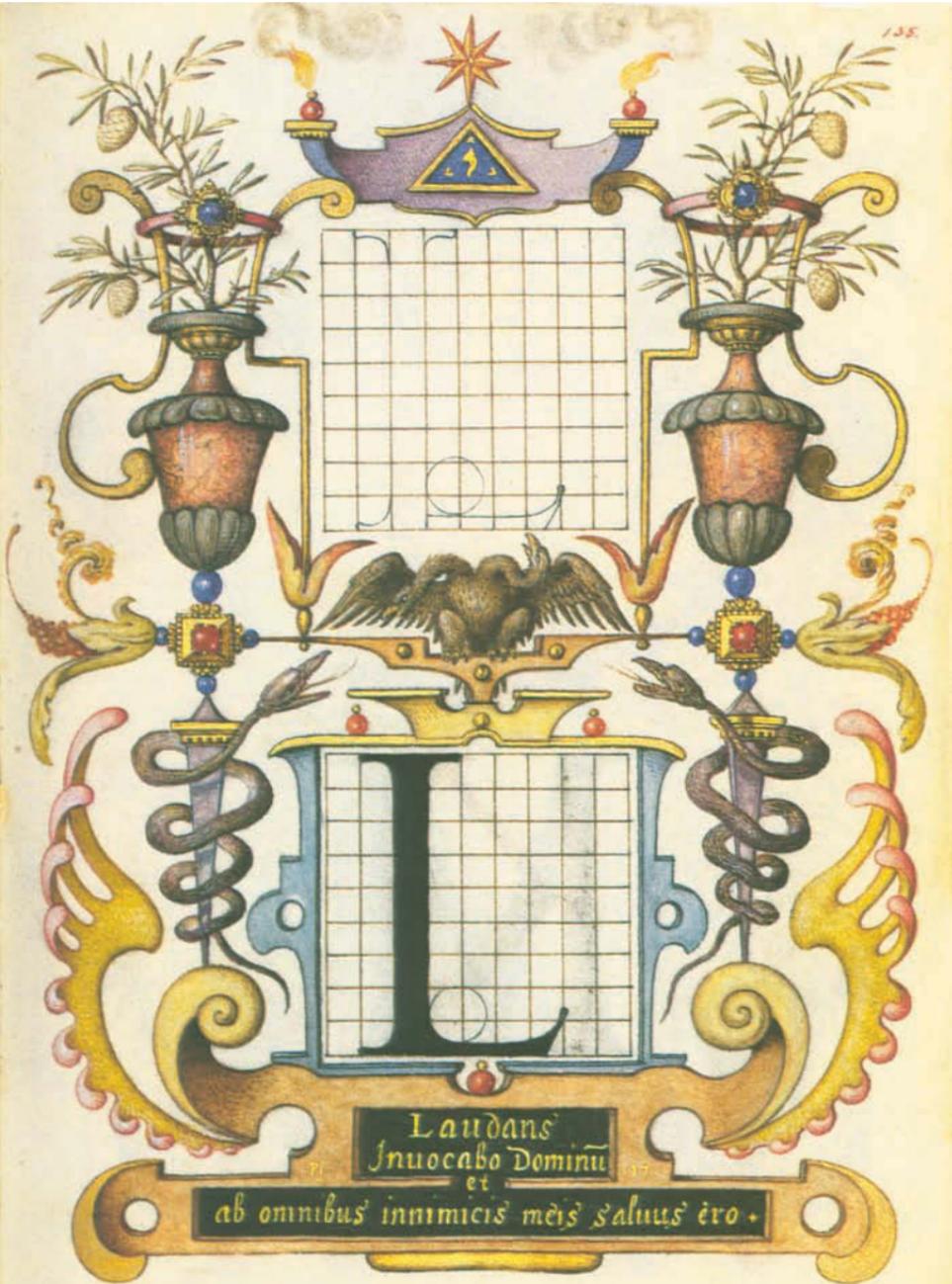
The upper part of this illumination glorifies the Divinity, symbolized by the equilateral triangle, a sign of the Trinity.³⁸ As on folio 133v, the number one in the center refers to the triune union. Also, the eight-pointed star, the incense burners, and the branches with pinecones signify the veneration of the eternal (star³⁹) and immortal (pine bough⁴⁰) God.

The second part of the verse is illustrated on the bottom half of the folio: helical snakes – i.e., hostile powers⁴¹ – hiss furiously with wide-open mouths at the double-headed eagle in the middle of the page. One of the eagle's heads looks down, toward one of the snakes, while the second head looks up, in adoration of God. The eagle thus connects the two parts of the verse referring to God on the one hand and humanity's enemies on the other.

Although there is neither monogram nor coat of arms alluding to Rudolf II, the entire illumination is nevertheless to be associated with him. One of his emblems was the double-headed eagle, which here turns one head toward the sun – i.e., God⁴² – and the other toward the snakes that threaten it. “Colit et pendit” (He adores and weighs) is the motto accompanying this imperial emblem on folio 119 of the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975). In the emblem book of Jacobus Typotius published in Prague in 1601,⁴³ this image is accompanied by the motto “Utrunque” (To both sides). The text on the reverse of Typotius's medallion (the obverse bears the image) refers to Rudolf's war against the Turks in 1596 – the same year, incidentally, in which the illumination of the constructed alphabet was completed.⁴⁴



*K*antabo Dōno qui bona
tribuit mihi et psallam
nomini Dōni altissimi. ps. 112



Laudans
 Inuocabo Dominū
 et

ab omnibus inimicis meis saluus ero.

M

Folio 135v

MIHI ADHERERE DEO BONUM EST PONERE IN DOMINO

DEO MEO SPEM MEAM. Ps.72

Pss 72.28: *Mihi autem adpropinquare Deo bonum est, posui in Domino Deo spem meam* (72.28: But it is good for me to adhere to my God, to put my hope in the Lord God).

Like all flowers that open their blooms toward the light, day-lilies symbolize creatures that turn toward God in adoration and confession.⁴⁵ As such, they embody the first part of the biblical verse here. The well-known verse from Matthew, "Look at the lilies in the field, how they grow; they do not work, nor do they spin" (Matt. 6:28), was the origin of the lily's identification with the devout person who puts his or her life in God's hands with the greatest confidence.

The illuminations connected to the second part of the verse refer to hope fixed on God. The many-pointed star, God's symbol, generates lightning flashes and thunderheads as signs of his power and crowns an anchor that forms the basic framework for the illumination of the page as a whole. The anchor is a traditional symbol of hope.⁴⁶ Here, it has been rendered in trompe l'oeil as if piercing the vellum behind the constructed M. On the anchor's arms sit two hooded falcons. As on folio 133, they embody the hope of the faithful for release from the darkness. The first-person voice of the biblical verse is associated with Rudolf II through the initial R in medallions on the red and white banners of the house of Austria. The flags are fastened to the scrollwork frame by colorful bands. This folio has been transformed by its illuminations into a personal confession of faith by the emperor.

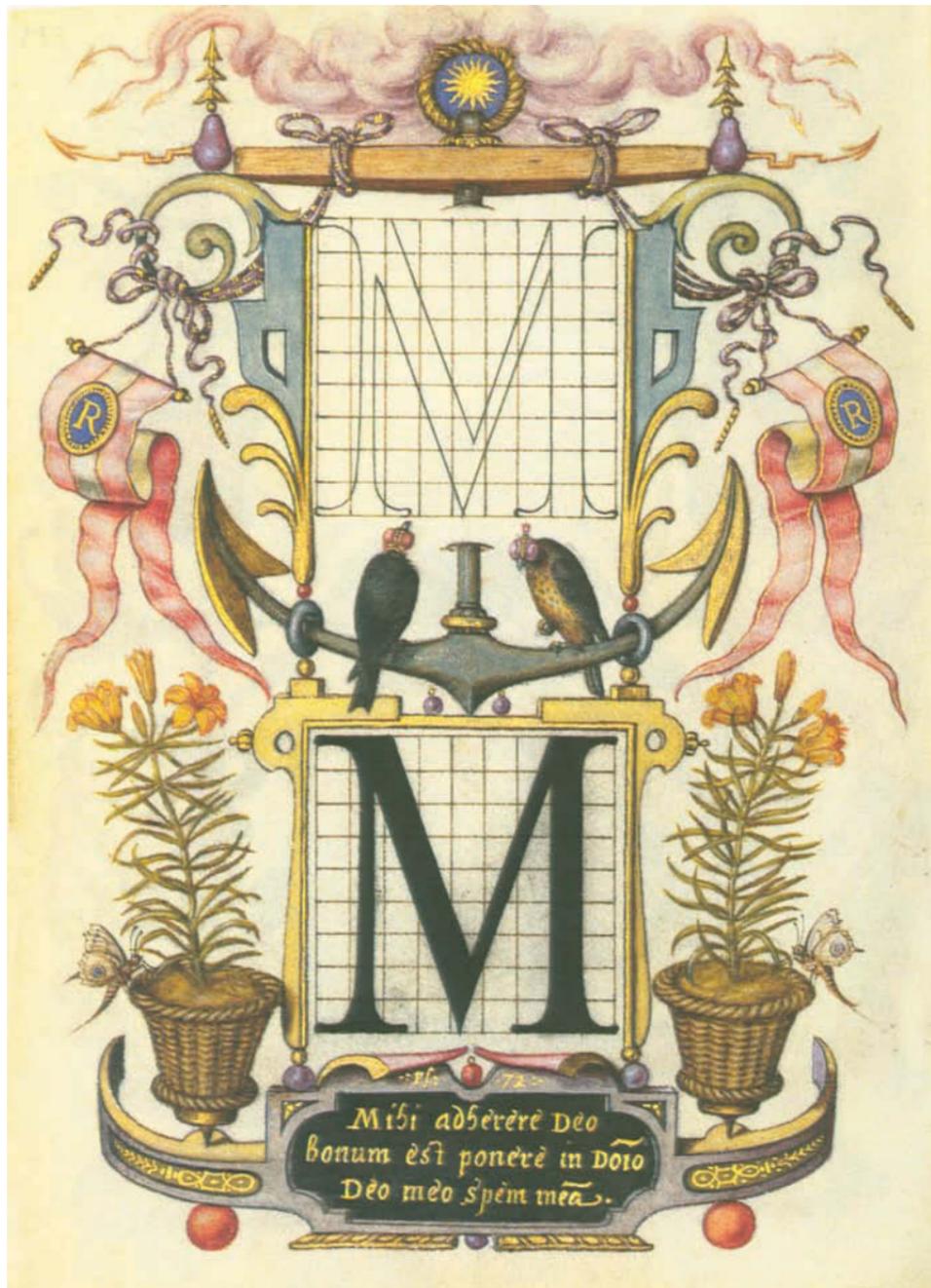
Folio 136

N

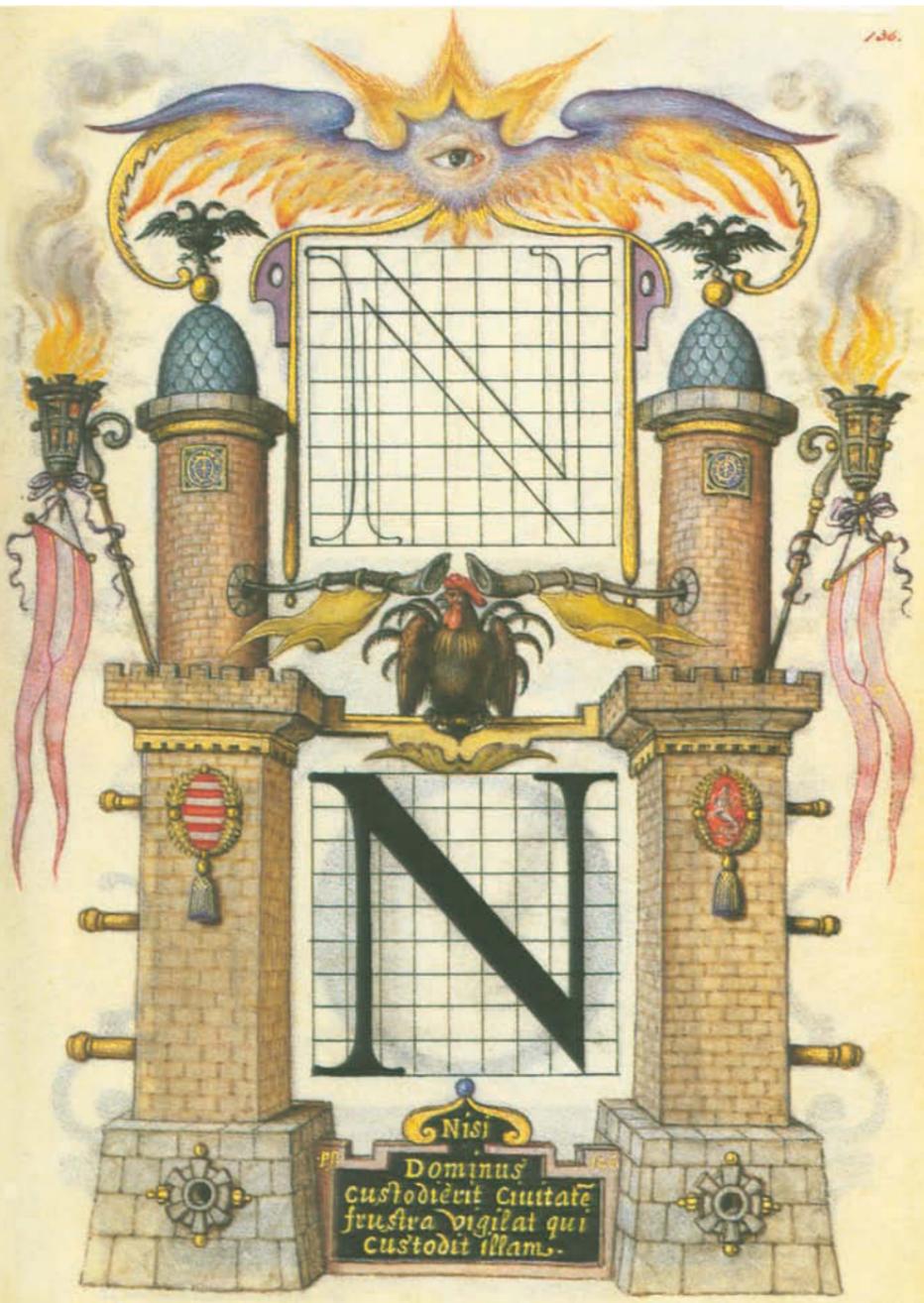
NISI DOMINUS CUSTODIERIT CIVITATEM FRUSTRA
VIGILAT QUI CUSTODIT ILLAM. PS.126

Ps 126.1: *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam* (126.1: Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it).

Here, we see fortifications composed of square foundations of large stone blocks, with square towers surmounted by battlements. On these are round towers pierced by marksman's holes. The entire structure protects the universal *civitas* of the terrestrial ruler, the Holy Roman Empire, here symbolized by the double-headed eagles atop the two domes, the coats of arms of Hungary at the left and Bohemia at the right, and the banners in the colors of the house of Austria that hang from the incense burners. The clock strikes midnight, the watchman sounds the horn. A cock – symbol of supreme vigilance⁴⁷ – sits between the two towers with its wings spread. Defenses and vigilance would be in vain, however, were it not for God – the three-pointed star of the trinity – and his might (wings with flames) watching protectively over the empire, as is evidenced by the wide-open eye within the star.



Mihi adherere Deo
bonum est ponere in Deo
Deo meo spem meam.



Nisi
Dominus
custodiērit Ciuitatē
frustra vigilat qui
custodit illam.

O

Folio 136v

OCULI MEI SEMPER AD DOMINUM: QUONIAM IPSE EVELETT
DE LAQUEO PEDES MEOS. Ps.24

PSS 24.15: *Oculi mei semper ad Dominum quia ipse educet de rete pedes meos* (24.15: My eyes are ever towards the Lord: for he shall pluck my feet out of the snare).

The illumination of this page is difficult to interpret. The eyes of the believer, who is the subject of the biblical verse, look toward God; the heart of the believer, with its wide-open eyes and wings signifying its heavenly orientation, refers to spiritual insight that turns the heart of the believer to God. The Divinity is honored by the presence of incense bowls in the top margin. The diamond in the ring above the heart might symbolize Christ, since he was as invulnerable as a pure diamond that could not be cut.⁴⁸ The peacock feathers in the side margins, which elsewhere symbolize pride, are probably to be understood here as references to people of virtue. The “eyes” on these feathers recall the “oculi” of the biblical verse. Hoefnagel employed the peacock as a symbol of virtue in other instances.⁴⁹

The long-necked bird in the middle of the page, which seems to be curled up in sleep, is most likely a swan. Since the Latin word for swan, *olor*, begins with the letter O, this may be why Hoefnagel chose it as the symbol of evil.⁵⁰ In its somnolent state, however, the bird is unable to threaten the vigilant faithful.

