

**THE ICONOGRAPHY OF
EMBLEMATIC ANIMALS IN
THE ALBUM OF THE LJUBLJANA
NOBLE SOCIETY OF ST. DISMAS**



Tine Germ



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The Pontes academici book series

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This book is a translation of *Ikonografija živalskih emblemov v Spominski knjigi ljubljanske plemiške družbe sv. Dizma* by *Tine Germ*, Ljubljana 2024 (translated by *Manca Gašperšič*)

Technical editor and layout: *Jure Preglau*, *Nana Martinčič*

Co-published by: University of Ljubljana Press, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split

Issuer: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts

For the publisher: *Gregor Majdič*, Rector of the University of Ljubljana

For the issuer: *Mojca Schlamberger Brezar*, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana
Ljubljana, 2025



The publication of this book was funded by the Slovenian Research Agency within the national basic research program History of Art of Slovenia, Central Europe and the Adriatic (P6-0199).

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First e-edition. Digital copy of the book is available on: <https://ebooks.uni-lj.si/ZalozbaUL>

DOI: 10.4312/9789612976637

Kataložni zapis o publikaciji (CIP) pripravili v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani

COBISS.SI-ID 249404419

ISBN 978-961-297-663-7 (Založba Univerze v Ljubljani, PDF)

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Vel minima impattens labis.

115.



Der unbemerkte .



Acknowledgments

I extend my gratitude to the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia for giving me permission to publish the miniatures from the manuscript of The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas. I am especially grateful to Andrej Nared, the director of the national archives, for his kind assistance in accessing the archival material and his interest in the book.

My thanks go to Lucija Planinc, Head of the Conservation and Restoration Center of the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, for providing me with invaluable information about the most recent conservation work carried out on The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas.

I am grateful to the Seminary Library in Ljubljana for permission to publish the emblematic drafts from the manuscript Johann Gregor Thalnitscher's Concept Book, for their assistance in my work and especially to Mateja Demšar, Head of the Library.

Introduction

The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas holds a special place in Slovenian art historical heritage as the most lavishly illuminated Baroque manuscript and a unique example of an emblem book that with its wealth of original hand-painted emblems also ranks among the most striking monuments of European emblematics.¹ The manuscript is invaluable for understanding the cultural, artistic, and intellectual atmosphere in early modern Carniola. Apart from mirroring the artistic and spiritual horizons of learned Carniolans, the *Dismas Chronicle*, as it is often called, also serves as a valuable testament to their position in the European cultural milieu.

The origins of the *Album* date back to 1688, the year when the Ljubljana academic association, also known as *Academia Unitorum* or *Adelichen und Gottseeligen Gesellschaft der Vereinigten*, was established.² Its founding members aspired to create an illuminated book that would leave a lasting memory of its illustrious members and their deeds and serve as an example to posterity.

1 The full title of the manuscript volume, now kept by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (AS 1073, Zbirka rokopisov, I/1), is written in Latin and German: *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum Das ist Schau Bühne der Gedächtnuß der Adelichen und Gottseeligen Gesellschaft der Vereinigten zu stätts webrenden Andenken eröffnet in der Uhralten Haupt Statt Laybach 1688*. In early records, it is also referred to it as *Matricula of the Brotherhood of St. Dismas*, *Book of St. Dismas Brotherhood*, and *Dismas Chronicle*. On publishing the facsimile and its Slovenian translation, it was decided after careful consideration that the most appropriate modern Slovenian translation of the original title would be *Spominska knjiga ljubljanske plemiške družbe sv. Dizma* (Cevc, 2001, 67) or *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* in English. In addition to the established *Dismas Chronicle*, this title has become the prevailing variant in the latest academic literature. Apart from these, for the sake of avoiding monotonous repetition, other widespread variants are also used. Thus, in addition to the original title in Latin, the English translation of the volume also employs abbreviated forms both in Latin and English, such as *Theatrum Memoriae* or the *Theater of Memory*, and various descriptive labels (e.g., the *Album of the Society of St. Dismas*, the *Album*).

2 The designation 'Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas' has established itself in the academic literature because the academicians chose St. Dismas as their patron saint and incorporated his name into their association's in the early eighteenth century (see the chapter "The Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas").

Between the fall of 1689, when the first member's entries with lavish miniatures were made, and 1801, when the names of the last members were inscribed in the *Album*, a veritable gallery of illuminated entry pages was created with the emblems of Carniola's first academicians.

Even though it represents a major monument of Baroque manuscript illumination and an iconographic treasure trove, comprehensive research on its cultural context, along with an in-depth analysis of its illuminations, is yet to be undertaken. The year 2001 welcomed the release of the *Album's* facsimile edition, which, combined with the accompanying studies by eminent experts, provided a solid foundation for further research and an incentive to find answers to the many questions raised by the published studies.³ At the time, art historian Emilijan Cevc stressed the need for further research and expressed his belief "that many curtains are yet to be pulled back on 'the stage of the St. Dismas Society'" (Cevc, 2001, 113). Almost twenty-five years after the appearance of the facsimile edition, it is time to consider the precious manuscript once again, armed with new knowledge and understanding.

A result of years of research, this study focuses on the iconographic interpretation of emblem motifs in which animals appear as the bearers of allegorical messages. By examining the emblems through the prism of animal iconography, the study uncovers meanings that have so far often been completely overlooked. It is also the first attempt to identify the literary and visual sources that directly inspired academicians in designing their emblems. Concurrently, the study sheds light on the new circumstances under which *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* was created, and it points to the potential models for its concept and form. At the same time, the analysis of early modern emblem books clearly outlines its European context. The in-depth discussion of emblems not only brings new findings regarding their genesis and multifaceted meaning, but it also aids a better

3 See the chapter "The Invaluable Manuscript Book and Slovenian Art History."

understanding of the spiritual horizons, worldviews, and interests of individuals who commissioned them.

Like any research aspiring to resolve open questions, this volume inevitably sets forth new aspects and considerations. The *Theatrum Memoriae* is not a stage that will allow the audience to see—let alone grasp—everything revealed at a single glance. Its architects were cosmopolitan and accomplished people who anticipated a cultured public and believed that certain kinds of knowledge were self-evident or at least expected. Modern viewers (perhaps contrary to our

learned predecessors' conceptions) often feel at a loss attempting to decipher the meaning of images and words in this strikingly vivid theater that they are invited to enter. However, no perplexity or a puzzle can diminish the fascination that flipping through this unparalleled manuscript holds for us. Quite the opposite, a little perplexity and a good measure of curiosity offer a solid incentive for further research, through which “many curtains are yet to be pulled back on the ‘stage of the St. Dismas Society.’”



Andreas Trost, Theater stage with the glorification of Ljubljana and five symbolically significant animals, a detail from the full-page introductory miniature Apotheosis of Ljubljana, 1689, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 2r.

1 The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas

1.1 The Invaluable Manuscript Book and Slovenian Art History

The *Album* of Ljubljana's first academic association commanded attention among Slovenian and international scholars well before Slovenian art history established itself as an academic discipline. In print media, the *Theatrum Memoriae* was first mentioned on June 30th, 1817, in the Viennese *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, specifically in a brief presentation of the life and work of Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, published by Joseph von Hormayr, a historian and Emperor Francis I's court historiographer.⁴ The first scholarly discussion of the valuable manuscript was a lecture by August Dimitz, Secretary of the Historical Society for Carniola, published in the journal *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereins für Krain* in 1862.⁵ Two years later, Peter Paul Radics published a comprehensive seven-part study of the Noble Society of St. Dismas and its *Album* in *Blätter aus Krain* (the weekly supplement of the *Laibacher Zeitung* daily), entitled *Die Dismas-Brüder im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte Krains*. Devoting considerable attention to illuminations, Radics explained the significance of the introductory illumination of the Apotheosis of Ljubljana and

praised the work of the most important illuminator, Simon Thaddeus Wolfgang Grachower.⁶ Radics was followed by jurist, art connoisseur and collector Anton Eduard Josef Strahl, who wrote a brief survey of the development of Carniolan culture and art, in which he also made a reference to the *Dismas Chronicle* and its illuminations (*Die Kunstzustände Krains in den vorigen Jahrhunderten*, 1884, 19).