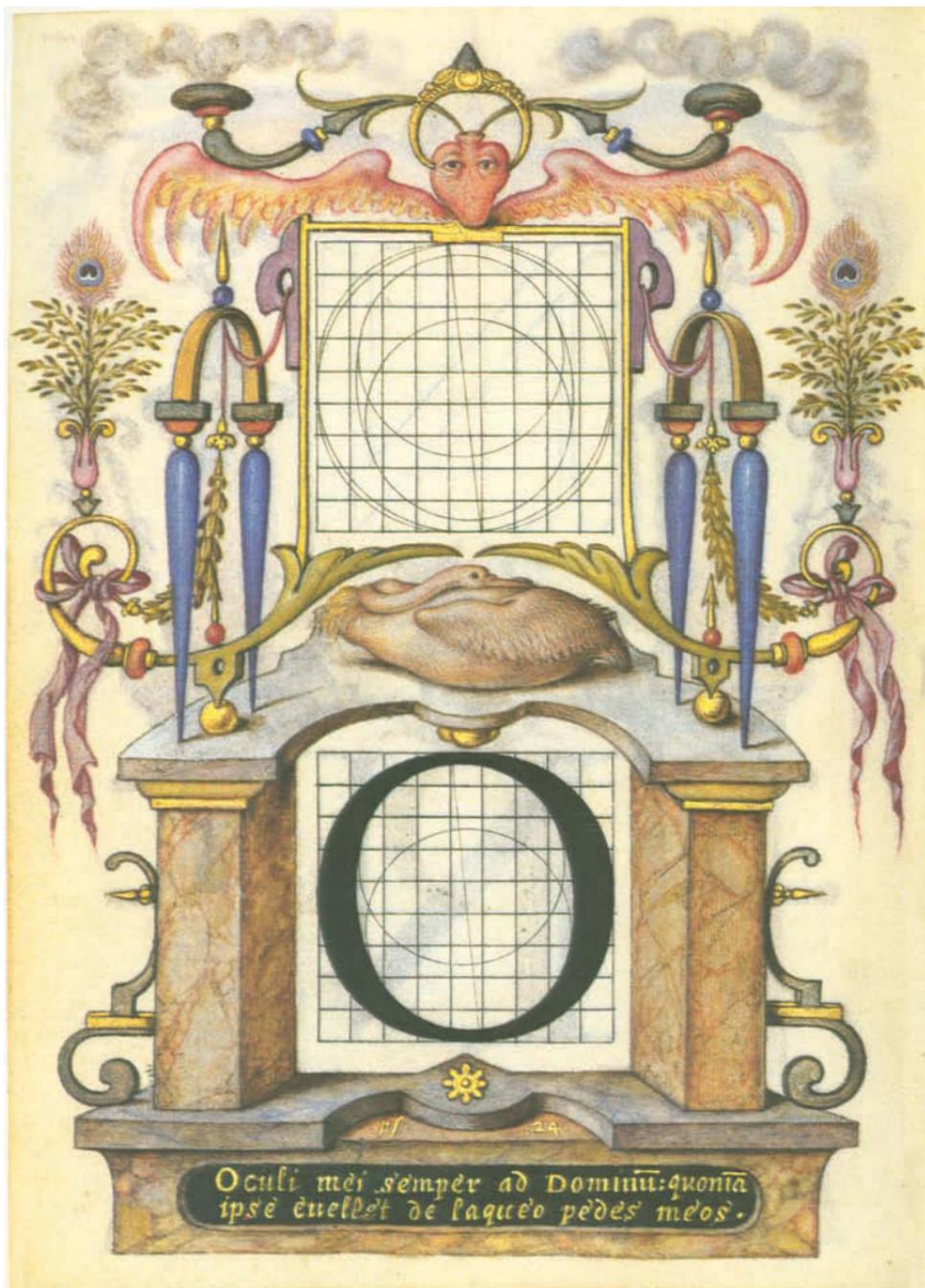
Folio 137

P

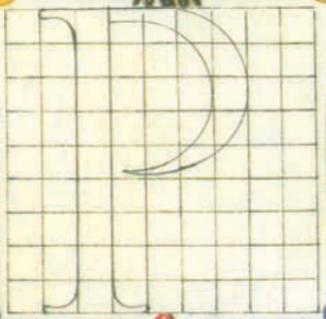
PRAECINXISTI ME VIRTUTE AD BELLUM: ET SUPPLANTASTI
INSURGENTES IN ME SUBTUS ME. PS.17

PSS 17.40: *Accinxisti me fortitudine ad proelium, incurvabis resistentes mihi sub me* (17.40: And thou has girded me with strength into battle; and hast subdued under me them that rose up against me).

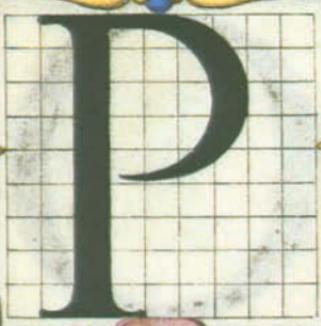
The gratitude of the psalmist and his confidence that God would aid him in the battle against the enemies of Israel are transposed into the emperor's prayer of thanks to God for his help in securing victory over the Turks. The imperial eagle wears a cuirass, holds lightning flashes and thunderheads in its talons as signs of its power, and is flanked by two palm fronds of victory. Standards with the Ottoman crescent moon and captured weapons (arrows, maces, and shields) are depicted as trophies in both margins. Imperial troops laid siege to the Hungarian city of Hatvan, in the district of Heves, fifty kilometers east-northeast of Budapest, on August 15, 1596. The fortifications had been taken on September 3, resulting in a bloodbath among the Muslim population.⁵¹ The view of Hatvan refers to this siege. This was one of the few victories the emperor won over the Turks during this period.



Oculi mei semper ad Dominiū: quonia
ipse euellit de laqueo pedes meos.



HATWAN



*Præcinxisti me virtute
ad bellum: et supplantasti
insurgentes in me subtus me*



Folio 137v

QUIS DEUS MAGNUS SICUT DEUS NOSTER? TU ES DEUS
QUI FACIS MIRABILIA. Ps.75

Pss 76.14-15: *Quis deus magnus ut Deus? Tu es Deus faciens mirabilia* (76.14-15: Who is the great God like our God? Thou art the God that dost wonders).

The size of the constructed and completed Q's left Hoefnagel little space for illuminations. The biblical verse that praises God's power and wondrous deeds is given figural expression at the top by a cherub's head and two trumpets sounding his praise and at the bottom by two incense burners. The composition is built around the framework provided by the tails of the Q's, primary ones extending to the right and secondary ones – apparently added for the sake of symmetry – to the left. In this illumination, the scrollwork frame and objects attached to it are subordinated to the form of the letter.

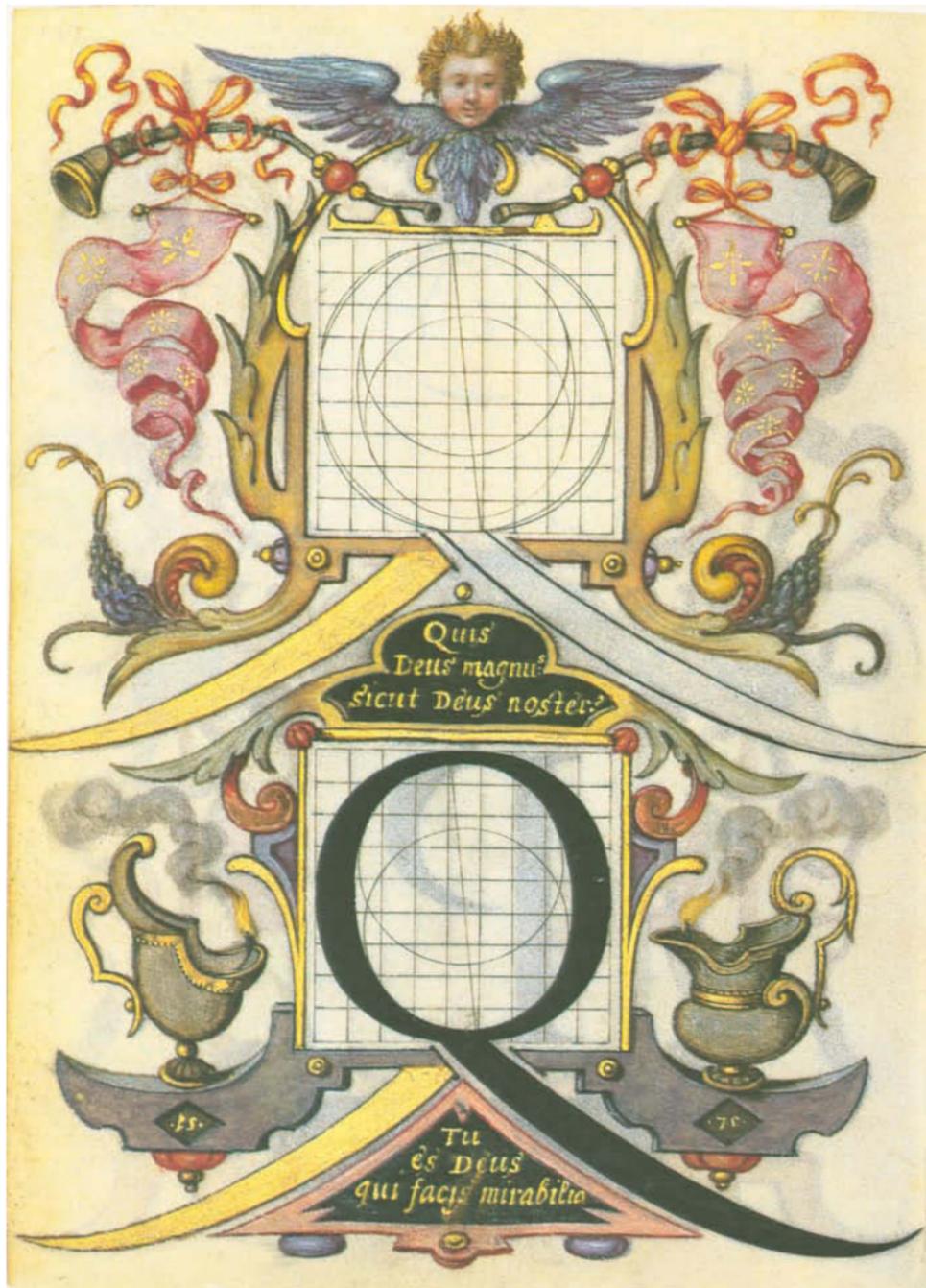
Folio 138

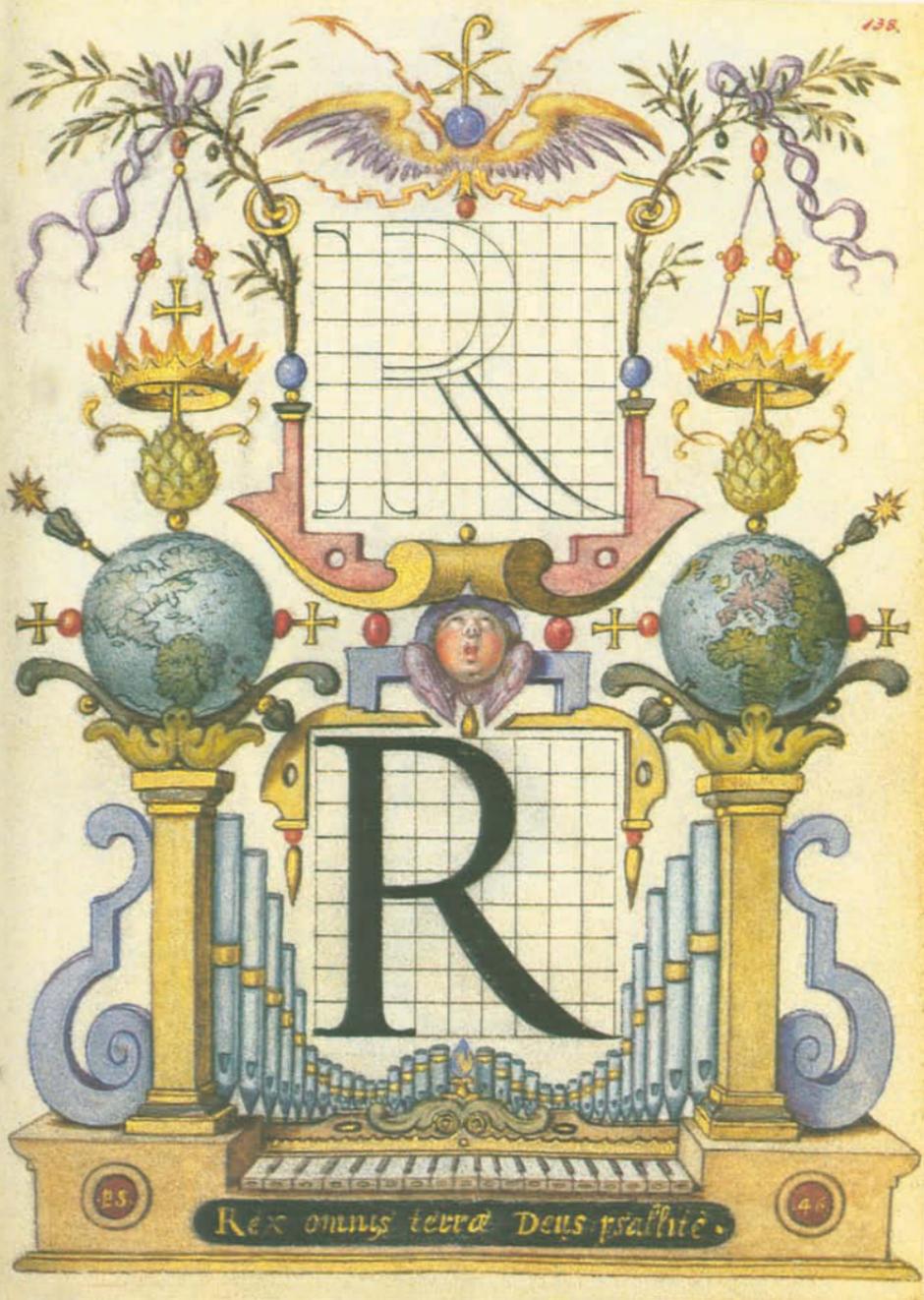
R

REX OMNIS TERRAE DEUS: PSALLITE. Ps.46

PSS 46.8: *Quia Rex universae terrae Deus canite erudite* (46.8: For God is the king of all the earth: sing ye wisely).

An organ with its pipes arrayed around the letter R illustrates the word *psallite*. Music is made in honor of God, king of the entire earth. As on folio 132 with the letter E, the earth is represented by terrestrial globes, here showing the Americas at the left and Europe, Africa, and Asia at the right. God is the ruler of the earth: the scepter drilled through the planet carries an eight-pointed star—his symbol. Two imperial orbs also flank each globe. God, the mighty king (*Rex* of the biblical verse, alluded to by the flaming crowns encircling crosses) is the ruler of eternity (pinecones). In his realm, peace rules (olive branches). Above, the power of Christ is symbolized by the Greek letters X and P, the wings of angels, and lightning flashes. A cherub in the middle of the page sings God's praises.





Folio 138v

S

SUB UMBRA ALARUM TUARUM PROTEGE ME: A FACIE
IMPIORUM QUI ME AFFLIXERUNT. PS.16

Pss 16.8-9: *In umbra alarum tuarum protege me, a facie impiorum vastantium me* (16.8-9: Protect me under the shadow of thy wings. From the face of the wicked who have afflicted me).

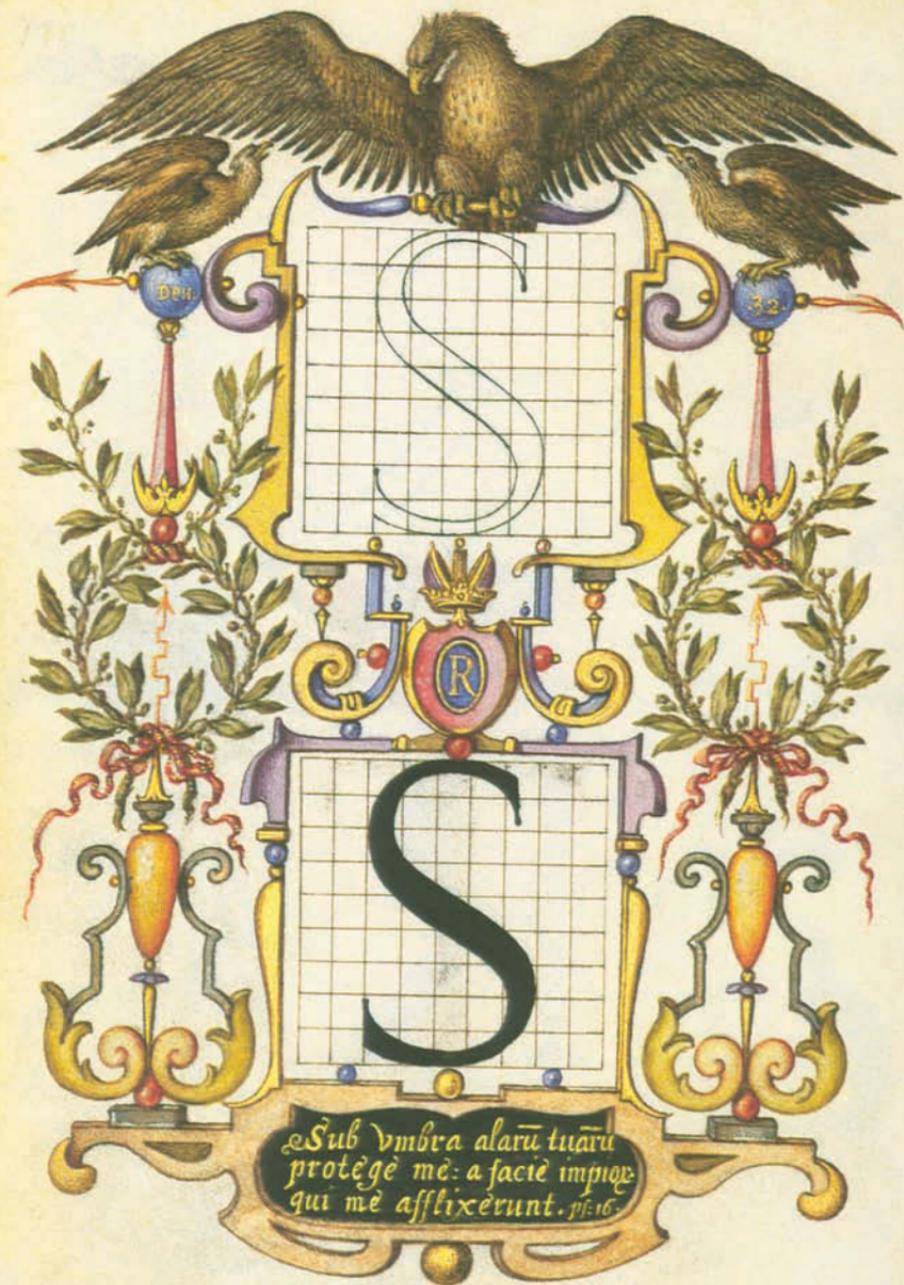
The emperor, represented by the eagle, turns with concern toward his subjects (symbolized by smaller birds), shielding them with his power (his wings). Inspired by the biblical text and iconographically reminiscent of the typology of the Virgin of Mercy who shelters believers under her cloak, the imperial eagle here represents the solace and refuge of the emperor's subjects. Entwined laurel branches glorify his fame; vertical lightning flashes proclaim his power. A medallion with the initial R under the crown in the middle of the page glorifies Emperor Rudolf II as the protector of his subjects.

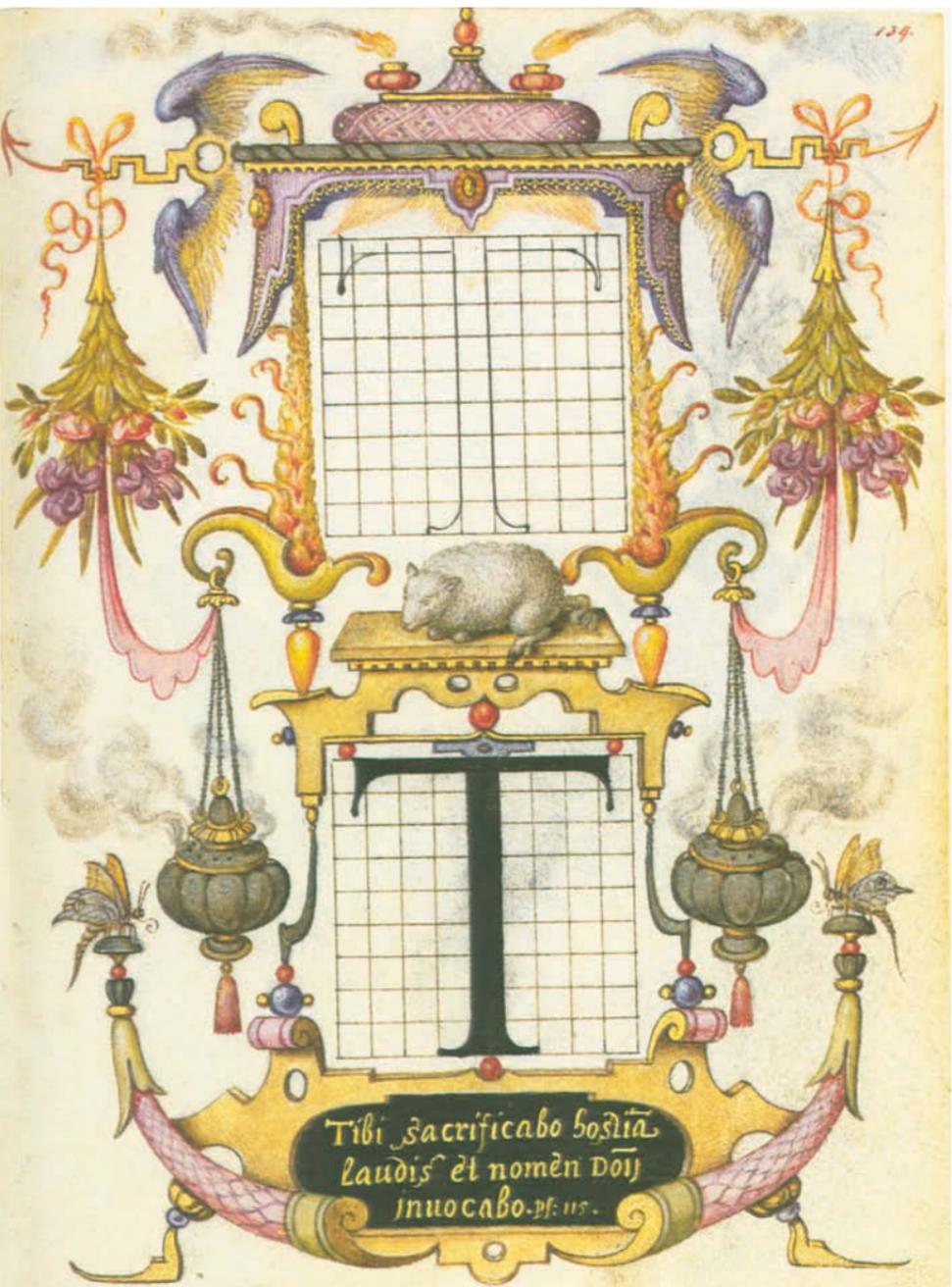
Folio 139

T TIBI SACRIFICABO HOSTIAM LAUDIS ET NOMEN
DOMINI INVOCABO. Ps.115

PSS 115.17: *Tibi immolabo hostiam laudis et in nomine Domini invocabo* (115.17: I will sacrifice to thee the sacrifice of praise, and I will call upon the name of the Lord).

On an altar in the middle of the page, the paschal lamb patiently awaits its sacrificial death. Incense rises from burners at the left and right. In the top margin, the richly decorated canopy shielding the lamb resembles the tabernacle containing the Host. Incense bowls appear at the very top. Wings (divinity³²), lightning flashes (power), and hanging bouquets of roses, iris, and wheat are depicted in the side margins. The Easter lamb symbolizes the Eucharist, representing the Host through which the believer participates in humanity's salvation, realized by Christ's sacrificial death as the Lamb of God.





Folio 139v

V

VOX DOMINI CONFRINGENTIS CEDROS: ET CONFRINGET
DOMINUS CEDROS LIBANI. PS.28

Pss. 28.5: *Vox Domini confringentis cedros et confringet Dominus cedros Libani* (29.5: The voice of the Lord destroys the cedars; the Lord destroys the cedars in Lebanon).

The entire text of the psalm honors the voice of the Lord. Christ's monogram XP in the middle of the top margin forms the focus of this representation. The X is composed of two crossed horns emitting lightning flashes, a reference to the seventh verse of this psalm in which the Lord's voice spits flames; thunderbolts surround Christ's monogram. As elsewhere, they signify the power of God. According to the psalmist, the Lord's voice forces cedar branches to bend and break and their evergreen needles to drop.⁵³ The feathered turbans crowning the trees mark these cedars as symbols of the Ottoman empire. Trophies hanging on each of the tree trunks⁵⁴ consist of Turkish scimiters and maces. Fire-spitting snakes (i. e., enemies of the Christian empire) coil around the trees but are repelled by God's power.

Folio 140

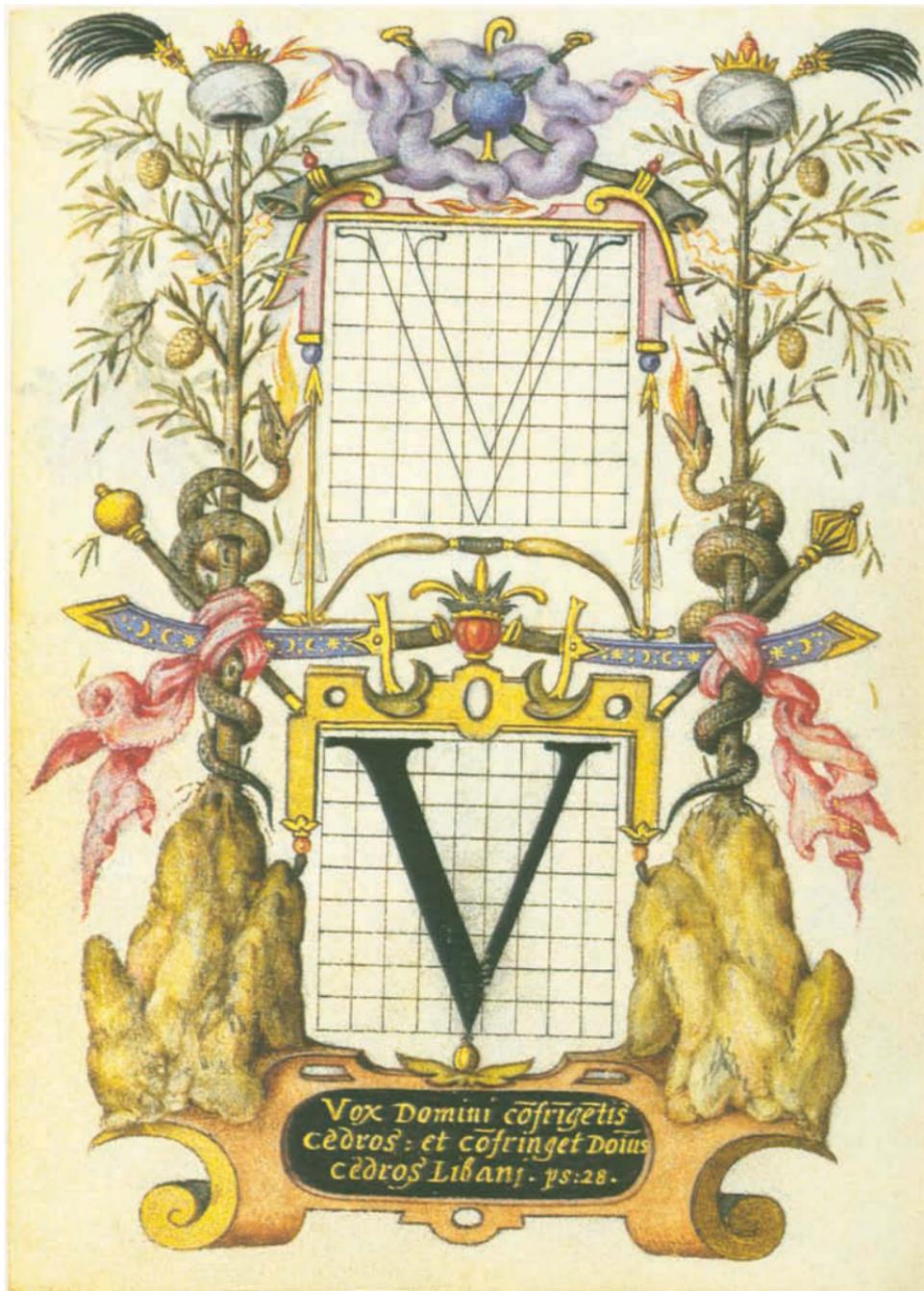
X

EXURGAT DEUS ET DISSIPENTUR INNIMICI EIUS:

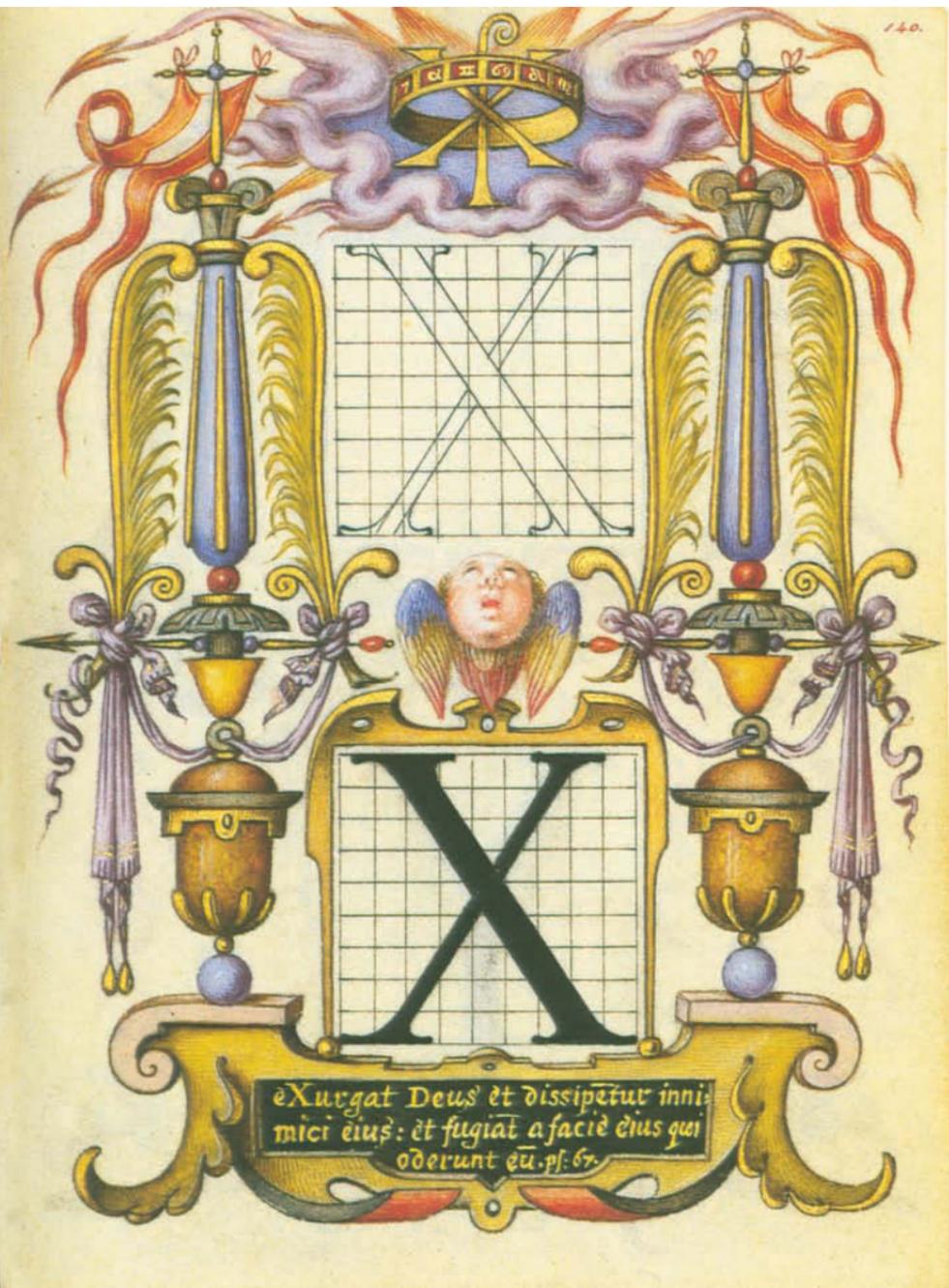
ET FUGIANT A FACIE EIUS QUI ODERUNT EUM. Ps.67

Pss 67.2: *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius* (67.2: Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face).

In order to incorporate the X into his abecedarium, Hoefnagel used the second letter of a biblical verse. The letter's balanced structure led him to create a composition bound by strict symmetry, which gives the page as a whole a serene and sacred aura. The Roman letter X corresponds in form to the Greek letter X (chi). The page is thus illuminated with a symbolic representation of victory (four palms) in the name of Christ (in its form as the monogram XP), which is surrounded by lightning flashes and thunderheads and encircled by the signs of the zodiac, symbols of the universe. Here, too, victory over God's opponents is portrayed as the victory in God's name of the house of Austria (the red and white banners) over the Turks.



*Vox Domini cōfrigetis
cēdros: et cōfringet Doius
cēdros Libani. ps:28.*



Folio 140v

Y

CYMBALIS BENE SONANTIBUS LAUDATE EUM: LAUDATE
EUM IN CYMBALIS IUBILATIONIS. Ps.150

Pss. 150.5: *Laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus, laudate eum in cymbalis tinnientibus* (150.5: Praise him on high sounding cymbals: praise him on cymbals of joy).

Just as with X, the letter Y appears as the second letter of a biblical verse. The illuminations here are more playful and less symbolically weighted, however. Suspended ethereally from the grotesque ornaments are different musical instruments, such as triangles and sticks, sleigh bells, tambourines, and tiny bells suspended from tassels. Their chimes and tinkles comprise the bright tones of which the biblical verse speaks. The decorative character of the ensemble is further enhanced by the lion's head in the middle of the page, which was taken from the repertoire of grotesques by Cornelis Floris.⁵⁵