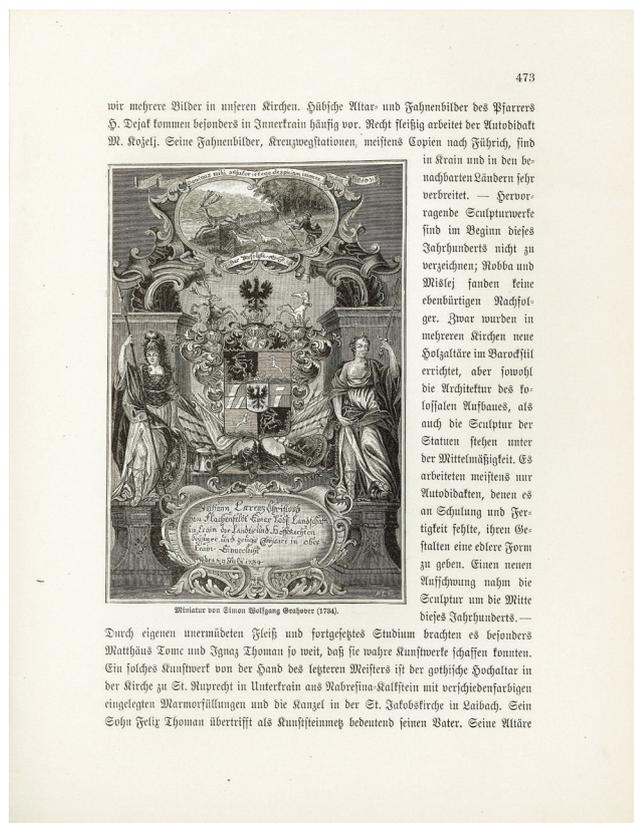
Even before Dimitz and Radics, the Croatian historian and literary author Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski discussed individual illuminations in the *Album* in a chapter of the biographical lexicon of Southern Slav artists, *Slovník umjetnikah Jugoslavenskih*, related to Grachower's paintings (1858, 107–108). Having a keen eye for art, Kukuljević, praised Grachower's mastery and occasionally provided a basic iconographic explanation of his miniatures. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the *Theatrum Memoriae* caught the attention of Slovak historian Julius Wallner, who worked for some years in Ljubljana and wrote for the museum journal *Mittheilungen des Musealvereines für Krain*. In 1890, he published an article in the journal on Ljubljana painters and sculptors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, titled *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Laibacher Maler und Bildhauer in 17. und 18. Jahrh.*, in which he also mentioned Grachower's miniatures in the book of the Noble Society of St. Dismas (Wallner, 1890, 120, n. 14). Only a year later, an entry on the Ljubljana *Theater of Memory* was published in the prestigious book collection *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Kärnten und Krain*, presenting the *Album* of Ljubljana's academicians for the first time to the broader international readership. For the same monumental book collection, Janez Flis, a pioneer in Slovenian art history, wrote a concise history of art in Carniola. In his overview of early modern painting, he highlighted with visible enthusiasm the illuminations in the *Dismas*

4 Hormayr's record on Thalnitscher is published in "Historische Tageserinnerungen für Österreicher: Johann Gregor Thalnitscher von Thalberg," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, June 1817, VIII/78, 318–319.

5 Dimitz gave his lecture on January 9th, 1862, and the text was published that same month in the section "Monats-Versammlung" of the periodical published by the Historical Society for Carniola (*Das Matrikel Buch der Dismas Confederation in Laibach*, MHK, 1862, XVII/1, 4–6). Baron Joseph Kalasanz Erberg wrote about the *Dismas Chronicle* in 1825, in his manuscript *Versuch eines Entwurfes zu einer Literatur-Geschichte für Krain* (Attempt at a Sketch of the Literary History of Carniola), Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Gra I., Dol, Fasc. 76). Already keeping it in his library at Dol pri Ljubljani, he reported on the manuscript "first-hand" (Uršič, 1975, 42–43). Drawing from Erberg's records, Vinko Klun wrote his contribution to the literary history of Carniola, dedicating the ninth chapter to the *Album* of St. Dismas Society (*Beiträge zur Literatur Geschichte von Krain*, MHK 1852, VII/4, 27–28).

6 *Blätter aus Krain*, VIII/8 (February 27th, 1864), 31–32; VIII/9 (March 5th, 1864), 34–36; VIII/10 (March 12th, 1864), 38–40; VIII/12 (March 26th, 1864), 46–47; VIII/13 (April 2nd, 1864), 50–52; VIII/14 (April 9th, 1864), 54–55; VIII/15 (April 16th, 1864), 58–59.

Chronicle as the most beautiful of all the miniatures preserved from the period in question (Flis, 1891, 470). Further testifying to the tremendous importance that Flis attached to them is the fact that he used one of Grachower's miniatures to illustrate the excellence of Carniolan Baroque painting.⁷



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld, 1734, published in Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Vienna 1886–1902, volume Kärnten und Krain (1891), 473.

One would expect that the enthusiastic presentation brought forth by an eminent art historical scholar would intensify scholarly interest in *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*, especially considering the circumstances under which Slovenian art history attained the status of a scholarly and academic

discipline. The founding of the chair in art history at the University of Ljubljana (established in 1919) and of the Slovenian Art History Society in 1921, coupled with the launch of the *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* (Art History Journal) as the first academic periodical led during the interwar period to an intensification of research into Slovenian art, with new generations faithfully following the set course even after the Second World War. Yet, with all the focus on the masterpieces of Baroque panel and wall painting, it seems that no time was left to study book illuminations. The miniatures in the *Dismas Chronicle* only received their first scholarly treatment in 1970, when the task was undertaken by Polonca Vrhunc. Her article is largely dedicated to the paintings of Simon Thaddeus Wolfgang Grachower. However, because the illustration of *The Album of the Noble Society of St. Dismas* constitutes the core of the master's preserved oeuvre, the author also briefly presents the manuscript as a whole (Vrhunc, 1970, 107–132). In the introduction, she lists the first scholarly writings on the *Album* and describes its significance and the circumstances under which it was created. There then follows an overview of illuminated folios, as well as their chronological and stylistic classification into four major groups. The central part of the study focuses on the selected miniatures by Grachower, and Vrhunc further accompanies the formal analysis of illuminated pages with a brief iconographic explanation.⁸ And yet her contribution, which represented a major methodological breakthrough that called for further research, was not met with the desired response. The only attempt at a comprehensive discussion of the *Album* was the diploma thesis “*Thaetrum Memoriae nobilis ac almae societatis unitorum: spominska knjiga Dizmove bratovščine*” (1995), written by Neli Grafenauer under the supervision of Milček Komelj at the Art History Department, University of Ljubljana. However, apart from offering a correct presentation of known facts and describing the *Album* by largely drawing on Vrhunc's article and earlier mentions, the thesis adds nothing new to the existing knowledge.

⁷ Although the book collection was luxuriously illustrated for its day, the number of illuminations was very limited for individual chapters. Thus, the survey of Carniolan early modern art is accompanied by no more than five illuminations, among them Grachower's miniature from the *Dismas Chronicle*, reproduced on p. 473.

⁸ Although the author incorrectly dates the first illuminated pages of the *Dismas Chronicle* to as early as 1688, and there are also a few errors in the chronology of the production of entry pages and their iconographic interpretation, this in no way diminishes the value of her work.

The tectonic shift in the research on *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* came in 2001, when the facsimile edition of the *Dismas Chronicle* was published, accompanied by an annotated integral translation of the text in Slovenian and a separate volume of studies by the eminent scholars Jože Kastelic, Emilijan Cevc, Nataša Golob, and Marijan Smolik.⁹ The studies shed light on many hitherto completely unknown aspects and bring new findings, but also raise new questions. In the introductory chapter “The Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas in time and space”, Jože Kastelic outlines the historical conditions in Carniola during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, points to the significance of Ljubljana as a

9 The facsimile was published in 2001 by the Johann Weikhard Valvasor Foundation. Accompanying it are two study volumes, edited by Lojze Gostiša, the head of the facsimile publication project. The first volume (*Spominska knjiga ljubljanske plemiške družbe sv. Dizma 1688–1801, I*) contains the full transcription and translation of the chronicle as well as material directly related to its production and the activities of the noble association—that is, Thalnitscher’s manuscript volume with the curricula vitae of its members and the conceptual drafts of emblems (*Concept Book*), the minutes of sessions (*Protocol*), and the presentation booklet of the Ljubljana noble society (*Disma-Philologia*). The *Concept Book* (*Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum...*, Seminary Library Ljubljana, Ms 6) is presented with a transcription, translation, and illuminations of the selected pages. The *Protocol* (*Protocolum Almae ac Nobilissimae Societatis Unitorum*, Archdiocesan Archives Ljubljana, KAL, fasc. 229/2) is published as a transcription of the minutes of the association’s sessions and festivities, with summaries in Slovenian and illuminations of the selected pages. The *Disma-Philologia* (preserved in two editions [Johann Georg Mayr, Ljubljana 1708 and ca. 1722–1723]) is presented with illuminations and translations of the selected pages. The translations and introductory explanations were provided by France Baraga. The above-mentioned material was expanded with a list of members of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas from 1801, which was preserved in the Dol archives and is now kept by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (AS 730, Gospostvo Dol, fasc. 127). The introductory explanation was written by Marijan Smolik. *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* was transcribed by Angel Kralj and France Baraga, the translation from German to Slovenian was done by Tone Janko and F. Baraga, and Latin segments were translated by Kajetan Gantar and F. Baraga. The second volume (*Spominska knjiga ljubljanske plemiške družbe sv. Dizma 1688–1801, II*) contains the accompanying studies written by the authors listed above, the iconographic catalogue, and an overview of St. Dismas Society’s membership. The references to the first volume are abbreviated as “*Spominska knjiga I*,” followed by the indication of page, and the references to the accompanying studies, published in the second volume, follow the established method of academic referencing.

cultural and art center, and highlights the role of the Noble Society of St. Dismas as the precursor of the *Academia Operosorum Labacensium*. Apart from briefly presenting individual members’ entry pages and their emblems, Kastelic’s catalogue “Emblems in the mirror of iconography” constitutes a much more significant contribution, even though the catalogue units do not surpass the level of basic iconographic description. In her chapter “Album of the Noble Society of St. Dismas in Ljubljana. Codicological Aspects”, Nataša Golob focuses on codicological analysis, which also importantly adds to the understanding of how the manuscript volume was compiled. The manuscript is most comprehensively addressed by Emilijan Cevc in his study “The Illuminated manuscript book of the St. Dismas Society”, discussing the stylistic and iconographic aspects of the manuscript, outlining its genesis, and presenting the artistic context of the illustrations. He also mentions the development of Renaissance and Baroque emblematics, but makes do with the mere observation that the emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle* were influenced by a mature form of emblems, without providing comparisons or examples. In his documentary addendum “The Members of the Society of St. Dismas in Ljubljana and their Album”, Marijan Smolik offers a survey of known biographical data on the members of the noble society and key facts regarding the creation of the *Album*. To bring the monument closer to an international audience, all studies were translated in their entirety into English and German.

The enthusiastic reception with which the facsimile edition, accompanied by a translation and multilingual studies, was met among the broader readership also through daily media coverage created the anticipation that new research would soon follow, which unfortunately did not happen. The luxuriously bound study volumes and the facsimile seem to have remained forgotten on shelves or locked away in book cabinets. Perhaps most art historians thought that all the crucial conclusions had already been drawn; short presentations and mentions in various contexts were of a predominantly informative nature, without contributing anything to the existing knowledge about the illuminations in the *Dismas Chronicle*. The only exception is a few iconographic studies focusing on the content of the emblems, on seeking comparisons in

European emblematics, and on identifying examples for the conceptualization of *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*.¹⁰

1.2 The Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas

Before turning to the association of Ljubljana's learned men who established the first academy in Carniola following the example of their Italian counterparts, let us first address a few quandaries that plague the literature concerning its name. This seems particularly significant because some of its designations may be confusing and create an erroneous conception of the association's nature and activities. The multitude of different names for Ljubljana's very first academy primarily stems from the Slovenization of its original Latin and German designation stated in the association's documents, and from the fact that its founding members used various designations among themselves. Thus, the inscription on the introductory miniature Apotheosis of Ljubljana (TM, fol. 2r)¹¹ in the *Album* refers to the members of the association as *Academici Uniti* (United Academicians), and on the title leaf (TM, fol. 3r), the association is referred to as *Societas Unitorum* (Society of the United) or, more accurately: *Nobilis ac Alma Societas Unitorum* (Noble Society of the United). The German designation on the same page is not entirely identical to its Latin counterpart since it introduces an additional emphasis: *Adeliche und Gottseelige Gesellschaft der Vereinigten* (Noble and Pious Society of the United). Unchanged, the latter also occurred in subsequent documents, whereas the *Societas Unitorum* gradually gave way to the increasingly used designation *Academia Unitorum* (Academy of the United).¹² Rather than sheer coincidence, this was most likely a result of drawing from the established Italian academic

tradition, as may also be gathered from documents and various records concerning the association's activities. This connection became even more apparent soon after the *Academia Operosorum* (Academy of the Industrious) was founded in 1693, followed by other academies and associations in the early eighteenth century.¹³ In the second half of the 1690s, the United Academicians (many also became members of the Academy of the Industrious) increasingly referred to their association as *Academia Unitorum*, and this name then established itself as the prevailing designation in the eighteenth century.¹⁴

However, because the Ljubljana academicians chose St. Dismas as their patron saint and the name of their association had already been closely associated with him in its earliest records,¹⁵ the designation 'Noble Society of St. Dismas' or 'Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas' also took root in the academic literature and over the last two decades has become accepted as the standard designation. The literature also makes frequent use of abbreviated versions of the name, such as 'the Society of St. Dismas,' 'the St. Dismas Society,' and 'the Brotherhood of St. Dismas,' the last one creating a false impression that it was a clerical rather than a secular association. Although various authors have pointed to this important fact, they have not abandoned the term, thus

10 See the bibliography: Germ, 2009, 2011, 2017, 2020, 2021, and 2022.

11 All citations of folios correspond to the foliation prepared by Nataša Golob, which is used in the transcription of the original and in the studies accompanying the facsimile edition. When citing the folios, the title *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum* is replaced by the acronym TM.

12 In less formal examples, such as the minutes of the association's meetings, the name is most often abbreviated to the "noble society" (*adeliche Gesellschaft*).

13 On the first academies in Carniola, see: Vidmar, 2013, 18; Vidmar 2023; Lavrič, 2003, 32.

14 This specifically holds for recording the name in Latin, which was considered to be the language of the learned. In German records, the word phrase 'noble society' remained in use.

15 For example, the German title of the manuscript with the minutes of the association meetings and festivities: *Prothocoll der Verainigten unter Anrueffung deß Heiligen Dismae...* (*Protocollum*, Archdiocesan Archives Ljubljana, KAL fasc. 229/2, 2r; see also the transcription and the translation, *Spominska knjiga I*, 295–308). In the program booklet (*Disma-Philogia*), the patron saint also appears as part of the name in the statute of the association: *Der Vereinigt Adelichen und Gottseeligen Gesellschaft S. Dismae*. The *Disma-Philogia* was first printed in 1708 and for the second time in a somewhat changed and expanded form in 1722–1723, even though the second edition also bears the year 1708. The date of the second edition is owed to the fact that the membership list is much longer and ends with the name of Lorenz Daniel Wollwiz, who entered the association in 1722. Today, there are three known copies: two are housed in the National Museum of Slovenia (CNs 5364 and 12791), and the third one is kept by the National University Library (CN 20286). The COBIB catalogue erroneously dates both editions to 1708.

inadvertently justifying its use.¹⁶ Because the designation ‘Brotherhood of St. Dismas’ is obsolete and above all misleading, it should be consistently avoided, at least in research and scholarly writings.

The origin of the first Carniolan academy, its organization, principles, work, and objectives are the most straightforwardly presented in the records on its establishment and operations. In addition to the *Album* as the most extensive primary source, other important sources include the minutes of the association’s sessions and festivities (*Protocollum*) for the period between 1688 and 1737,¹⁷ a volume containing its statute and membership list (*Disma-Philologia*), as well as Thalnitscher’s *Concept Book*.¹⁸ These also served as sources to authors who wrote about the Academy of the United either in connection with the *Dismas Chronicle* or in any other context. An overview of key facts and an evaluation of the role of the United Academicians can likewise be found in the writings by France Dolinar (1994, 35–40), Marijan Smolik (*Spominska knjiga II*, 2001, 291–303), and Ana Lavrič (2003, 27–30). For the purposes of this study, suffice it to summarize the most essential historical insights and draw attention to the under-researched or neglected aspects that are paramount to understanding the genesis and the concept of the United Academicians’ *Album*.

16 The term ‘brotherhood’ was used without reservation especially by early authors who wrote about the *Dismas Chronicle* in the nineteenth century. Among contemporary authors, it is often employed by France Dolinar, who nonetheless stresses that the association was not a brotherhood (Dolinar, 1994, 35–36).

17 With individual folios missing, the *Protocol* is not even fully preserved for this period. See: *Spominska knjiga I*, 293–308.

18 In the academic literature, the *Concept Book* appears as the established title of Thalnitscher’s manuscript volume, a sort of “working draft” for the United Academicians’ *Album*, which, apart from the introductory part, also contains the drafts of curricula vitae and concise biographical data on the members of the noble association. For understanding the iconography and genesis of the emblems it is of paramount importance that the manuscript also contains the conceptual drafts for the members’ emblems—that is, the sketches of emblematic images, the accompanying mottos, and the members’ academic nicknames. The *Concept Book* was probably compiled between 1688 and 1719. The manuscript bearing the title identical to the *Album* itself is kept by the Seminary Library in Ljubljana (Ms. 6). For a more detailed presentation, see the introductory explanation by France Baraga (*Spominska knjiga I*, 235–236).