Z

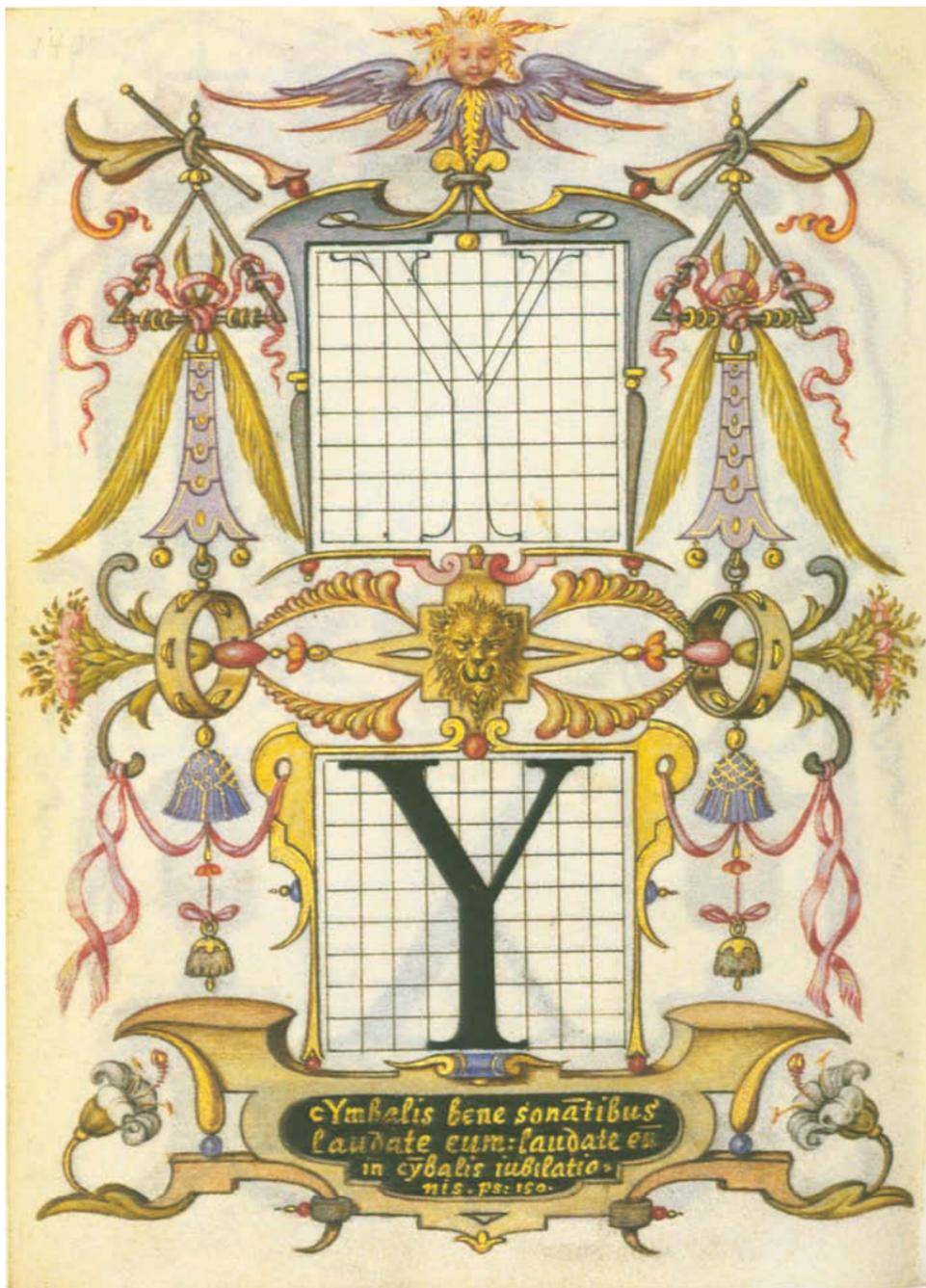
Folio 141

ZELUS DOMUS TUAE COMEDIT ME: ET OPPROBIA
OPPROBANTIUM TIBI CECIDERUNT SUPER ME. Ps.68

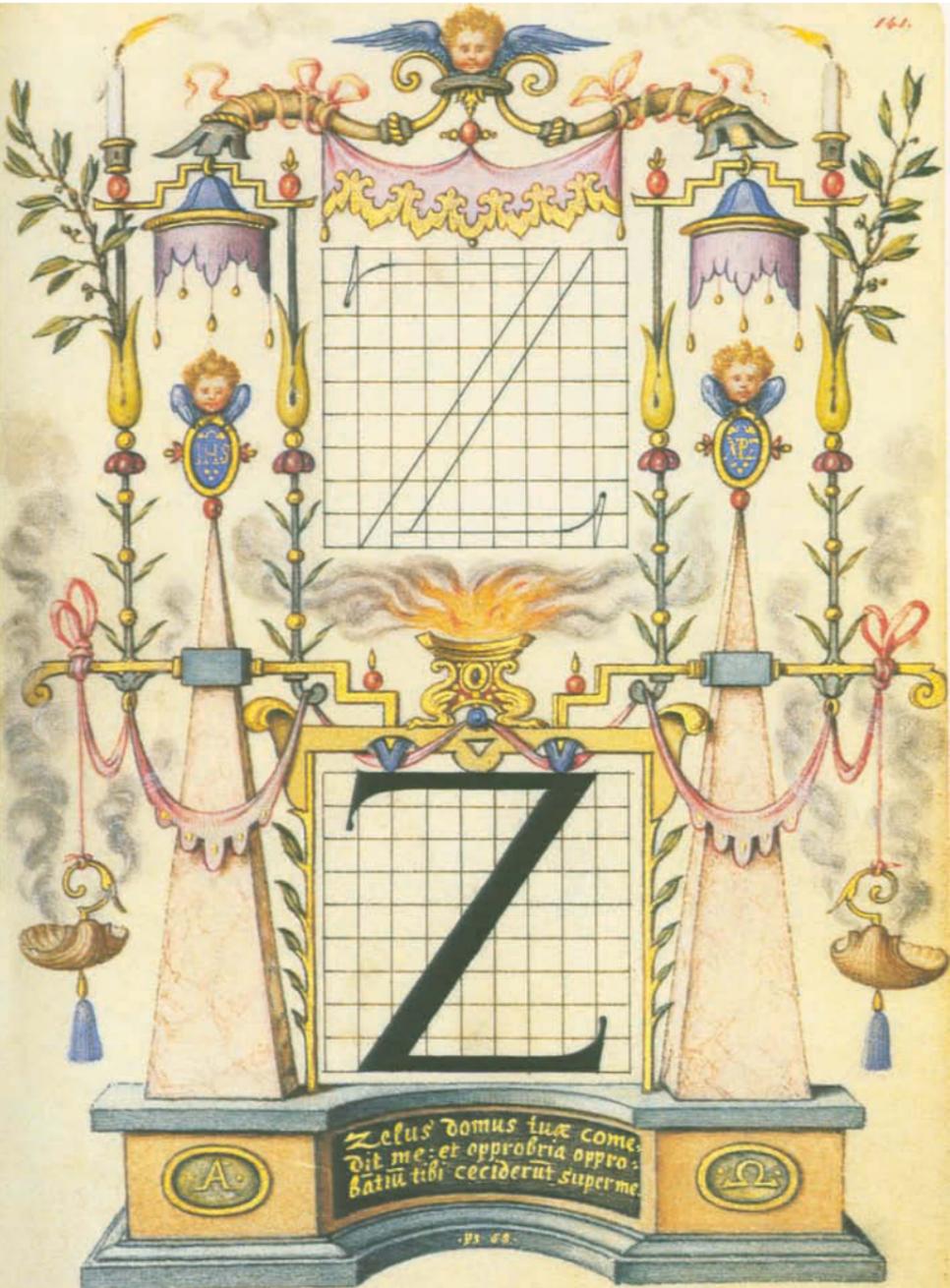
Pss. 68.10: *Quia zelus domus tuae comedit me et obprobrium exprobrantium tibi cecidit super me* (68.10: For the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up: and the reproaches of them that reproach thee have fallen upon me).

For the interpretation of the letter Z, Hoefnagel chose a verse from Psalms that is referred to several times in the New Testament. The psalmist's own annihilation, of which he speaks here, was thought to prefigure the sufferings of Christ.⁵⁶ Hoefnagel's illumination of the biblical verse conforms to this typology. The two oval medallions with the name of Jesus Christ, IHS XPS, rest atop two obelisks, symbols of imperturbability. Laurel branches, trumpets, and cherubs beneath canopies proclaim God's fame. On an altar in the middle of the page, a fire burns, ignited by love for God.

The alphabetical cycle of Roman upper-case letters ends with Z. On this last page, the alpha and omega from folio 130, the first page of the constructed alphabet, occur again, at the feet of the obelisks bearing Christ's name.



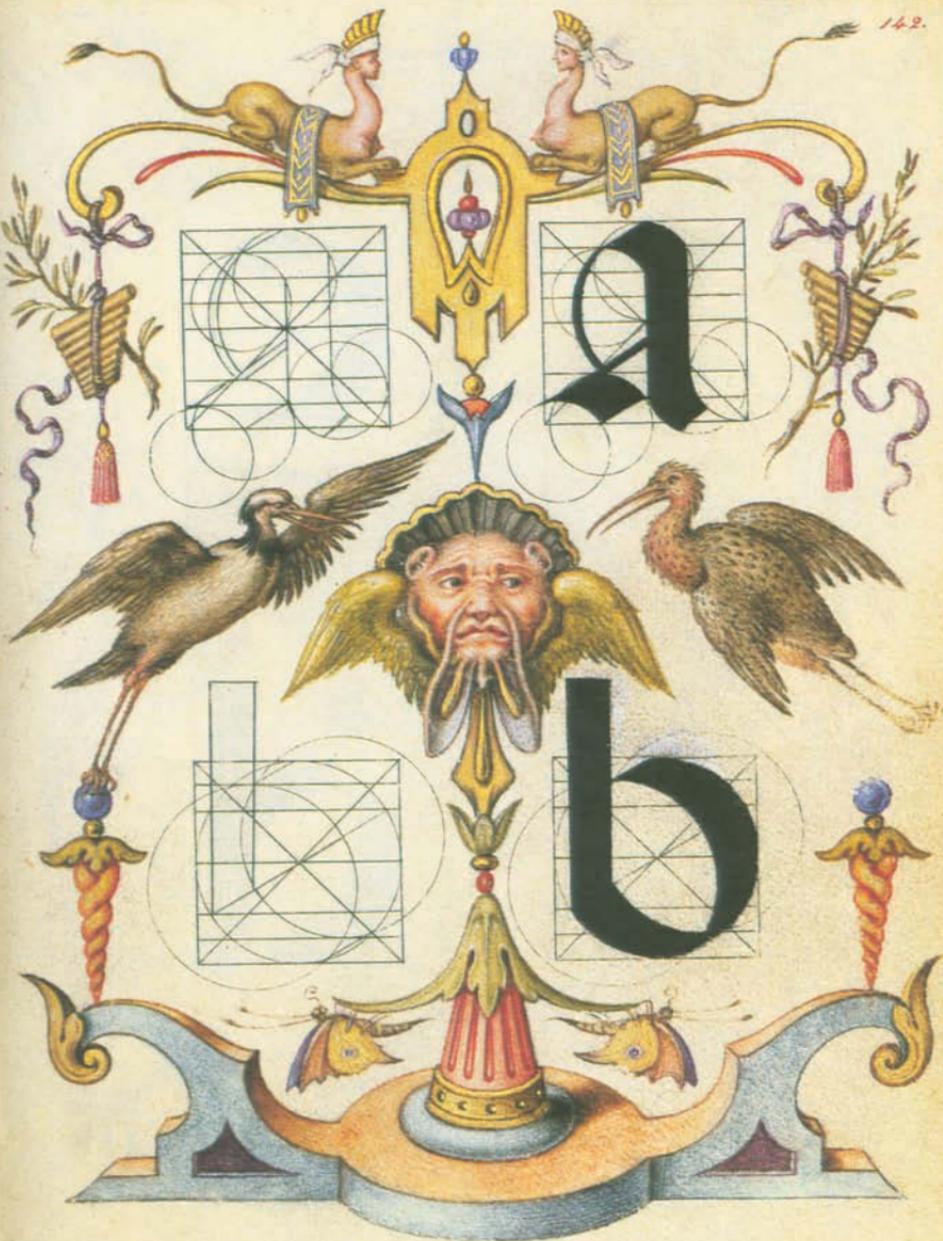
*Cymbalis bene sonantibus
laudate eum: laudate eum
in cymbalis iubilatio.*
NIS. PS. 150.



a, b

Folio 142

Like all the folios of the Gothic lower-case alphabet, this page is not illuminated with balanced classical motifs but with dynamic, playful imagery. The distorted face in the middle of the page is based on one of the series of grotesque masks engraved by Huys after drawings by Floris.⁵⁷ The bizarre face was realistically rendered with great detail and plasticity. It is being attacked by two long-legged birds with slightly opened beaks, one of whom is in midflight. Butterflies cling to the ornamental foliage in the bottom margin. The top edge of the page bears symmetrical pseudoclassical motifs: at each side lies a sphinxlike figure, hanging below which is a set of pan-pipes bound to an olive branch.



c, d

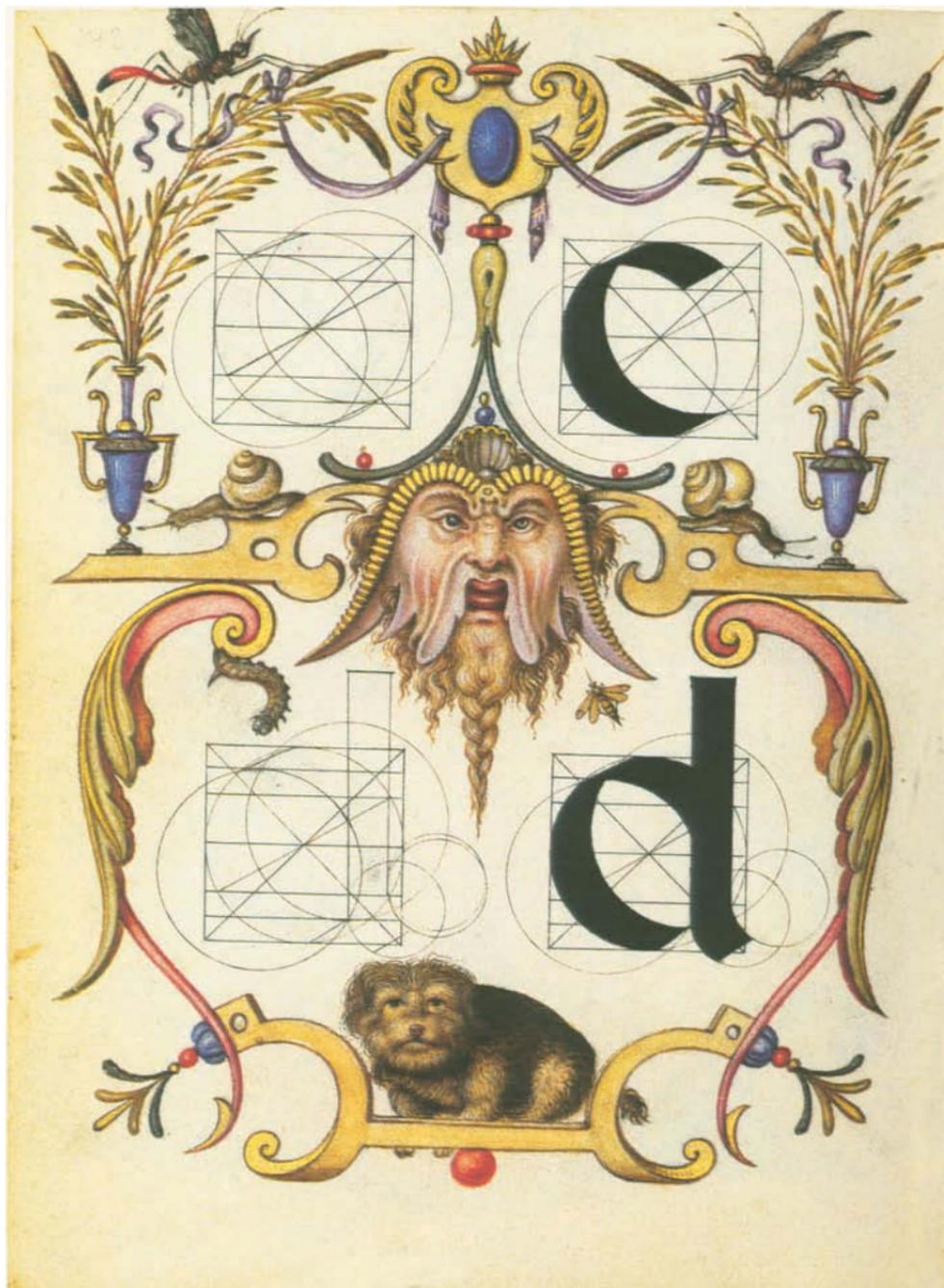
Folio 142v

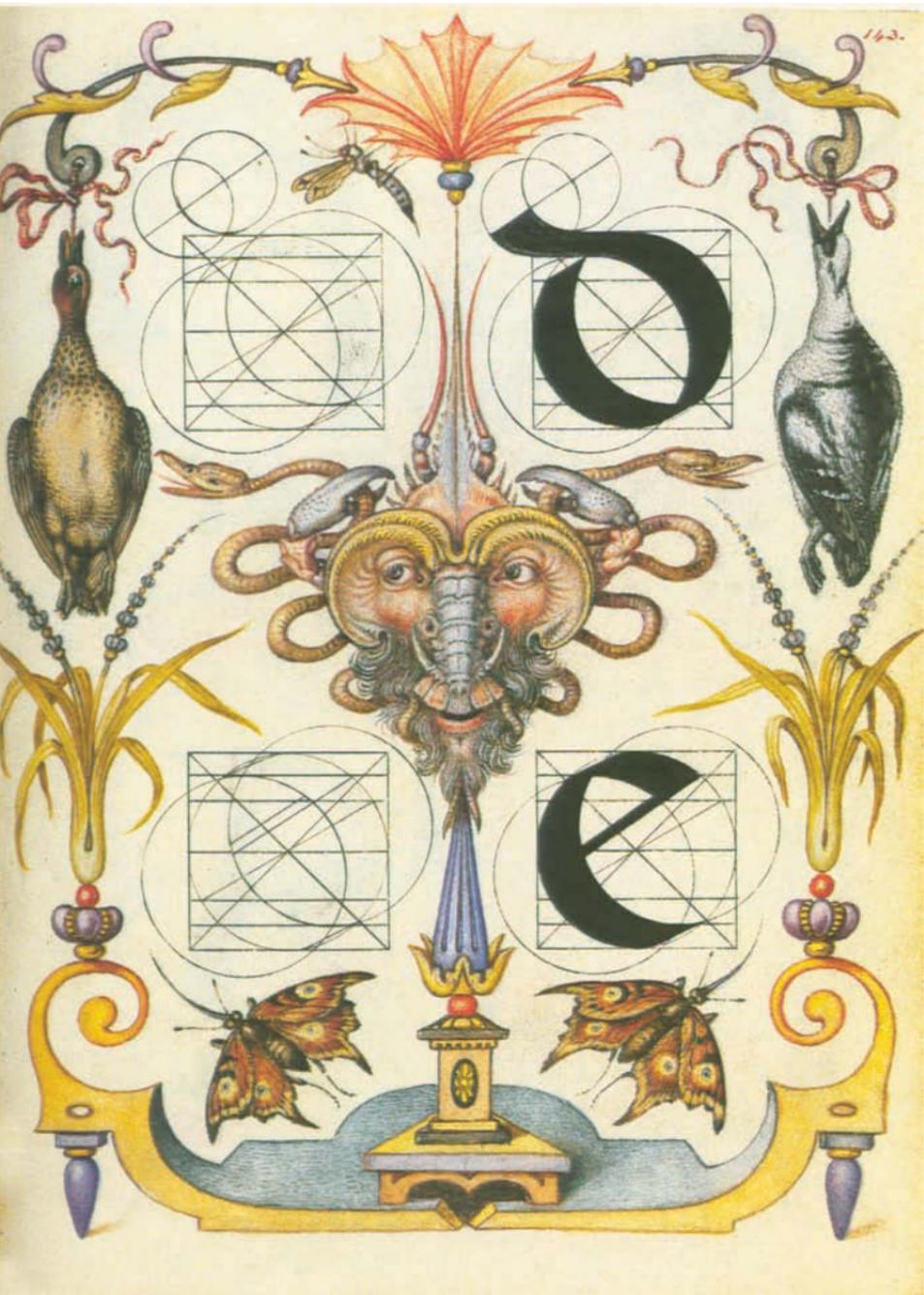
A mask based on the Huys/Floris series appears in the middle of this page.⁵⁸ At the top, long-legged, winged insects land on stylized, thickly foliated cattails in small vases resting on scrollwork “shelves.” Snails attempting to descend the steps of the scrollwork frame again demonstrate Hoefnagel’s capacity to capture minute natural details. A realistically executed puppy, who looks out at the viewer with an expression of loyalty and devotion, crouches in the bottom border, entrapped, as it were, by scrollwork and guarded by the mask. The playful interaction between the tactile, sensuous representations of natural forms and the flattened, stylized ornaments enhances the charm and wit of the design. The insect wing at the upper left has been clipped by the top edge of the page, suggesting that it, as well as the rest of the constructed alphabet, was severely cut down during binding.