The year of the academy’s founding (1688) is indicated in as many as four different places in the *Theatrum Memoriae*: at the bottom of the introductory miniature with the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, on the title leaf, in the preface by Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, and in the curriculum vitae of the association’s founder Wolfgang Sigmund Künpach (TM, fols. 2r, 3r, 5r, 12v). The precise date, May 5th, 1688, is also provided in the record on the founding meeting (PR, fol. 5r), which informs the reader that nine noblemen, headed by the administrator of Idrija Mine, Wolfgang Sigmund Künpach, decided at an informal gathering in Ljubljana to establish the Noble Society of St. Dismas. At the following meeting on June 3rd, 1688, the association was formally founded and its leadership elected: Künpach as president, Franz Jacob Erberg as vice-president, and Thalnitscher as secretary. A detail particularly interesting for this study is that the resolution regarding the *Album* was passed at the very founding of the academy, and that the president and vice-president offered to personally fund the creation of a book that would contain the association’s statute and illuminated entries of the members.¹⁹ Equally revealing is the fact that their plans for the book were ambitious from the onset, mentioning a large format (folio) and envisaging suede-bound covers, reinforced with silver book corners (PR, fol. 6r). The presentation booklet from 1708 gives May 5th, 1688, as the date when the St. Dismas Society commenced its operations after its members recognized it as the date that marked the symbolic birth of the association of Carniolan academicians (DP, fol. 6v). At the meeting held on April 15th, 1689, it was decided that the number of members be limited to twenty-six, as prescribed by the academy rules set out in the introductory section of the *Album* (Article 2, TM, fol. 8r). The founding members stressed that each new member’s entry page in the *Album* should include their coat of arms and a symbolic image (as set out in the academic rules, Article 9, TM, fol. 9r). A further requirement was that the symbolic image of each member should draw on the emblem of the Academy of the United: a heart, composed of twenty-six smaller hearts and bearing the inscription *Concordiae fructus* (PR, fol. 6v).

19 The fact that *The Album of the Noble Society of St. Dismas* was funded by Künpach and Erberg was also mentioned by Thalnitscher in Künpach’s curriculum vitae (TM, fol. 12v).

Quickly gaining in reputation among Carniola's learned men, the *Academia Unitorum* decided in 1699 to increase its membership roster to fifty-one (PR, fol. 9v). The decision was confirmed again in 1708 in the association's renewed statute, published in the presentation booklet *Disma-Philologia*.²⁰ Further adding to interest in membership was clearly the fact that it was not predicated on noble status; rather, the academy opened its door to any man of education, who had completed his studies at one of the European universities and held an important office in the Duchy of Carniola. On entering the Society of St. Dismas, meritorious candidates of humble origin who didn't possess a nobleman's coat or arms were granted the right to use the academic coat of arms and have it painted in the *Album*. The minutes of the association's sessions inform the reader that, despite the increased membership, the number of candidates exceeded the number of places available. Thus, Carl Joseph Wisenthal, who applied for membership in 1714 along with three other candidates (PR, fol. 15v), had to wait for more than two years before a vacancy appeared, and he could renew (this time successfully) his request for admission. In the following years, as the pressure of would-be candidates continued to rise, the minutes of the session held on March 22nd, 1718, reveal that the academy was not admitting supernumerary members (*pro supernumerario*) except for the position of secretary (PR, fol. 16v). In 1719, a measure was even proposed against the spirit of the founding principles to prioritize candidates with noble status, which allowed Count Hans Adam Rasp to be selected out of three candidates for a single vacancy (PR, fol. 18v). Nonetheless, the proposal never really came into effect, and at the next filling of three vacancies in 1722 two noblemen (Baron Johann Siegfried Apfaltrer and Baron Johann Joseph Anton Posarelli) and a court scribe Johann Baptist Preschern of humble

station were admitted into the association, while Baron Johann Joseph Ottheim had to wait for another vacancy to arise (PR, fol. 21r). Members were regularly entered in the *Album* until 1765; after that, entries became sporadic, and no new members were inscribed between 1776 and 1799 (*Spominska knjiga I*, 329). In 1800–1801, the last three entries were created, despite no vacancies available during this period, and over forty members were not inscribed in the *Album* at all. This is demonstrated by a membership list from 1801 that was found in the archives of Baron Joseph Kalasanz Erberg at Dol pri Ljubljani and is now kept by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (AS 730, Gospostvo Dol, fasc. 127).²¹

Little is known regarding the organized activities of the Academy of the United, but we do have the academic rules (*Leges Academiae Unitorum*), set out on the introductory pages of the *Album* (TM, fols. 8r–10r),²² and the statute (*Gefäß Der Vereinigt Adlichen und Gottseeligen Gesellschaft S. Dismae*), printed in the *Disma-Philologia* (17–23).²³ A few pieces of information can be found in the scanty records on the association's sessions and festivities (PR, fols. 2r–31v) that mainly relate to admissions of new members and

20 Concurrently, they also changed the symbol of the association, which thenceforth featured fifty-one hearts united into a single large heart (DP, fol. 7r). See also: *Spominska knjiga I*, 319. A growing interest in membership was not the only reason for the association to expand; the decision also aligned with the plan that the noble society set up a chapel in Ljubljana to its patron saint, St. Dismas. This also required sufficient funds to be collected through admission fees, as stated in the minutes of the session held on November 30th, 1699, at which a resolution was passed on enlarging the noble society (PR, fol. 9v). See also: *Spominska knjiga I*, 298.

21 There are, in fact, two lists: the so-called variant A and variant B, whereby the latter is most probably a transcript of the former. As may be gathered from the list, in 1801 the association even had a supernumerary, fifty-second member, and as many as forty-two members were not inscribed in the *Album*. The total number of the known members of St. Dismas Society from its establishment in 1688 until 1801 thus increased from the 195 entered in the *Album* to a total of 237. See: Marijan Smolik, "Seznam članov Ljubljanske plemiške družbe sv. Dizma leta 1801. Uvodno pojasnilo," *Spominska knjiga I*, 329. According to Boris Golec, the total number of members may have been about 250, especially because the names of (possible) members who joined St. Dismas Society between 1771 and 1800 and were deceased by 1801 (and thus not included in the list from Dol) are not known (Golec, 2022, 27/1, 168). Counting the members, Smolik and Golec do not consider the condition of the *Album* manuscript, but the fact that a few folios have very likely been lost. This raises the question regarding entries on which no data is available. At least Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld was demonstrably inscribed in the *Dismas Chronicle*, even though his entry folio has been lost (see the chapter "The Provenance and Current Condition of the Manuscript"). For the time being, 238 members of the Noble Society of St. Dismas are documented. On membership in the final period of its operations, see: Golec, 2022, 27/2, 81–145.

22 The transcription and translation of the rules in: *Spominska knjiga I*, 16–17 and 20–21.

23 The translation of the statute in: *Spominska knjiga I*, 321–325.

the designing of St. Dismas Chapel. Judging solely from this, it seems safe to assume that the primary concern of the noble society was to provide care for the spiritual wellbeing of its members and to preserve their memory. Yet, it would be a mistake to overlook the message of the introductory illumination with the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, the allegorical significance of which Thalnitscher minutely explains in his *Preface* (TM, fols. 4r–6r) and which clearly shows that the association also had objectives regarding science and art and the overall development of Ljubljana as the capital of Carniola.²⁴ Furthermore, the sheer idea of preserving memory indicates the influence of Italian academies: by describing the lives, character traits, and merits of its members, and by highlighting their illustrious accomplishments in various spheres of life. The *curricula vitae* that Thalnitscher compiled for the *Album* contain information on the members' activities, diverse interests, and appreciation of art. Some academicians actively engaged in amateur artistic pursuits, or they supported the development of art through commissioning artworks. Notary Hans Joseph Mugerle appreciated painting and music, and his son, jurist Hans Andreas, had a chapel built in the convent of Poor Clares in Ljubljana, dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Gabriel Eder, Mayor of Ljubljana, commissioned the construction of a bell tower for St. Florian Church in Old Square. Many projects were credited to the provost of Ljubljana, Johann Baptist Preschern, whereas the secretary of the 'vicedom's' office, Baron Volf Sigmund Stroblhof, constructed Bokalce Mansion, the frescoes for which were produced by the painter called "*Almanach from Antwerp*." A senior official at the imperial court, Johann Karl Lederer, commissioned a marble Altar of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in the Church of St. Augustin, and merchant Peter Anton Codelli set up a chapel in the cathedral. Count Franz Siegfried Thurn-Valsassina restored the castle in Radovljica and "arranged the most beautiful garden in the province" by decorating it with garden statues, and so on. Thalnitscher also assigns an incredible flair for landscaping to Hans Joseph Gaionzelli, who built a garden on his estate near Ljubljana with hedge-lined paths, a labyrinth, and a rock cave. There were a considerable number of art collectors (particularly of paintings) and avid

readers who accumulated what were considered immense private libraries for that period, among them physicians Johann Caspar de Corusi, Johann Baptist Pettermann, Johann Andreas de Coppini, and Mark Gerbez, as well as jurists Franz Carl Schwizen and Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch, to name but a few. Floriantschitsch was also a numismatist with a noteworthy collection of ancient coins and a small museum of antiques and curiosities. Some academicians engaged or at least cultivated an intense interest in music-making (the above-mentioned Hans Joseph Mugerle, Franz Wilhelm Zergollern and above all Johann Berthold Höffer, the initiator of the founding of the *Academia Philcarmonicorum* in 1701), or they engaged in poetry (e.g., Georg Andreas Gladich and Johann Rudolph Coraduzzi).²⁵

No other member of the Academy of the United did as much for the promotion of science as Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, a founding member of the famous Academy of the Industrious (*Academia Operosorum*, 1693). He also planned to establish the Academy of the Uncultured (*Academia Incultorum*), the Academy of Three Arts (*Academia Trium Artium*), and the Academy of Noble Skills (*Academia Reconditorum*). The only academy that he ultimately succeeded in establishing with his son Alex Sigismund Thalnitscher was the *Academia Emonia* for literary arts, a branch of the Roman Arcadia (*Accademia Arcadia*), which never came into full existence due to his son's premature death (Vidmar, 2013, 18). A major art project was the construction of the new Ljubljana Cathedral at the initiative of Johann Gregor and his brother Johann Anton Thalnitscher, and with the support of Bishop Sigismund Christoph Herberstein (1684–1701) and his successor, Bishop Franz Ferdinand von Kuenburg (1701–1711). While Johann Gregor Thalnitscher also played a vital role in establishing the first public academic library in Ljubljana (today Seminary Library), the envisaged restoration of the Town Hall never came to fruition. Thalnitscher's most important written work was the precise history of the construction of the Ljubljana Cathedral, *Historia Cathedralis Ecclesiae Labacensis*, a treasure trove of information and a mirror of the artistic climate in the early eighteenth-century

24 For a detailed explanation of the allegory, see pages 41–44.

25 See Thalnitscher's *curricula vitae* of the above-mentioned members in the *Theatrum Memoriae* (fols. 24r–118v; *Spominška knjiga I*, 33–109). Cf. Lavrič, 2003, 27–30.

Carniola.²⁶ Equally invaluable are several other records conveying a vivid interest in art and culture, including the particularly striking conceptual design for the reconstruction of the Ljubljana Town Hall (*Curia Labacensis*, 1680, Seminary Library Ljubljana, Ms 12).

Thalnitscher's work and projects (as well as the activities of many other members of the *Academia Unitorum*) ushered in a period characterized by the development of academic associations in Ljubljana and even more so by the founding of the Academy of the Industrious. The academy presented itself to the wider public at a ceremonial gathering held at the episcopal mansion on December 13th, 1701. To commemorate the occasion, the presentation booklet *Apes academicae Operosorum Labacensium* was published, containing a list of its members as well as its mission and programme of work.²⁷ The Academy of the Industrious was founded on more scientific premises than the Academy of the United: not only did it have a clearer plan, but it was also more active and consequential in every regard. Despite its short-lived existence (it began to decline after the death of Johann Gregor Thalnitscher in 1719 and finally ceased operations in 1725), it left a stronger mark on the development of science and art in Slovenian lands than its precursor.²⁸ Nonetheless, the two associations were too closely related to be compared. Members of the *Academici Uniti* were initiators of the establishment of the *Academia Operosorum*, and twenty of them were also on its membership list—which is highly significant, considering that on its establishment the academy had twenty-three members.²⁹ Even more significantly, Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, the ideational father and *spiritus agens* of both associa-

tions, also assumed an active role in the new academy.

To properly understand the spirit of the Noble Society of St. Dismas, it seems reasonable to consider its academic rules and statute, in which the area of scientific activities is modestly represented, from the point of view of the academic rules used by the Industrious, especially because Johann Gregor Thalnitscher must have also taken part in their preparation. The experience he had accumulated while de facto administering the Academy of the United as its secretary and the reputation he had earned among his colleagues secured him a key operative role in the Academy of the Industrious, even though he was not formally part of its leadership (Simoniti, 1988, 79). It should also be borne in mind that the organization of both academies was rather lax and that their members acted independently in their respective areas of expertise, thus occasionally making it difficult to set their work in direct correlation with the programme of either association. The same holds for their active promotion of art and the commissioning of artworks. There are relatively few commissions directly attributable to either academy, and a considerably greater number of private commissions are tied to the interests and desires of their individual members.³⁰ The individuality of their work, coupled with the idea of mutual interaction at a symbolic level, is splendidly illustrated by the emblem of the Academy of the Industrious featuring a beehive with a swarm of bees. Each bee is flying about, collecting nectar from selected flowers and carrying the fruit of its labor back to the hive, contributing to the prosperity of the entire colony (*Apes academicae*, fols.

26 See the critical edition of the text with the accompanying study: Lavrič, 2003.

27 The booklet, published by Mayr in Ljubljana, has been preserved in four copies, currently held by the National University Library, the Seminary Library Ljubljana, the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, and the SAZU Library, respectively. It is also available in reprint with the Slovenian translation and a brief introduction by Primož Simoniti (*Akademске čebele ljubljanskih operozov*, SAZU, Ljubljana 1988). See: Simoniti, 1994, 54; Vidmar, 2013, 17.

28 See: Cevc, 1994, 111–124; Lavrič, 2003, 31–37; Vidmar, 2013, 17–22.

29 It should also be noted that in 1701, when their presentation booklet was printed, some of the Industrious were not yet members of the Academy of the United and only became so after that year (Lavrič, 2003, 31).

30 Contrary to the belief widely held among early writers that the construction of the Baroque Ljubljana ought to be credited to the *Academia Operosorum*, Vidmar argues that the extant sources contain no major commission issued by it. Rather, the academy usually provided incentives, and its members worked as individuals. Yet, this does not significantly affect the importance that the academy had for the cultural and artistic flourishing of Ljubljana in the early eighteenth century. The initiatives often bore fruit, and the indirect impact of the academicians' ideas and reflections was surely significant, albeit perhaps not easily attestable with documentary evidence. According to Vidmar, "the data allow for a firm conclusion that in the late seventeenth century the Academy of the Industrious, collaborating closely with the Ljubljana diocese, prepared the conceptual basis for the restoration of the city and the province by following Italian examples, and that it above all actively participated in constructing and furnishing the new cathedral as well as in establishing and the public library in the first half of the eighteenth century" (2013, 20–22).

3r and 4r). The same principle is clearly defined in the first article of the academic rules (*Apes academicae*, fol. 5r), and a similar line of thinking and collaboration also prevailed among the United Academicians, albeit not stipulated in the rules or any other preserved document. Given the overlapping membership, there was no need for it.

1.3 The Production, Design, and Illumination of the *Album*

The *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum* is in many regards unique. First, due to its exquisite artistic quality and the iconographic wealth of illuminations embellishing its pages and second, due to the special circumstances of its production: it was compiled (with few breaks) for over 113 years, with illuminations themselves serving as a unique chronicle of the stylistic development of miniature painting from the last days of the late Renaissance, through the lavishly represented mature Baroque and Rococo, to the beginnings of Classicism; third, for showcasing the most extensive collection of original emblems in Slovenian lands, which also had an important bearing on the development of European emblematics (181 out of 187 illuminations in the *Dismas Chronicle* are entry folios with individual emblems of its members);³¹ and not least because both the visual material and the text bear invaluable witness to the artistic taste, sophistication, mindset and aspirations of the Carniolan intellectual elite in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The original design of the *Album* of the Ljubljana academicians, the sheer size of which and the luxurious binding clearly conveyed the desire for representativeness,³² envisaged an illuminated entry page for each member and space for a brief curriculum vitae. Each

entry was initially assigned two folios; however, the original concept only remained in use until 1719, the year that marked the death of the association's first secretary. In the final years of his life, Johann Gregor Thalnitscher no longer entered the *curricula vitae* consistently and abandoned this task altogether between 1717 and 1719, when he was already suffering from severe illness. Often, in this period, the *Album* received the addition only of an illuminated entry page with a coat of arms, an emblem, and information on the new academy member, followed by an empty folio to be filled with a brief description of his life and the most noteworthy accomplishments. Unfortunately, Thalnitscher's successors showed little enthusiasm for *curricula vitae*, and the last biography entered (Count Wolfgang Engelbert Auersperg, TM, fol. 160r) is followed by a series of illustrated entry pages, accompanied by folios for *curricula vitae* now left unwritten. Soon afterwards, several folios appear that merely state the new member's name to mark the space designated for his entry with the accompanying miniature. Thus, after the entry page of Johann Caspar Kharschaner (TM, fol. 199), followed by an unwritten folio for his curriculum vitae, the reader comes across the first empty folio (TM, fol. 201) that merely bears the notation of the name of Baron Johann Gottfried Apfaltrer. This signals that the practice of entering new members in the *Dismas Chronicle* was not a uniform one and that, in its decades-long compilation, it was the time dynamics of implementing the entries that changed the most. Because, as already observed, in the last period of the academy's operations, forty-two members were neither inscribed nor were there any notations made for them in the *Album*, we would never have known about them based on the manuscript volume alone, had it not been for the list of members preserved from 1801.