d, e

Folio 143

Perhaps the form of the Gothic letter *d*, with its closed curve and necklike ascender, inspired Hoefnagel to illuminate this folio with two dead ducks hanging by their bills. This motif, which was common in Flemish genre painting of the second half of the sixteenth century, became a subject in its own right in later still life painting. The middle of this page features a distorted face based on the Huys/Floris series.⁵⁹ It is made out of parts of sea creatures, including a lobster tail and claws. The monster face fends off two hissing snakes. Below, two butterflies take to the air, lending a sense of weightlessness to the page's decorative scheme.





f, g

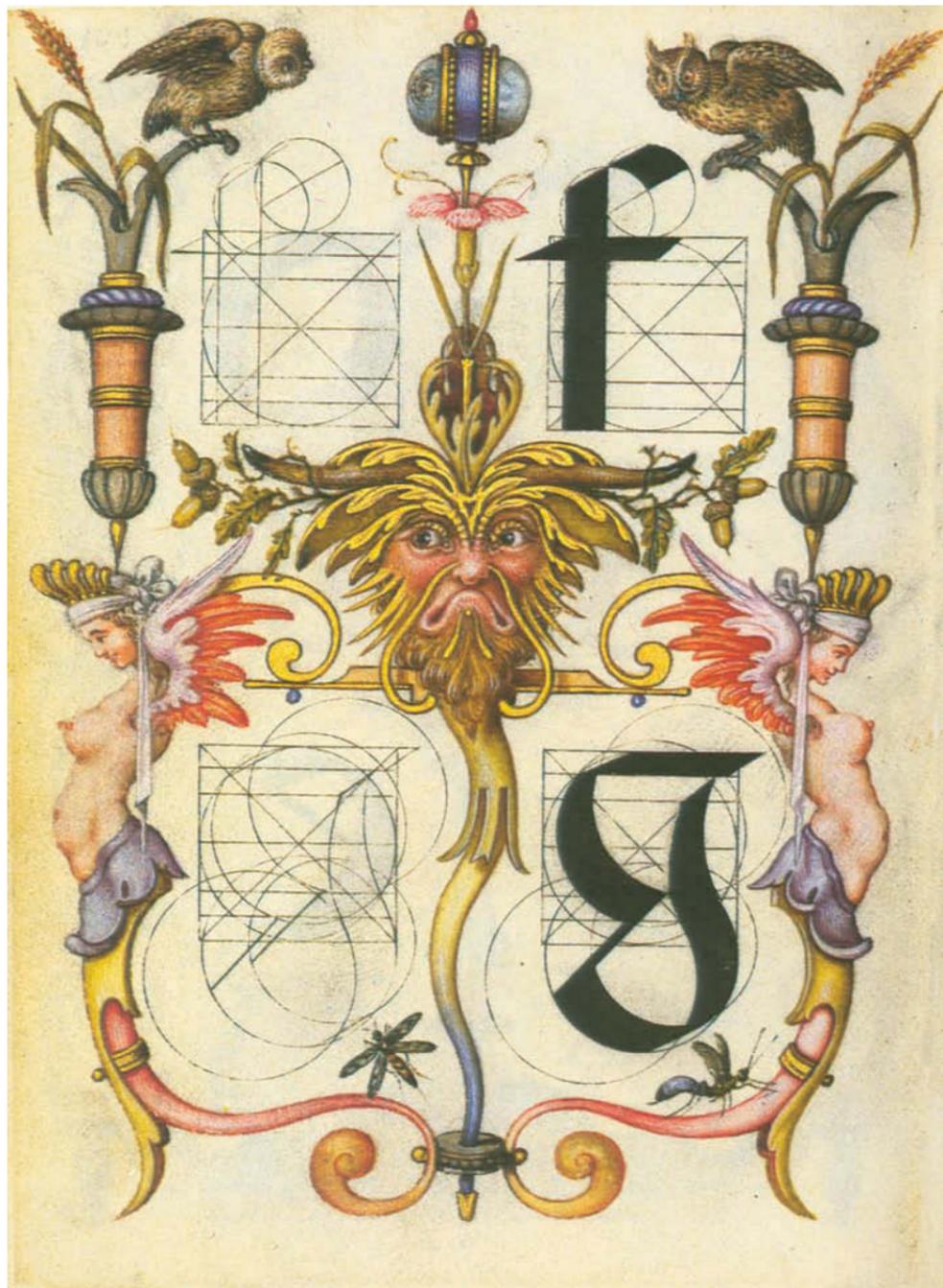
Folio 143v

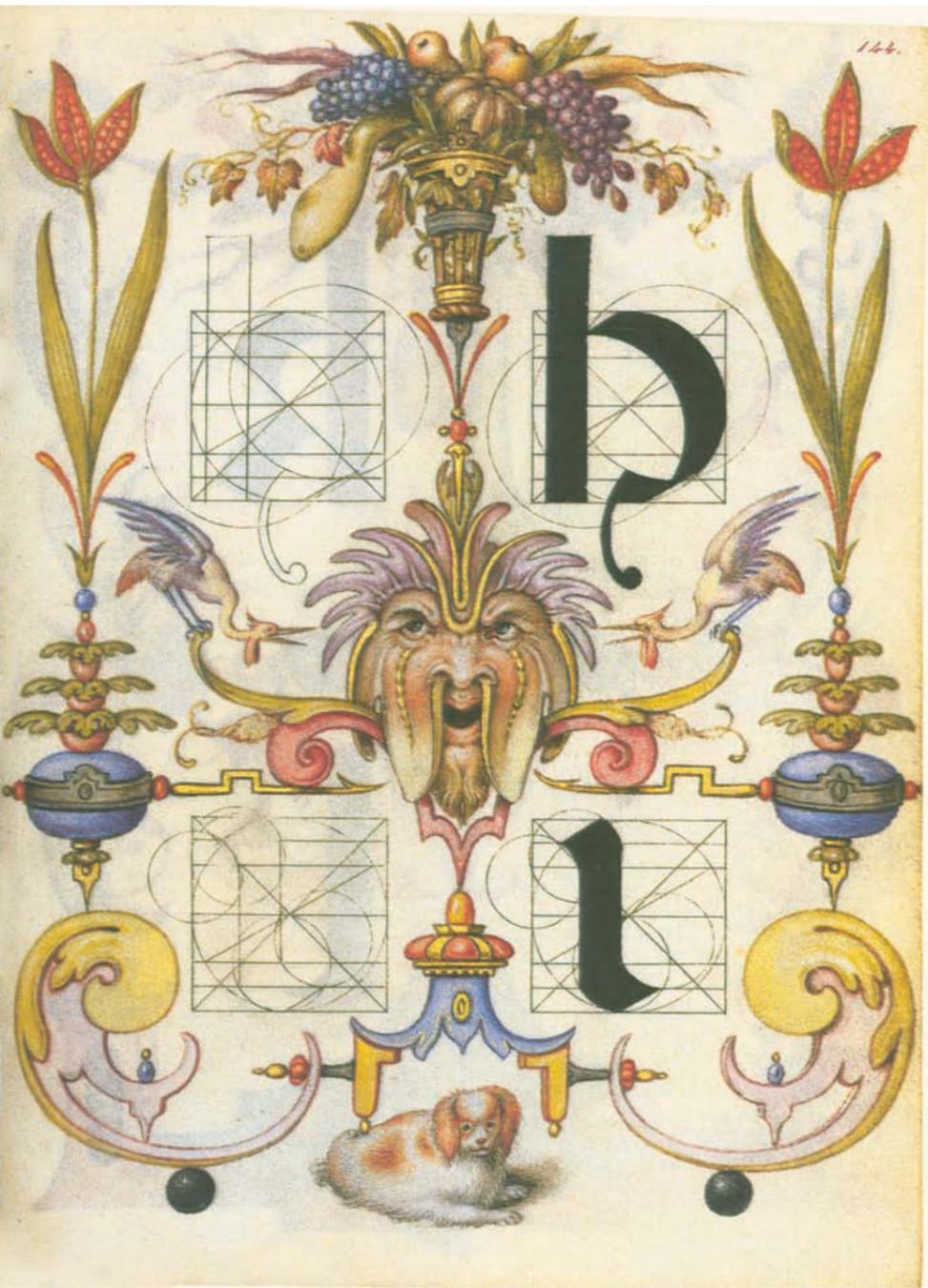
Hoefnagel was inspired here almost exclusively by the forms of the letters. Beaked vases extend to the right and left of the letter *f*, echoing its form vertically and horizontally. Owls sitting on the vases gaze into a double mirror in the middle of the top border. The owl regarding its own reflection was a common symbol of self-knowledge (in Greek, *gnoti scauton*).⁶⁰ Here, however, the motif has no direct connection to the rest of the illumination, unless the letter *g* is implicitly linked with the word *gnoti*. The wild-man mask, again based on the Huys/Floris series,⁶¹ has hornlike oak branches growing out of its leafy hair and rests on an S-curved horn that follows the curved descender of the *g*. The naked bodies of the two caryatids at the left and right echo this movement.

h, i

Folio 144

The brimming fruit basket at the top of the page (a grotesque motif Hoefnagel often used in an augmented form, treating it as a colorful and pungent still life)⁶² is balanced on a mask from the Huys/Floris series⁶³ that is being attacked by two birds. Counterbalancing the horrific face is a woolly-furred puppy lying at the bottom border. The canopy above him indicates that this canine might have symbolic significance like the dog on folio 43 of the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975), which embodies pure Christian faith.⁶⁴ Imaginary tall, seed-bearing plants fill the side borders.





k, l

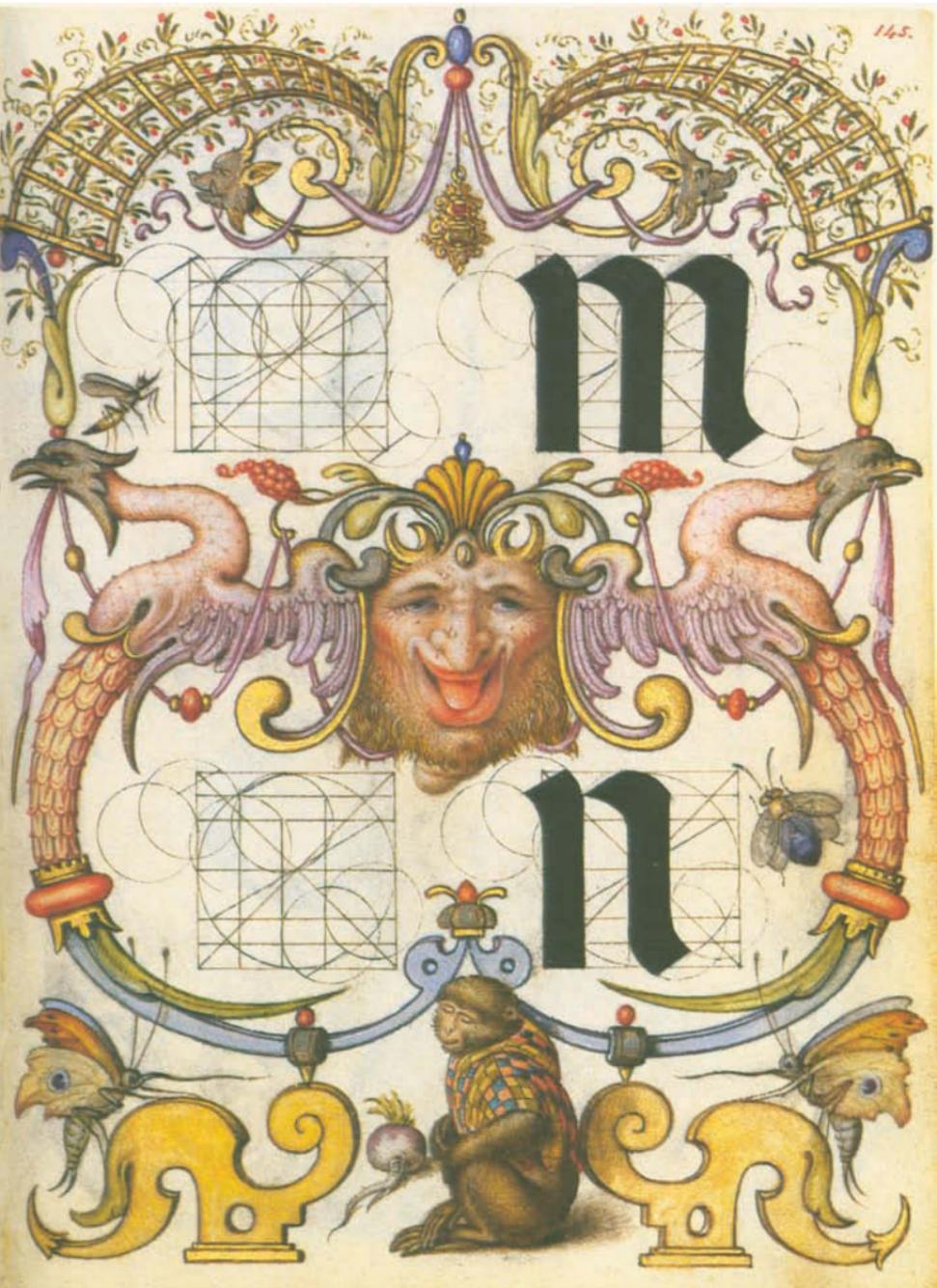
Folio 144v

Filling the middle of the page is the head of a young Medusa above a type of collar fashionable in Hoefnagel's time; her hair consists of hissing snakes. This head is comparable to grotesque designs by Cornelis Bos.⁶⁵ In the top margin, a bunch of plump, ripe fruit and tubers is displayed. The roguish monkey in the bottom margin has plucked an apple and a pear. Monkeys eating fruit are common as symbols of the sense of taste⁶⁶ but also have a purely ornamental function in grotesque decoration.

m, n

The upper bodies of two birds with scaly tails are hooked to either side of a coarse, fleshy caricature that forms the focal point of this composition. Their bodies echo the curves of the letters *m* and *n*. In the top margin, curving grotesques are intertwined with two arching trellises overgrown with foliage. The grotesques resemble those in Cornelis Floris's series of engravings, *Veelderley Veranderinghe* (1556).⁶⁷ Between the trellises hangs a massive jewel. Below it sits a monkey wearing a plaid jacket similar to the one on folio 76 of the Vienna writing model book (inv. 975). Here, the monkey is about to eat a turnip.⁶⁸ Two monstrous moths extend their proboscises toward the animal in order to sense what it is.



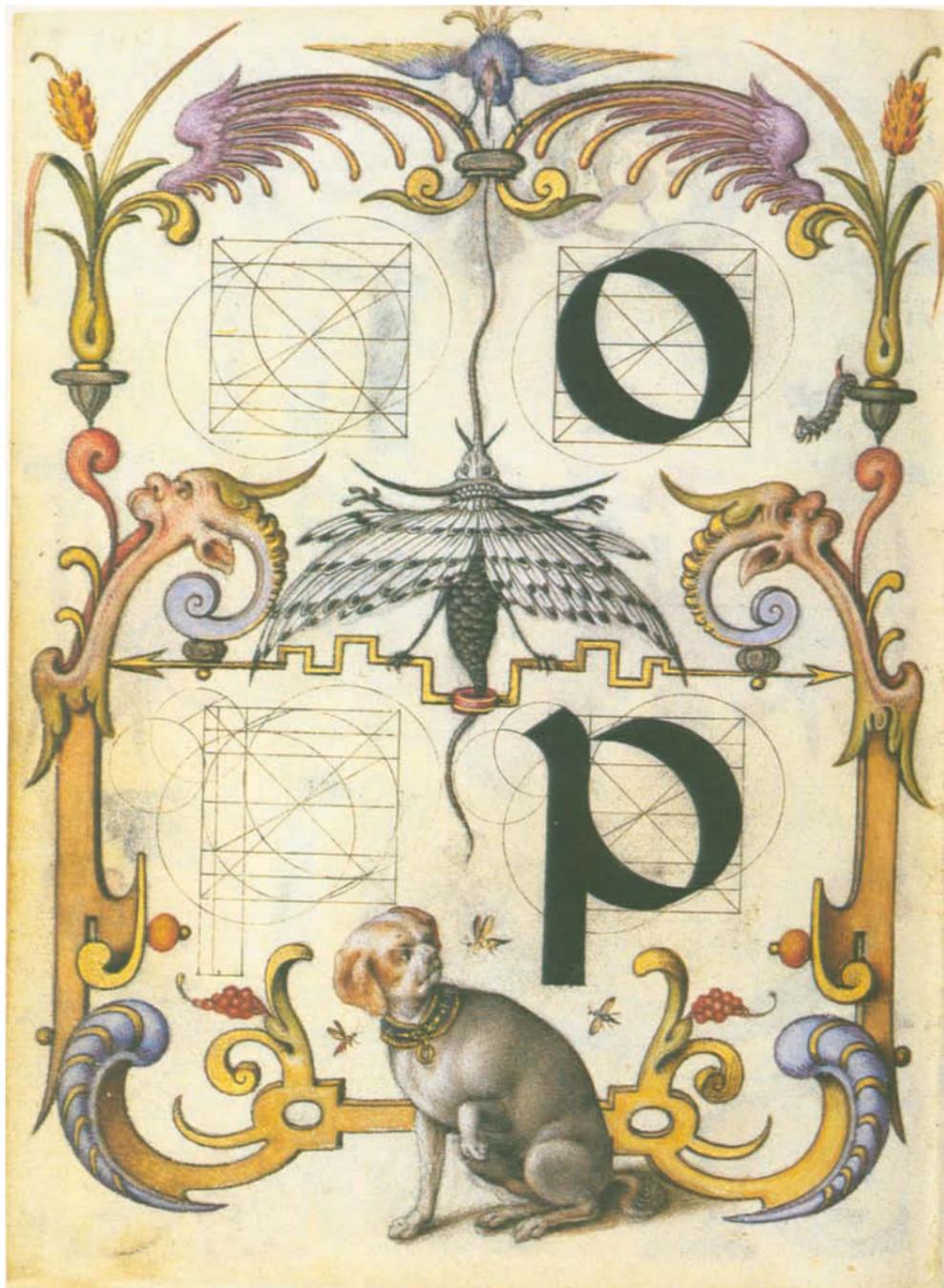


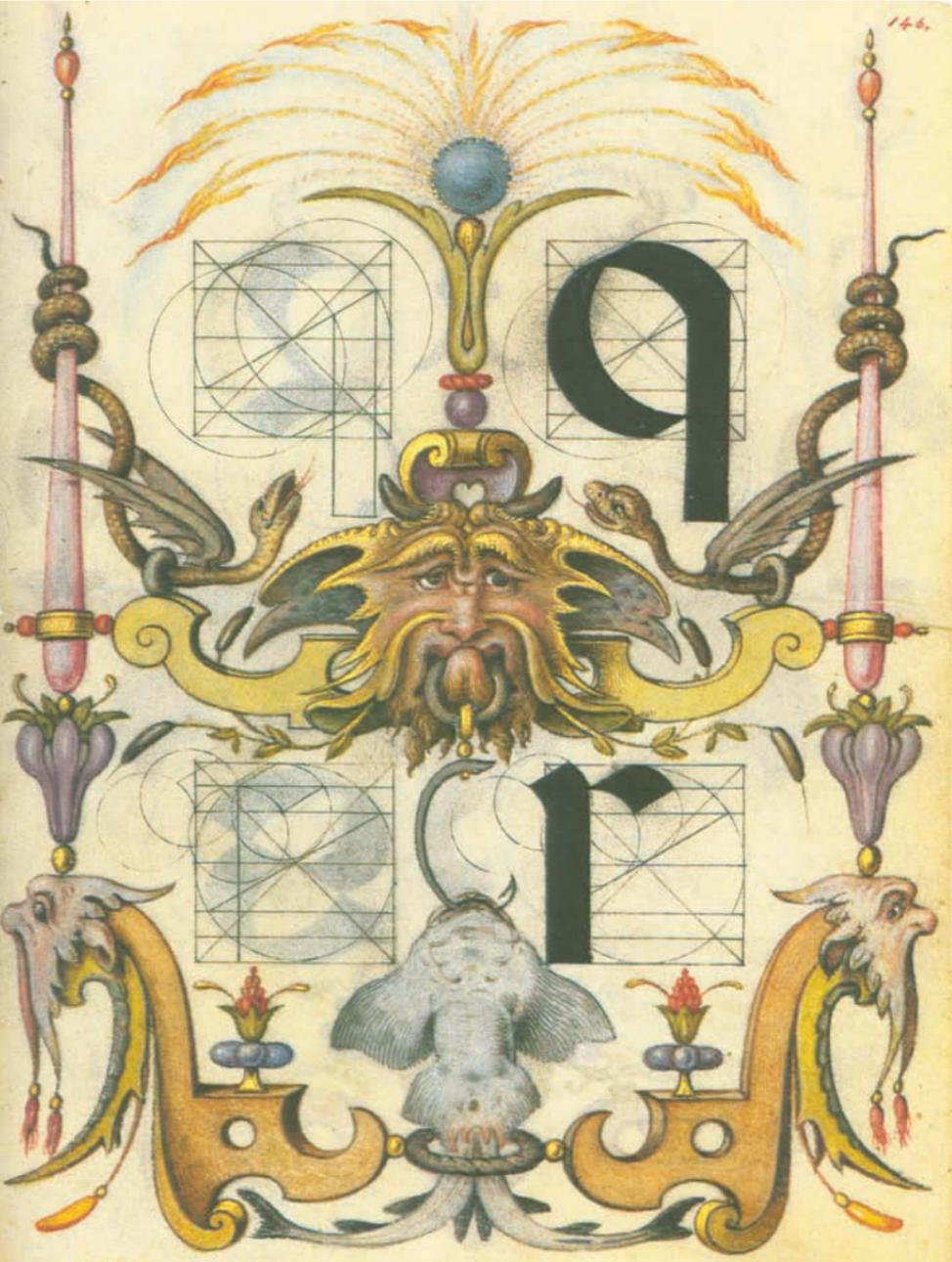
o, p

In place of a distorted face or mask, a fantastic insect with a scaly body and outspread, feathered wings occupies the middle of this page. Its demonic character is accentuated by the double lightning flashes on which it perches. Its tongue or stinger extends to the top margin, where a bird with spread legs waits to peck at the end of it. Plant and animal ornaments frame the letter forms, including two gargoyles with curling tongues. Below, a dog attempts to ward off swarming insects. It is distinguished from the other dogs depicted in the manuscript by its valuable collar, indicating that the animal might actually have belonged to the emperor.

Q, r

The double-tailed fish hanging on the hook at the bottom of this folio might be intentionally reminiscent of a stylized roach, whose name begins in German (as in English) with the letter R – just as the swan, *olor* in Latin, was chosen to illuminate the letter O on folio 136v. Significantly, the hook from which the fish hangs is connected to a Neptune-like mask in the middle of the page reminiscent of one in the Huys/Floris series.⁶⁹ A ball of fire above the mask emits a fan of flames. The mask itself is besieged by two snakes with dragons' wings. Bizarre scrollwork with gargoyle terminals fills the bottom margin.





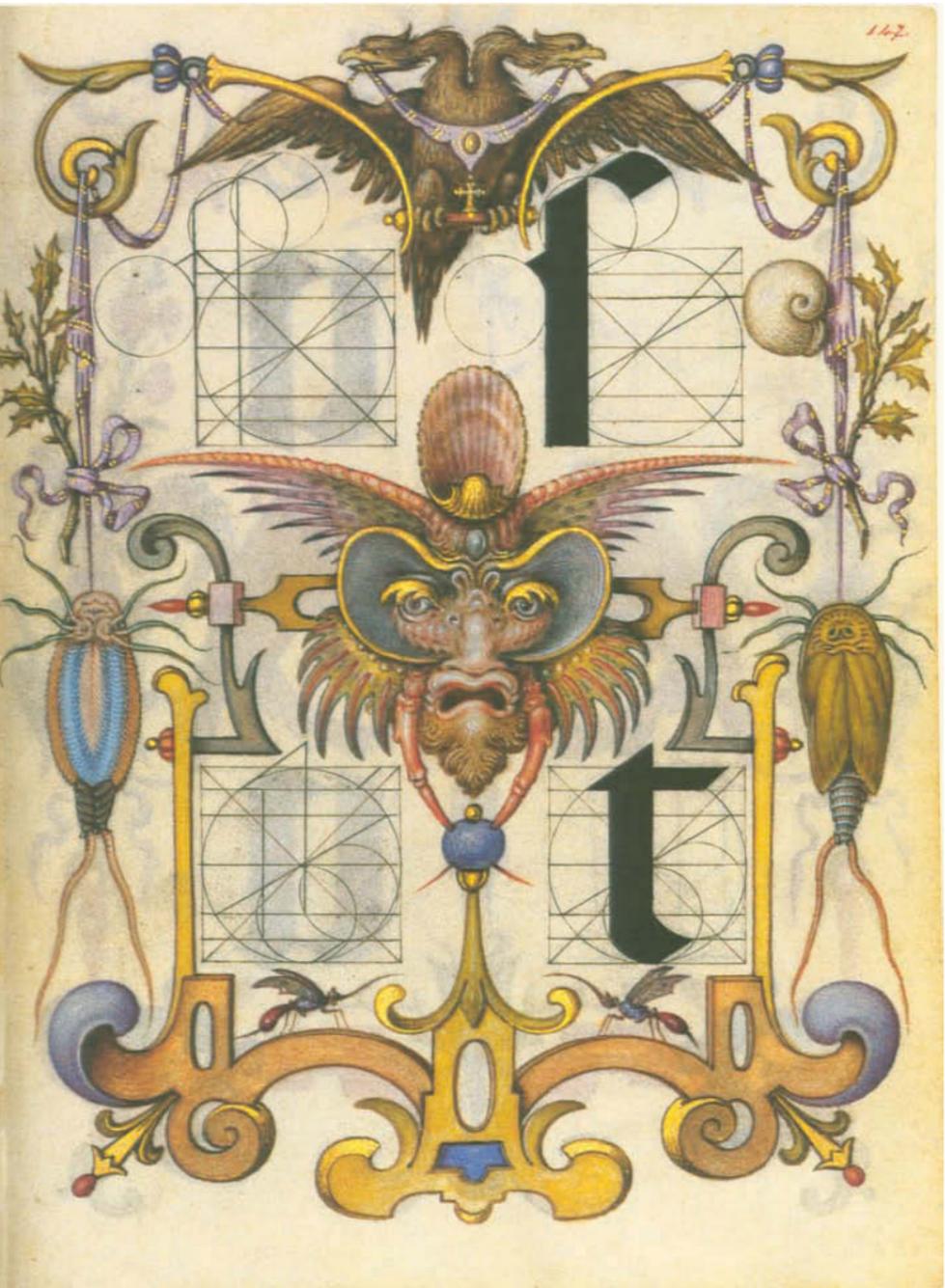
R, S

A mask with the trunk and tusks of an elephant and bat's wings for ears dominates this illustration. The trunk reaches down to a basket containing a squash lying among grapes in the bottom margin. A fountain with ten streams of water cascades down on realistically depicted but imaginary plants decorating the side margins.

S, t

On both sides of a central grotesque face topped by a cockleshell (once again borrowed from Floris's series),⁷⁰ exotic shellfish hang from scrollwork. At the top reigns the double-headed imperial eagle. With its heads facing left and right, it guards against the onslaught of potential enemies.



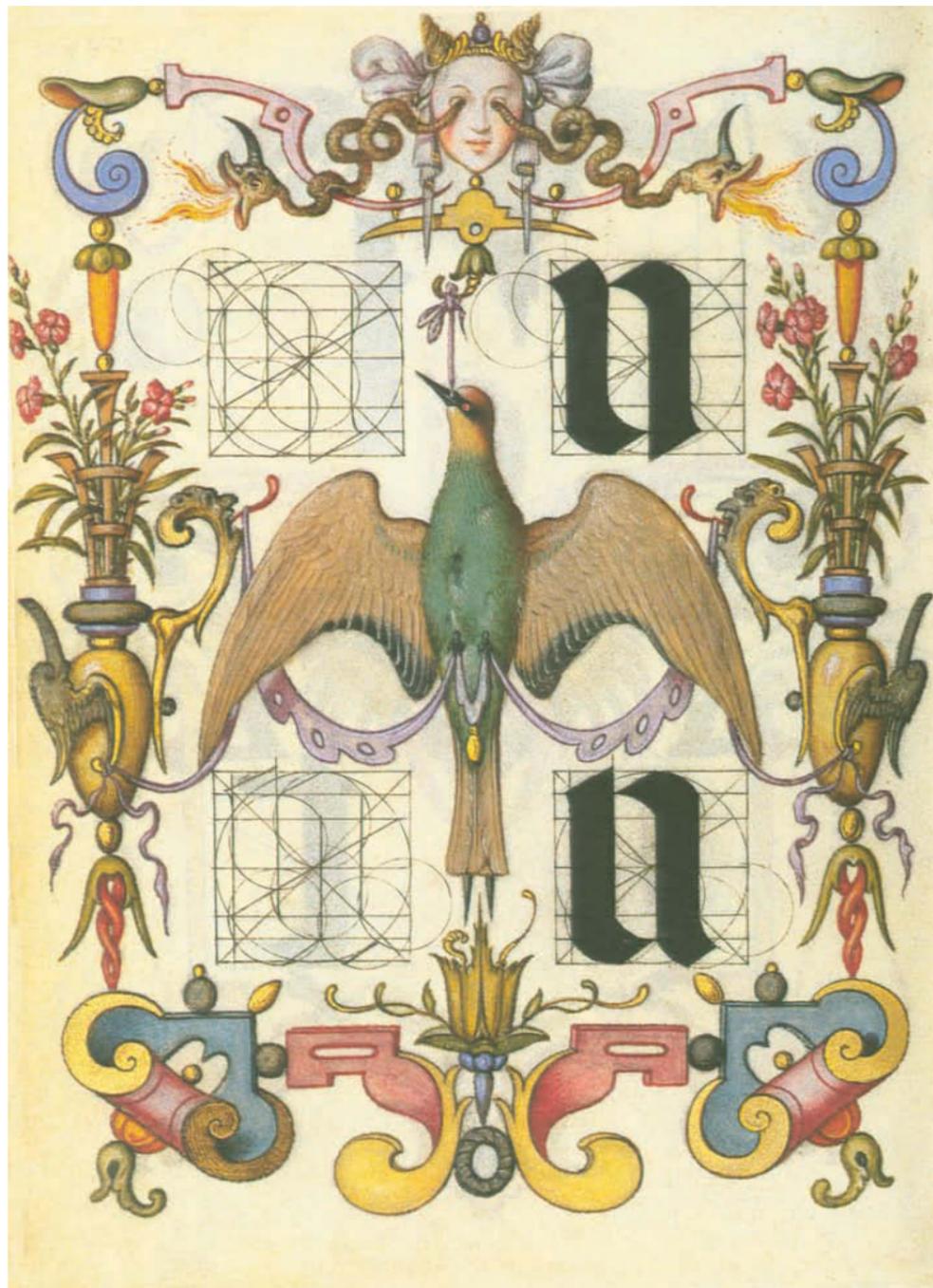


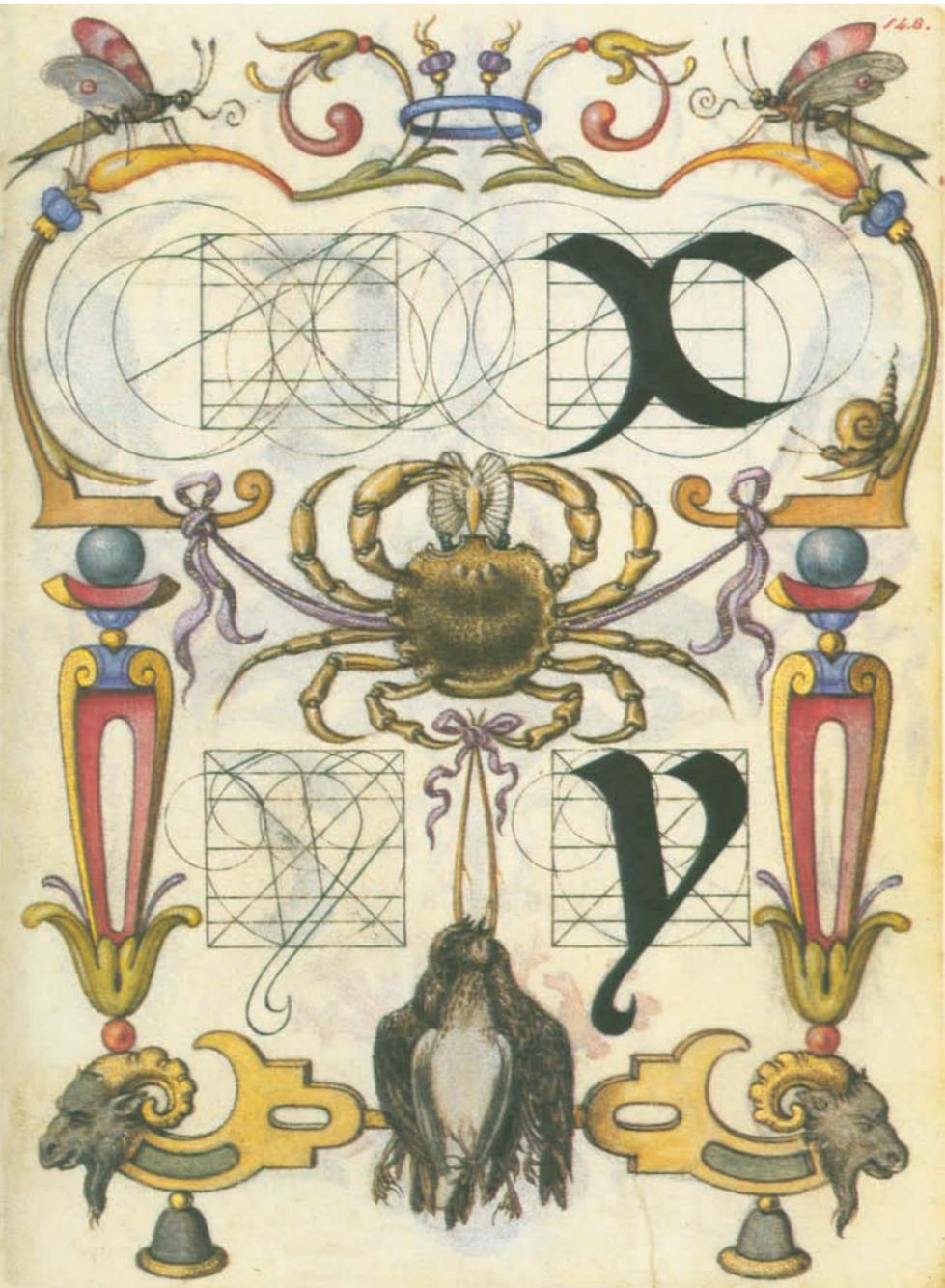
u, v

A woman's face, her hair twisted into two horns reminiscent of the fantastic Burgundian hairstyles of the fifteenth century and her eyesockets exuding fire-breathing, horned snakes, symbolizes vanity. A similar mask in the Vienna writing book (inv. 975) is inscribed with the motto "flos cinis" (the flower turns to ashes).⁷¹ The dead bird⁷² hanging by its beak in the middle of the page as well as the dianthus in the scrollwork vases can also be associated with mortality (*vanitas*). The colorful bird with its shimmering blue belly and blue-bordered wings probably is a stylized bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*). A dead bee-eater is depicted in the same pose in *Museum of Rudolf II*, two volumes of painted animal illustrations commissioned by the emperor.⁷³ Both drawings recall Dürer's watercolor of the wing of a blue roller (*Coracias garrulus*), one of the masterpieces in Rudolf's art collections.⁷⁴ During the emperor's lifetime, the watercolor was imitated frequently, most successfully by Hans Hoffmann.⁷⁵

X, y

The form of the letter *x*, with its four rounded arms, led the artist to depict the crab with many legs and appendages that decorates the middle of this page. A cluster of dead partridges, a motif dating back to antiquity,⁷⁶ hangs from the crab's legs. Insects and rams' heads decorate the scrollwork in the four corners of the page, and a lone snail occupies the middle of the right margin.