Still more complex is the question concerning the production of the miniatures. Their analyses, year inscriptions and a few preserved sources reveal that the illuminated folios were initially completed soon after a new member was admitted into the academy, but over time the miniatures were increasingly often painted with a considerable time lapse, some even posthumously. Judging from the above-mentioned folios which state nothing more than the member's name and the year of admission, in some cases the implementation of the envisaged entry page did not go

31 There are, in fact, 183 individual illuminated entries in the album, of which the last two (TM, fols. 387r and 389r) are not emblematic in nature: the illumination depicts the commissioning member's coat of arms and nothing else. This detail holds for the current condition of the manuscript (a few folios have been lost). See the chapter "The Provenance and Current Condition of the Manuscript."

32 The kind of book that the members of the noble society had in mind is described in the minutes of their session of June 6th, 1688 (PR, fol. 4). See the chapter "The Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas."

further than making a notation. Polonca Vrhunc was the first who pointed out that the illumination of the *Album* was not a continuous process, and that entry pages were produced with long interruptions.

Vrhunc divided the production of miniatures into four main phases. The first phase was set between 1688 and 1689, the second between 1690 and about 1740; the third phase was marked by the work of Simon Thaddeus Wolfgang Grachower and lasted from about 1740 to his death in 1774, while the fourth and last phase was set between 1774 and 1801 (1970, 113–115). Congruently with the topic of her study, the author focused on Grachower's work and only briefly mentioned other periods, whereby the definition of the first two is problematic and partially misconstrued. For the time being, there is no evidence that the first miniatures for the *Album* were produced as early as 1688 and that the introductory sections (the title page, the secretary's preface, and the academic rules) were also written at the time. To be honest, there is no knowledge of whether the volume was indeed produced that year, despite the inscription proudly displayed on the *Album's* title leaf. All that is certain is that the first membership entries are dated September 12th, 1689. The year 1688 most probably relates to when the association was founded and does not necessarily signify that the *Album* was also created in that year. Could it be that the book was prepared at the end of 1688, along with at least three opening miniatures? But if that were so, why would the academicians wait to make the first entries until September the following year?³³ The crucial piece of information in addressing the question of when the opening miniatures were created is that the resolution on the precise form and content of the emblem representing the newly founded academy and serving as the centerpiece on the introductory miniature of the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, was only passed at the session of April 15th, 1689 (PR, fol. 6v). Even if we allow for the possibility that the *Academici Uniti* were contemplating the emblem prior to the said meeting, it seems almost impossible

that the carefully thought out miniature glorifying Ljubljana, as well as its description and iconographic explanation, were produced based solely on deliberations before the final decision was made on the precise appearance of the academic emblem and the number of members symbolically represented in it by twenty-six hearts. Given the above, it seems safe to conclude that the introductory sections with the three miniatures were produced after the association held its April session, at which the form of the academic emblem was determined, and before the first individual membership entries were made on September 12th, 1689.

It should be noted, however, that even the initial entries had not necessarily been created in 1689. It is almost certain that the majority were not produced in that year: the undated entry folio of Franz Jacob Erberg (TM, fol. 13r), for example, was painted after his death on January 20th, 1690. Considering that it is followed by entries dated September 12th, 1689, it is possible that Erberg's entry page was produced and inserted at a later date, or that the subsequent folios dated 1689 were indeed painted no earlier than 1690. The latter possibility seems much more likely. According to the codicological analysis conducted by Nataša Golob (2001, 62), Erberg's entry folio was not one of those that were subsequently inserted or glued onto the existing folio. Although the folio is undated, the iconography of the image (the hand of God putting out the heart's flame) and the inscription *The first of them all* instead of the usual academic nickname and selected motto suggest that it was created posthumously. Moreover, as their respective dates of entry suggest, the illuminated entry pages were produced with a certain (often significant) delay, making it extremely unlikely that Andreas Trost should have painted all the entry pages sequenced after Erberg's and dated September 12th, 1689,³⁴ in less than a month. In most cases, the dates refer to the new member's admission into the Noble Society of St. Dismas and say nothing about when the entry pages were in fact painted. The authors of studies accompanying the *Album's* facsimile edition do not address the issue concerning the precise

33 According to Dolinar (1994, 35), the first members were already inscribed on March 12th, 1689, but this is clearly incorrect, especially given his concurrent reference to the feast of the Holy Name of Mary, which is celebrated on September 12th. That this is an error is best illustrated by the fact that the first entry page in the *Dismas Chronicle* (that of its founding member Künpach) states the date September 12th, 1689, as do the entry pages that follow.

34 Specifically, the sixteen entries on fols. 27r–59r. The name of Anton Joseph Zergollern (TM, fol. 61r) was entered last in 1689, but dated November 18th, whereas Johann Heinrich Watzenberg (TM, fol. 63r) was the first member to be inscribed in 1690.

time of origin of the earliest entry pages. Rather, they follow the chronology suggested by Polonca Vrhunc, who believed that the entry pages of the first members of the St. Dismas Society were produced in 1688 (see above). Although Emilijan Cevc exceptionally stresses that the entry page of Franz Jacob Erberg was produced posthumously (2001, 103), he does not examine how this affected the dating of illuminations immediately following. Based on the research conducted so far, it seems that only the three opening miniatures and the entry of the association's president Wolfgang Sigismund Künpach originated in 1689, and the first entry pages of other members were produced no earlier than 1690.

From this perspective, the chronological order of the first phases of illumination, as suggested by Vrhunc, turns out to be incorrect. Further supporting this observation is the evident fact that the typology of the emblems, the compositional scheme, and the style of miniature paintings (barring a few exceptions) are uniform in the initial years; the design of the entry pages adheres to the concept proposed by Thalnitscher, and the painting technique suggests that most illuminations were executed by the leading miniaturist of the early period, Andreas Trost. Judging from typological and stylistic deviations, it appears that, from the beginning, Trost collaborated with individual "visiting" painters who are yet to be identified. However, their works are not confined to the time frame set by Vrhunc, appearing over a much longer period. To put it differently, in no way does the year 1689 (or 1690) mark a noticeable stylistic watershed: right up until the end of the seventeenth century, most miniatures were executed by Andreas Trost, who continued to paint in the first years of the new century while an increasing number of illuminations after 1700 may also be safely attributed to his pupils. The stylistic expression of the paintings (except for the miniatures produced by anonymous masters) remained relatively uniform, often making it impossible to determine with certainty whether a certain entry page was painted by Trost or by one of his pupils (Cevc, 2001, 103–105).

Thus, it seems more pertinent to talk about a long early period that ended sometime after the death of Trost's most talented pupil Bartholomeus Ramschissl (1711) and shortly before Thalnitscher's death (1719). In terms of style, Trost, the leading master

of the early period, was a representative of Baroque painting, still using elements of the late Renaissance that marked his previous works produced in the artistic circle of Baron Johann Weikhard Valvasor. In line with the typology of emblems and the structure of entry pages, the main emphasis is on decorative elements, and the narrative scenes are rather rudimentary and confined to the emblematic image. Trost was a veritable master of decoration, and he took especially great care when painting flower garlands, wreaths, bouquets, palm leaves, and various kinds of fruit. Emblematic images, encased in lavishly decorated oval frames, often depict landscape scenes, which are painted with a sensitivity to the modeling of light and to creating the illusion of depth but most often merely serve as a backdrop.