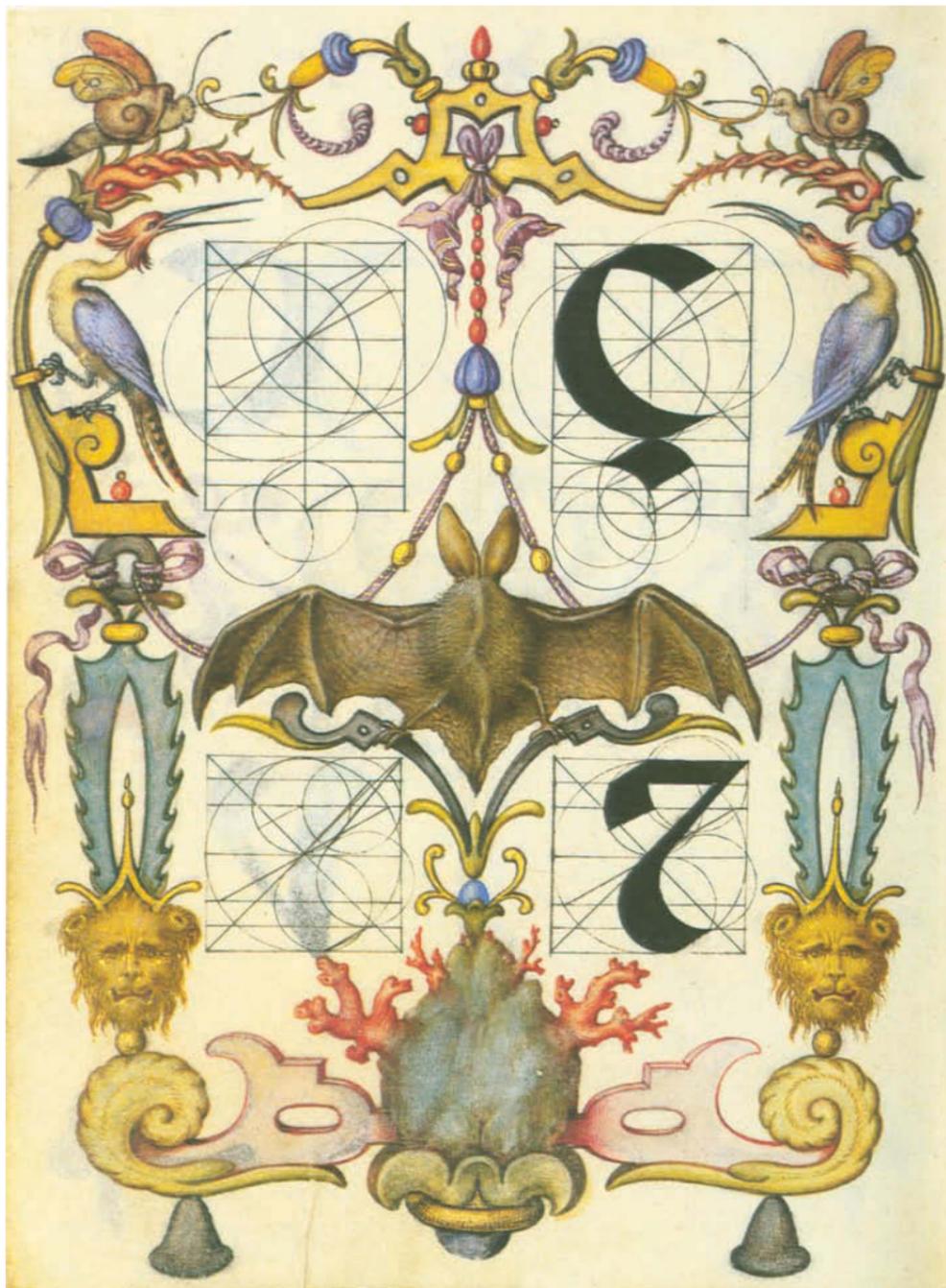


ç, tironian *et*

In the middle of the page, a bat with large ears seen from the rear spreads its wings, their taut skin rendering visible its skeletal structure and circulatory system. At the bottom margin, coral grows on a cliff. Coral was one of the items supplied to the imperial court by agents who shipped it from overseas and the Mediterranean. Most of the prepared raw material was imported via Genoa and Livorno. The lions' heads in the side margins are ornamental motifs from Floris's repertoire;⁷⁷ Hoefnagel made them as vivacious as the grotesque long-beaked birds and insects sitting above them.

tironian *con, orum*

A dead bird hangs frontally by its beak, displaying the blue-black, brown, and white pattern of its tail feathers and the undersides of its wings as well as the blood red of its belly. It is meant to represent either a pheasant or a woodpecker. Rudolf's art collections contained a detailed miniature of a woodpecker by Daniel Fröschl.⁷⁸ In the scrollwork at the bottom of the page, a stylized animal of the Orycteropodidae family sits between two baskets filled to the brim with fruit.⁷⁹





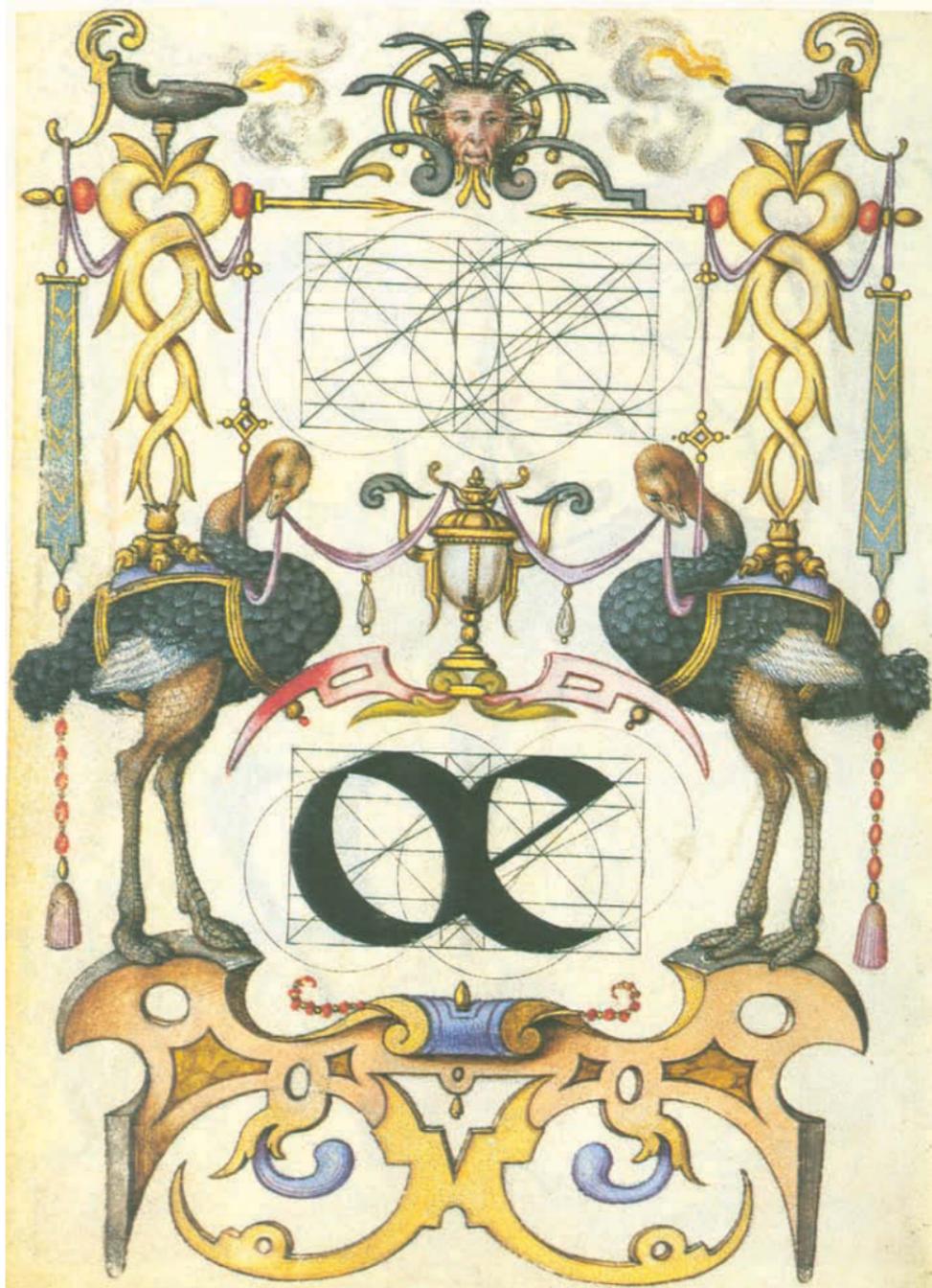
œ

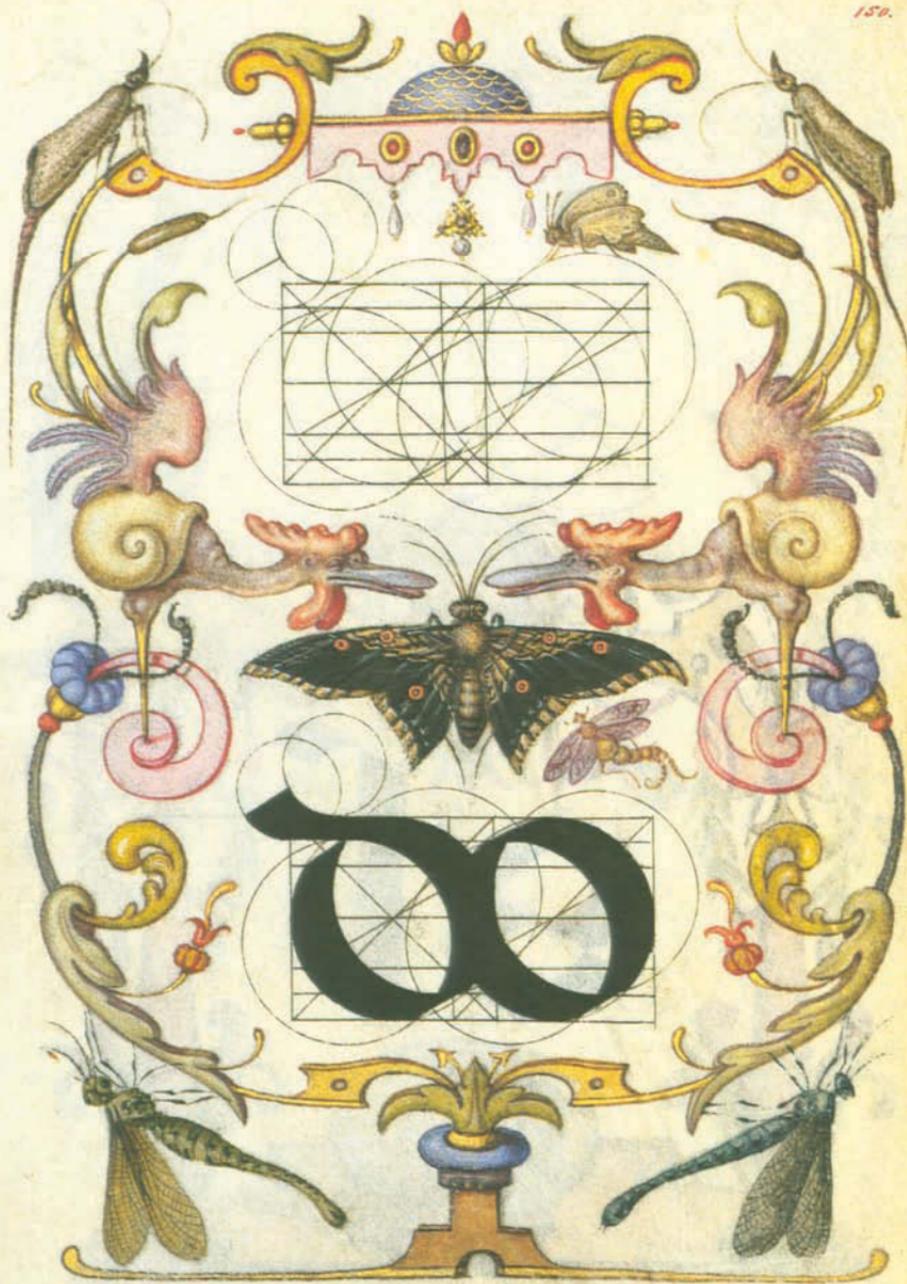
To the left and right of an urn, two ostriches stand on a scrollwork base. Their elliptical bodies echo the ovals of the letters and the scrollwork that appears above and below them. The motifs in the scrollwork at the top, the stylized tendrils, the incense burners, a satyr's mask, and the ornamental bands – all of which belong to the grotesque repertoire – have been loosely but deftly assembled. All are balanced on saddles tied to the ostriches' backs.

do

Folio 150

This page is covered with ornamental plant and animal motifs. A large moth occupies the middle of the page. Mothlike insects and two winged cocks' heads emerging from snail shells appear in the side borders. Realistically drawn dragonflies decorate the bottom edge.





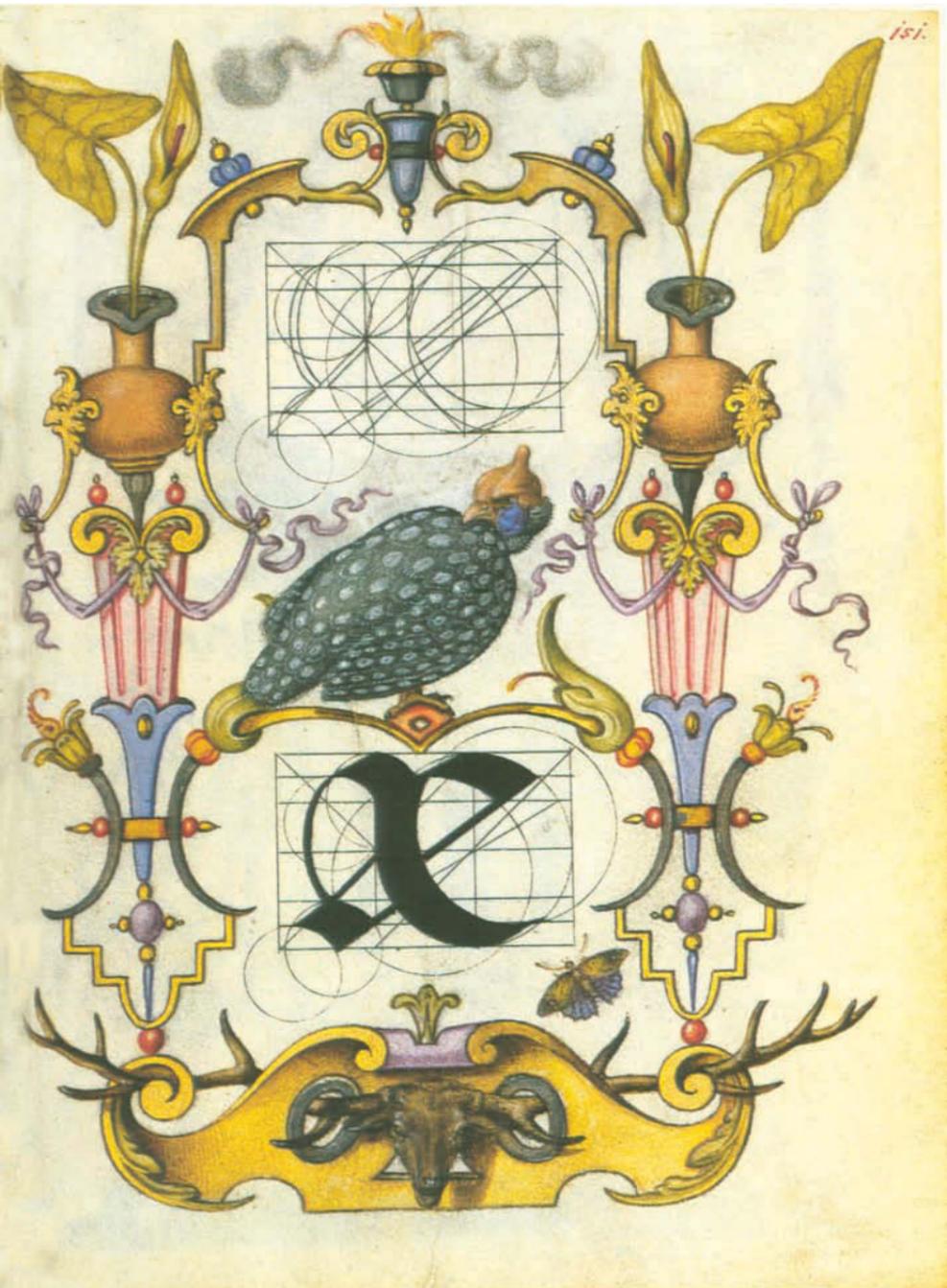
S, S

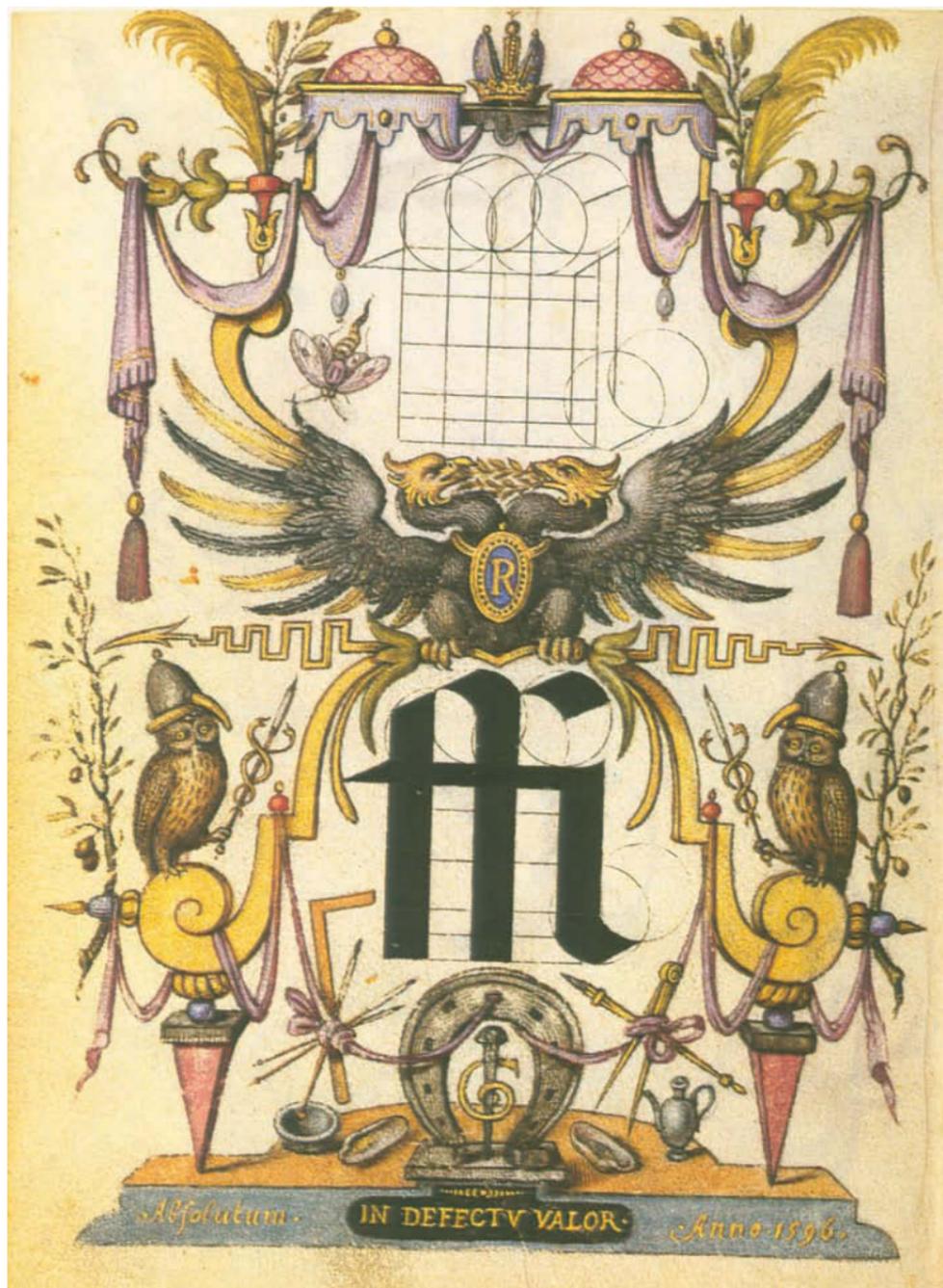
The face of a man, whose headgear recalls a Native American's feathered headdress, is represented in the middle of this page.⁸⁰ A bird embryo still encased in its shell echoes the form of the constructed letter s. Hoefnagel portrayed an identical bird embryo on folio 48 of the Hours of Philippe of Cleves.⁸¹ By 1592, he evidently had already included the motif in a model book of his own, since his son Jacob copied it in the *Archetypa studiique patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*... during that year.⁸² The arching, fan-shaped lattice peopled by birds that terminates the grotesque in the top margin was inspired by Cornelis Floris's *Veelderley Nieuwe Inventien* (1557).⁸³

æ

A highly stylized guinea hen decorates the middle of this page. The skull of a stag with multibranching antlers is mounted in the bottom border of the scrollwork, while in the side margins the candlelike blossoms and leaves of cuckoo pints (*Arum maculatum*) are realistically delineated in beaked vases. Incense is shown burning at the top of the composition.







As on the second page of the Roman majuscule alphabet, the patron of the illuminations is honored here, on the codex's final folio. This is also the only place in the manuscript where Joris Hoefnagel sheds his anonymity. The top half of the page is dedicated to Emperor Rudolf II. The double-headed eagle wears a breastplate with his initial. The two heads jointly hold a laurel wreath, a symbol of glory, in their beaks. Their talons clasp lightning flashes, signifying power. The eagle's heads are protected by a double canopy. The imperial crown is shown in the middle of the canopy above the laurel wreath. Laurel branches and palm fronds, symbols of glory and triumph, honor the emperor.

The artist used the lower half of the page as if it were a colophon. At the bottom, he painted his own emblem: a horseshoe and nail (Hoef-nagel), the nail entwined with a G (Georgius). In addition, he furnished the picture with one of his mottoes, "In defectu valor" (Value lies in imperfection). The year 1596 is given as the year the illumination was completed (*Absolutum Anno 1596*). A ribbon, threaded through the horseshoe, is connected at the left to various brushes, drawing pens, and a right angle; at the right are a drawing pencil and compass. Bowls and shells for mixing pigments as well as other utensils essential to the miniaturist are also represented. Emblematic of Hoefnagel's dual talents as humanist and artist are the twin depictions of owls, the bird of Minerva, wearing her helmet and holding the caduceus of Mercury in their claws. A paintbrush has been substituted for the staff of each caduceus.⁸⁴ Minerva as the goddess of science and Mercury as the god of the fine arts have thus been conflated into an allegory of Hermathena. Olive branches symbolize the peace and contentment resulting from the pursuit of the arts and sciences under good government.

Notes

1. See Vitruvius, *De architectura libri X*; Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria libri X* (1485).
2. As in the letter from Johannes Lascaris to Piero de' Medici, preserved in several copies. The copy in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 451) is quoted in G. Dehio, "Zur Geschichte der Buchstabenreform in der Renaissance" (1880), in *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (Munich, 1914), pp. 200ff. See also E. Crous, *Dürer und die Schrift* (Berlin, 1933), p. 11.
3. A. Dürer, *Unterweisung der Messung* (Nuremberg, 1525).
4. Further information will appear in the commentary volume planned to accompany this facsimile. The Gothic minuscule alphabet follows approximately that of Sigismondo de Fanti, which appears in Ugo da Carpi's *Thesaurus de scriptori* (1535; 1st ed. 1525).
5. As in almost all of the Latin alphabets of this time, the letters J, U, and W are missing.
6. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 1 (Freiburg, 1957), cols. 12, under *Abececlarium*; 365, under *Alphabet*.
7. See above, p. 20.
8. A. Nesbitt, *The History and Technique of Lettering* (New York, 1957), p. 35.
9. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts Ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 6 (Amsterdam, n.d.), nos. 68ff.; R. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration: Studien zur niederländischen und deutschen Kunst im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1913), pls. 10, 11.
10. See *Prague um 1600* (Freren, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 95f., no. 7.
11. The original language of the New Testament is Greek.
12. Cf. the lightning flashes and thunderheads as symbols of Jupiter's might in Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini delli dei degl' antichi*, ed. W. Koschatzky (Graz, 1963), pp. 83, 88 (reprint of Venice, 1647, ed.).
13. Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis* (Basel, 1556), bk. 50, fol. 372v.
14. *Ibid.*, bk. 53, fol. 385.
15. L. Charbonneau-Lassay, *Le bestiaire du Christ*, 2d ed. (Milan, 1970), pp. 869ff.
16. Valeriano (note 13), bk. 50, fol. 369.
17. *Der Physiologus*, ed. Otto Seel (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 50f., no. 55.
18. Cf. Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis* (Antwerp, 1564), p. 74.

19. Cf. D. Forstner, *Die Welt der Symbole* (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Munich, 1961), pp. 175ff. A detailed account can be found in C. Meier, *Gemma spiritalis: Methode und Gebrauch der Edelsteinallegorie vom frühen Christentum bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, pt. 1 (Munich, 1977).
20. Cf. Hoefnagel's illuminations in Vienna Cod. 1784, fol. 125v, and in Vienna inv. 975, fol. 43.
21. As in Vienna inv. 975, fol. 106. For the dog as a symbol of faithfulness, see also Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611), pp. 164f.
22. T. A. G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1969), fig. 63.
23. As in Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell' imprese militari e amorose*, ed. M. L. Doglio (Rome, 1978), p. 46.
24. On folios 15, 53, 91.
25. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. See O. Benesch, *Die Handzeichnungen der niederländischen Schulen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts: Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1928), no. 338.
26. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 5 (Cologne, ca. 1598), no. 5. The depiction of the place itself is dated 1564; that of a *Canis leporarius ex Indiis occidentalibus allatus* at the bottom left is dated 1565.
27. Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), fig. 22.
28. *Ibid.*, fig. 5.
29. Forstner (note 19), pp. 357ff.; Charbonneau-Lassay (note 15), pp. 865ff.
30. *Realexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. O. Schmitt, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1948), col. 546.
31. *Ibid.* The Flemish nobleman Philips Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, who was approximately Hoefnagel's age and was mayor of Antwerp at its fall in 1585, published an antipapal satirical poem, "De Bienkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke," in 1569. It was popularized through an English translation by George Gilpin and a German one by Johann Fischart, both published in 1579.
32. Various examples of falcons symbolizing hope are given in Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), vol. 1, p. 120, sect. 209. Cf. Vienna inv. 975, fol. 33.
33. As in Vienna inv. 975, fols. 76, 99. See also H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952), pp. 287ff.
34. On the shield of faith, see Ep. 6.16. Also cf. J. B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop and Leiden, 1974), pp. 92ff.

35. Valeriano (note 13), bk. 49, fols. 366ff.
36. *Ibid.*, bk. 42, fols. 314vff.
37. See Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), pp. 90ff., sect. 139ff.
38. *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 4, ed. O. Schmitt, E. Gall, and L. H. Heydenreich (Stuttgart, 1958), cols. 406f.
39. Valeriano (note 13), bk. 44, fol. 330: *universi Deus*.
40. Forstner (note 19), p. 209.
41. Valeriano (note 13), bk. 17, fol. 127v.
42. *Ibid.*, bk. 44, fols. 326ff.: *Deus opt. max.*
43. Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1601), pl. 25, no. 37.
44. The text reads: D. O. M. Rud. II. *Caes. Aug. et exercitibus in Turcam militantibus hoc animi et virtutis monumentum fierif. 15.96.*
45. For example, in Claude Paradin, *Les devises heroïques* (Antwerp, 1563), fol. 23v. See also Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una* (Nuremberg, 1593), emblems 49, 87.
46. Forstner (note 19), pp. 597f.; *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 1, ed. O. Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1937), cols. 705ff.
47. Charbonneau-Lassay (note 15), pp. 628ff., esp. 636ff.
48. *Der Physiologus* (note 17), pp. 28f., no. 32.
49. As in Vienna Cod. 1784, fol. 33; Vienna inv. 975, fol. 109 (see Vignau-Schuurman [note 22], vol. 1, fig. 68). Cf. Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia* (Nuremberg, 1597), emblem 20.
50. See also Vienna Cod. 1784, fol. 221v; Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), vol. 1, p. 86, sect. 23; Charbonneau-Lassay (note 15), pp. 551f.
51. See N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3 (Gotha, 1910), p. 321. A report by Nicolaus Gabelmann describing the siege of Hatvan can be found in Vienna, Staatsarchiv, Hungarica 1596.
52. Cf. Sambucus (note 18), p. 74.
53. Whereas the psalm speaks of cedars, the illumination shows pines.
54. To celebrate their triumphs, the Greeks used to decorate trees with weapons left behind by their enemies.
55. See Hedicke (note 9), pl. 7, 2ff.
56. Cf. John 2:17 and Rom. 15:3.
57. From the *Pourtraicture ingenieuse de plusieurs facons de masques . . .* See Hollstein (note 9), vol. 6, nos. 68–85. See also Hedicke (note 9), text vol., pp. 20ff.; pl. vol., pl. 10, no. 16; C.–P. Warncke, *Die ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland 1500–1600*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1979), nos. 425ff.

58. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 11, no. 12; Warncke (note 57), no. 430.
59. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 11, no. 3; Warncke (note 57), no. 437.
60. For the owl as the bird of Minerva and the symbol of wisdom, see Cartari (note 12), p. 193. For the mirror as a symbol of truth, see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 590.
61. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 10, no. 12; Warncke (note 57), no. 435.
62. Cf. Vienna Cod. 1784, fol. 60v; Vienna inv. 975, fols. 1v, 13 (among others).
63. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 11, no. 7; Warncke (note 57), no. 438.
64. Cf. Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), vol. 1, p. 187, sect. 36off.
65. Cf. S. Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherland Grottesque* (Stockholm, 1965), p. 187, no. 15; pl. 52, no. 191.
66. Cf. Janson (note 33), pp. 239ff.
67. The complete title is *Veelderley Veranderinghe van Grotissen ende Compartimenten*. See also Hollstein (note 9), vol. 6, nos. 14–27.
68. See Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), fig. 48.
69. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 10, no. 13; Warncke (note 57), no. 442.
70. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 11, no. 9; Warncke (note 57), no. 436.
71. Fol. 54. See Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), fig. 40.
72. For the dead bird as a pictorial subject, see F. Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance* (Munich, 1985), pp. 40ff.
73. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Cod. min. 130, fols. 91, 91v.
74. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. See esp. Koreny (note 72), pp. 70ff., 84f., no. 22.
75. Koreny (note 72), pp. 86ff., nos. 23ff.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 40ff., 50f., no. 8.
77. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 7, 2ff.
78. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Cod. min. 42, fol. 54. See Koreny (note 72), pp. 66f., no. 16.
79. See *Brehms Tierleben*, vol. 10, ed. Ludwig Heck (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 479ff.
80. Cf. Schéle (note 65), fig. 169.
81. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Ms. IV 40.
82. *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii . . .* ([Frankfurt], 1592), pt. 3, fol. 9.
83. Hedicke (note 9), pl. 6.
84. Cf. Hoefnagel's *Allegory for Abraham Ortelius* of 1593 (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet). See Vignau-Schuurman (note 22), vols. 1, pp. 195ff.; 2, fig. 119.

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CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Ms. 20 (86.MV.527)

Prepared with the assistance of Linda Ogden and Nancy Turner

DIMENSIONS: 16.6 x 12.4 cm ($6\frac{6}{16} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Height and width trimmed. (H. originally at least 17 cm [$7\frac{1}{4}$ in.] as indicated by the tab on fol. 46 [upper portion of Roman majuscule S]).

SUPPORT AND INTERLEAVING: 145 folios. Fols. 1–129 of fine white vellum (thickness: .06–.15 mm) written and illuminated on recto; fols. 130–51 of heavier vellum (thickness: .15–.25 mm) written and illuminated on recto and verso. Fols. 85, 86, 105, 106, 129 of paper. Interleaving with sixteenth-century fine white laid paper bearing a watermark of an eagle (close to Briquet 224). A paper singleton is tipped to the inside of a vellum bifolium, with a paper bifolium wrapped around the outside of the vellum bifolium; this followed by a vellum bifolium with a paper singleton tipped inside. Pattern repeats except in quires 68, 70, 72, where the outer wraparound is of coarse tan laid paper identical to that of the flyleaves.

RULING: Fols. 1–129, text pricked and blind ruled. On most of these folios, the image area is ruled in metalpoint along the fore, inner, and lower edges.

COLLATION: Folios numbered 1–151 in red ink in a modern hand (fol. 8 excised after this foliation). a², b⁴, 1–3², 4² (+2, fol. 8, an inserted singleton, now lacking), 5² (1 tipped to 2, lacks interleaving), 6–17², 18⁴, 19–22², 23² (+3, fol. 50), 24–40², 41² (fols. 85, 86 paper), 42–50², 51² (fols. 105, 106 paper), 52–54², 55² (+2, inserted singleton of gold beater's skin, now lacking), 56–61², 62² (+3, fol. 129, of paper, tipped to interleaving), 63–73², c⁴, d² (+1).

MEDIA: Fols. 1–129 written by Georg Bocskay in a variety of inks including brown, carbon black, and blue, with gold and silver leaf and painted gold; illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel in watercolor and gouache, painted gold and silver; some folios with metalpoint underdrawing. Fols. 130–51 by an unknown scribe. Letter grids in brown ink; Roman majuscules and Gothic minuscules in carbon black ink. Illuminations by Joris Hoefnagel in watercolor and gouache, carbon black ink, painted gold and silver, painted gold lettering.

BINDING: Full, straight-grain, red morocco leather over pasteboards, with gold tooling on boards and spine. Possibly eighteenth-century German. Green silk endbands. Marbled paper upper and lower pastedowns. Flyleaf sections of coarse tan laid paper (with partially visible watermark of a heart, possibly inscribed with the initial *W* surmounted by a cross). Gilt on all edges. Scallop design tooling of edges at endbands. Bookplate (upper pastedown): nineteenth-century engraved bookplate with castle and the name “Fritz Gans” in ligature. Inscribed with brown ink on the top verso of the fifth flyleaf, *Georgii Bochkaj / Mira calligraphiae monumenta / et pictoriae patientiae / diligentissima indicia. / Ab an. 1562 ad 1596.*