*Andreas Trost, Entry page of Johann Baptist Pettermann von Manfels, a detail of the emblematic image with the motto and academic nickname, 1689, *Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 41r.**

This is understandable, considering the dimensions and emblematic character of the images that place primary importance on the clarity of the symbolic message. Nonetheless, we also find miniatures (e.g., the emblematic images of Johann Baptist Pettermann, Paul Valerius Schwizen, Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch, or Johann Gothard Lukantschitsch, TM, fols. 41r, 71r, 73r, 107r), in which landscape plays an important or even predominant part, and in which the master successfully created a certain atmosphere, a "Stimmung" showcasing his keen sensitivity to nature. In designing escutcheons and

their decorative frames in accordance with the heraldic tradition, the gouache technique enabled Trost and his pupils to use brighter and more saturated colors and occasionally apply gilt accents. In landscape scenes and floral decoration, paint layers may be more translucent, in imitation of watercolors. In subsequent illuminations, assistant figures start to appear holding garlands or escutcheons, or leaning against the inscription cartouches. These are usually playful *putti* and angels, and less often the personifications of virtues. Assistant figures are particularly characteristic of Trost's pupil Ramschissl, whereas the *putti*, angels, and the allegorical figures produced by both are distinguished by their exuberant dynamism and the compact modeling of their bodies.

In the roughly thirty-year initial period of illuminating *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*, new stylistic features and changes in emblem typology can be observed, most resulting from Trost's quest to find original painting solutions but also stemming from fresh impulses that anonymous masters introduced, using what were often radically different concepts. A particularly explicit and far-reaching influence is attributed to the unknown painter of two miniatures for the entry folio of Baron Zacharias Gottfried Webersperg (TM, fol. 69r–69v).³⁵ The first one, with the coat of arms and the inscription cartouche placed in a large architectural niche resembling the carved frame of a wall altar, turned out to be especially inspiring. Under its influence, Trost and especially Ramschissl began to build their compositions employing a greater number of architectural elements and new compositional solutions. In addition, the pair of female figures holding Webersperg's coat of arms encouraged the inclusion of visually and compositionally more exposed assistant figures. However, despite the wide array of diverse painting and stylistic approaches used, the initial period of illumination was predominantly and homogeneously enough in the Baroque style to be divided into two parts or subcategories. In this respect, the thesis of a uniform stylistic development until Thalnitscher's death advocated by Emilijan Cevc (2001, 102–104) seems more reasonable than the division into two phases proposed by Polonca Vrhunc.



Unknown master, Entry page of Baron Zacharias Gottfried Webersperg, 1691, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 69r.

Vrhunc justified the chronological delimitation of the two subsequent periods by drawing on both stylistic analysis and historical data. At the center of the third period was the exquisite and inventive work of Simon Thaddeus Wolfgang Grachower, undoubtedly the most talented master of the *Dismas Chronicle*. With him, begins the Rococo period, with its distinctly relaxed compositions, characteristic decorative elements, and colorfulness achieved by using a predominantly light, gentle pastel color palette. In his early miniatures, essentially retaining the traditional emblem structure conceived by Thalnitscher, Grachower adapted to the existing patterns in painting, borrowing Baroque decorative forms and developing them further. Individual miniatures may also be viewed as homage to Andreas Trost, the leading miniaturist of the first period. The cypress tree alley on the entry folio of Siegfried Bonaventura Werthenthal (TM,

³⁵ He could also very likely be credited with illuminating the entry folio of Franz Benedict Dinzl (TM, fol. 85r).

fol. 208r) instantly reminds us of the same motif that Trost included in the title miniature of the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, only that it is more monumental and picturesque, as well as aptly completed with carefully trimmed box trees in ornamental pots sitting on elevated carved bases. The heavy red drapes held by a pair of winged genii are also clearly an imitation of the stage curtain on the introductory miniature.

Initially, Grachower's fresh painting approach found its expression in his emblematic images with detailed depictions of panoramic landscapes, into which he first carefully placed figural scenes until the narrative eventually grew increasingly more explicit. Some landscapes are recognizable as actual scenes including the commissioning member's mansion or manor, borrowing from the engraved vedutas in Valvasor's *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain*. Thus, on his very first signed miniature, created for Baron Johann Adam Flödnig (TM, fol. 203r), one can identify the Renaissance mansion at Valburga (now Smednik Mansion, rebuilt in the Baroque style) with the ruins of the old Smednik Castle in the background (copying the engraving in *Die Ehre*, XI, 173). Grachower's painting soon became more lavish and richer in content. Large, monumentally conceived virtuous assistant figures and selected mythological figures now come into prominence, arranged symmetrically and either holding the commissioning member's coat of arms or simply standing next to it or sitting elegantly in compositionally balanced positions.³⁶ Sometimes, for example on the entry folio of Count Anton Joseph Auersperg (TM, fol. 259r), they occupy almost the entire page. The decorative elements, especially the lavishly decorated cartouche frames, evolve into typical Rococo forms, creating the appearance of organic growth. Over the years, Grachower's compositions become increasingly relaxed: the coat of arms often recedes from the center of the miniature, strict axial symmetry is replaced by complex solutions with a looser structure of diagonals and a soft rhythm of arched lines. The figures are livelier and rendered more realistically;

36 In her analysis of Grachower's miniatures, Vrhnac writes that the first assistant figures have no substantive connection to the motto (1970, 116). Whereas this may appear so at first glance, the iconographic analysis of the emblems shows that the figures are not selected randomly, but that in one way or another they complement the emblematic message. Nor are the images in cartouches genre scenes—in most cases, their emblematic nature is undisputed.

they interact more intensely with each other, and they also increasingly address the viewer.

The master miniaturist pays increasing attention to the picturesque landscape background and to creating more depth with the use of perspective techniques. His painting exploration attains the most accomplished expression in the "open" emblems, where he abandons the traditional framed emblematic image (*pictura*), allowing the entire illuminated page to assume the role of an emblem painting. The first example of an open emblem is the entry folio of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini (TM, fol. 244r, see the image on p. 164), and among the best implemented is the entry folio of Count Paul Alois Auersperg (TM, fol. 347r, see the image on p. 219), one of Grachower's later works. The miniatures are richer in content and more complex in terms of iconographic interpretation: the bearers of the symbolic message (human figures, animals, plants, etc.) create a complex network of interactions, and the master sometimes includes minor genre details that are devoid of symbolic significance, potentially rendering the analysis of the emblem more challenging.

However, Grachower's creativity and inventiveness went beyond the virtuosity of a painter: in several emblems, he also assumed the role of a conceptual designer. This may be gathered from the way in which he signed his miniatures: most contain the usual "*Grachower pinx.*," with which the artist informs us that he is the creator of the painting or that, literally, he *paint*ed it. On the other hand, the *St. Dismas Album* contains as many as twenty-two miniatures, where the painter makes it explicit that he not only painted them but also conceptualized them, that is, developed the idea and composition: "*Grachower inv. et pinx.*"³⁷ Nonetheless, caution is advised when interpreting the notion *invenit* as authorship of an artwork on a substantive level: rather, it ought to be understood in the context of the period's artistic practice, when the notion of

37 With respect to the methods of signing, it should be added that sometimes the artist's signature is merely comprised of his family name and the initials of his personal name, and only rarely is the designation "*pinx.*" accompanied by the abbreviation "*del.*" (*delineavit*, drawn by, preliminary sketch produced by), which cannot be easily determined with full reliability in the existing context. Still, it does suggest a higher level of autonomy in conceptualizing the miniature than the common *pinxit*. Exceptionally, the master only signed using the initials S G (e.g., on the entry page of J. J. Ottheim, TM, fol. 217r).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Johann Adam Flödning, 1718, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 203r.

authorship was not identical to the modern concept of undeniable copyright. Imitating earlier examples, drawing inspiration more or less directly from existing emblems, and even making almost exact copies was an established practice in the early modern age, when the issue of authorship was hardly ever raised. This is especially evident in emblem books, into which younger artists incorporated their predecessors' existing emblems, and illustrators frequently used completely or partially replicated illustrations. As the development of emblematics reveals, the desire to create new emblem books was completely in line with the idea of upholding tradition, whereby migrations and transformations of emblems were viewed as self-evident. The wording "*invenit et pinxit*" on Grachower's miniatures does not necessarily imply that he did not use the existing emblematic compositions in his conceptualization (invention). The latest research confirms this and points to a wide spectrum of interactions among prototypes that Grachower used as the basis and emblems that he himself "designed." Grachower's often visibly altered and improved composition attests to the presence of a considerable degree of inventiveness. Still, in some other cases, changes are relatively insignificant, and, from a modern perspective, they do not merit the label "*invenit*." The emblematic image of Franz Anton Moschkhon (TM, fol. 272r), for example, is almost identical to an engraving in the emblem book *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids* by the German polymath and poet Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg (Hohb., fol. 16r).³⁸ Although Grachower's miniature is visually more accomplished, conveying a keen sensitivity for landscape structuring and a detailed rendition of animals, the basic composition is practically unchanged and clearly a replication (cf. pp. 186–190).

38 *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids* (Regensburg 1675) contains the German translation of psalms with musical notations of new melodies, as well as prayers, botanical illustrations with allegorical lines, and emblems with epigrams in Latin and German. The printed volume has 150 parchment folios with inserted copperplate engravings by Georg Christoph Eimmart. Representing the psalms, the emblems are always featured on the recto side of the inserted parchment folios, and the verso side displays the botanical copperplate engravings of various plants. Five years later, a reprint was published (Nürnberg 1680), and the modern facsimile with the foreword by Greta Lesky was released in 1969 (Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, Graz). On the emblems in Hohberg's book, see: Schöne, 1978, 30–46.

In her stylistic analysis of Grachower's miniatures, Vrhunc also pointed to a considerable disparity between early illuminations in the *Album* and those of Grachower's period. Rather than continuous, the work on the *Album* came to an almost twenty-five-year standstill (Vrhunc, 1970, 125). This discontinuation might even have gone completely unnoticed because the dates of entry and the sequence of entry pages in the manuscript seem to continue without interruption after Thalnitscher's death. Nonetheless, illumination remained at an impasse well before his passing: in other words, the entry folio of Baron Flödnig bears the inscription 1718 and features Grachower's signature. In view of the fact that the master undertook the illumination of the *Dismas Chronicle* around 1740, it is obvious that he started off by first making up for the non-realized entries in the past. Unfortunately, there is no information regarding the reason for the discontinuation of entry pages for over two decades that transpired between the last illuminated entry folios dated 1716, created in the style of Trost's successors, and the first illuminations that Grachower produced around 1740 for academicians admitted from 1718 onwards. The secretary of the association (like Thalnitscher before him) must have consistently recorded the dates of new admissions, whereas the actual entry was made at a later date, most probably by inserting additional folios. This practice was to a lesser degree established in the first years of compiling the album, once the academicians realized that paper folios were not the most suitable medium for full-page miniatures. Over subsequent periods, many more were replaced by gluing and inserting parchment folios into the binding, as may also be gathered from the variable-sized layouts and other indicators revealed by the codicological analysis (Golob, 2001, 59–66). The greatest number of glued-in parchment folios date to Grachower's period, when illumination resumed with the arrival of the new miniaturist who needed to catch up on the omitted work. The newly established rhythm in the growth of the *Dismas Chronicle* is also reflected in the regular sequence of alternating parchment and paper folios: each illuminated parchment folio is followed by a paper folio reserved for the curriculum vitae.³⁹

39 According to Nataša Golob, from folio 205 (the entry of Adam Siegfried Juritsch, 1718) to the end of the *Album*, the

The fact that the consistent dynamics of alternating materials started precisely when Grachower commenced his work and persisted until the end of his collaboration on illuminating the *Album* speaks for itself and confirms Polonca Vrhunc's findings.

The fourth phase of the illumination of the *Dismas Chronicle*, proposed by Vrhunc, is marked by Grachower's death in 1774 and the last entry made in 1801 (1970, 114). Vrhunc observes a decline in the creativity and quality of the illuminations by new masters, none of whom attained the skill of Grachower's miniatures. To illustrate the stylistic shifts and modest artistic value of illuminations produced during the last period, she highlights some signed entry folios. On the other hand, she completely overlooks that this process began long before Grachower's death, as noted by Cevc (2001, 109). Chronologically, the late phase of illumination may be divided into two periods, with Grachower's death only representing a partial milestone. The first period overlaps with the time when Grachower was still active, and his miniatures began to mix with illuminations produced by younger masters. The second period spans the last years of the St. Dismas Society following Grachower's death, with a few entry pages created by anonymous, less skilled painters and draftsmen.

In the first group, apart from Grachower's late works, mention ought to be made of masters Joseph Leopold Wiser and Johann Franz Anton Häger. Wiser, a splendid draftsman working in Ljubljana as a construction supervisor, produced the entry folio of Count Carl Lamberg (TM, fol. 345r) in 1756 (almost twenty years prior to Grachower's death). Using the playful form of a Rococo cartouche, Wiser drew from some of Grachower's compositions but nonetheless took on a completely different painting approach with a monochrome color palette. A year later, he also decorated the entry page of Joseph Leopold Rastern (TM, fol. 353r, see the image on p. 54), where he further developed the cartouche by adding two more images in separate oval frames and enlivened the monochrome base with soft color accents. The entire composition includes as many

steady paper–parchment–paper alternation becomes a rule (2001, 63).

as five miniature emblematic images, introducing a palette of light pastel colors. The tradition of largely monochrome illustrations continued with the entry folio of Count Richard Auersperg (TM, fol. 351r), painted that same year by Häger.⁴⁰ In his composition, the master searched for a middle ground between the traditionally framed emblematic image and an almost panoramic landscape.

Another point of interest is the entry page of Leopold Christoph Radics (TM, fol. 343r), who, albeit not a painter, created it himself on joining the academy roster in 1754. The design of his illustration is in complete contrast to all the previous illuminations in the *Album*: it is a simple pen drawing of a *vanitas* still life with a human skull, produced in an illusionistic style, creating the impression as though the leaf was torn out of a printed book and glued with sealing wax onto the folio in the *Album*.

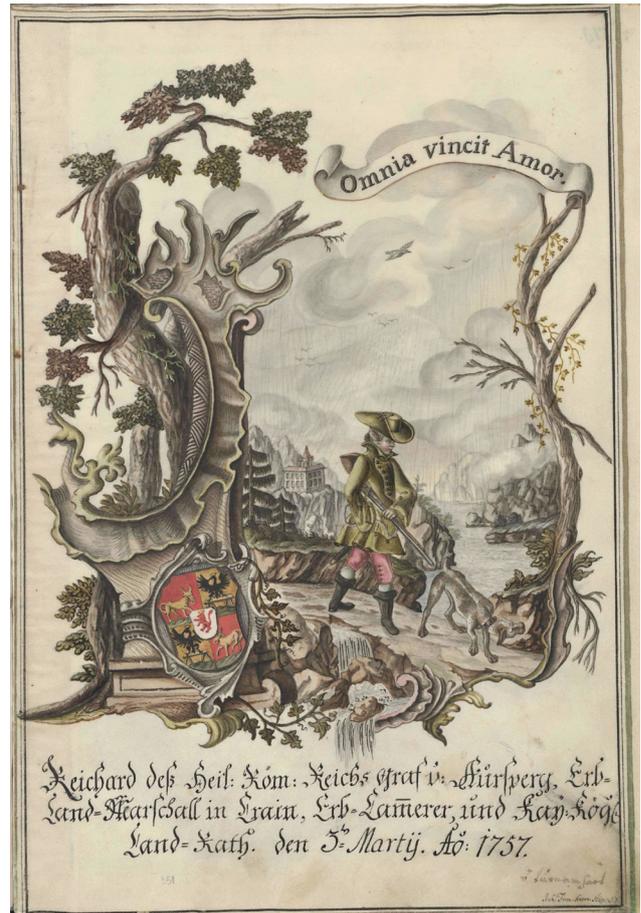
The second group may be said to include entry pages containing illustrations of modest artistic value, for example, the entry folio of Baron Seigfried Gussich (TM, fol. 381r), illuminated by an unknown artist, or the emblem of Anton Medard Wiederkehr (TM, fol. 383r), produced by Joseph Hübner. Hübner adopted a visual language close to the miniature that Joseph Wiser painted for Rastern, but rendering the organically extravagant decorative frame even more ornate and giving more prominence to soft pastel colors. The last entry folios were made in 1801

for Baron Vincenc Argento (TM, fol. 387r) and Count Maria Joseph Ursini-Blagaj (TM, fol. 389r). Each displays a large family coat of arms and the name of the new member, along with the date of his admission, and no illuminations whatsoever.

40 Cevc (2001, 111–112) attributes Auersperg's entry folio to Wiser, even though the name Johann Franz Anton Häger is indicated in the bottom right corner. Based on the signature, Viktor Steska (1927, 108) and Polonca Vrhunc (1970, 115) had already assigned the illustration to Häger, followed by Kastelic in his iconographic catalogue (2001, 243). Although the miniature is stylistically close to those produced by Wiser, the typology of letters in the emblematic inscriptions is significantly different.



Joseph Leopold Wiser, Entry page of Count Carl Lamberg, 1755, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 345r.



Johann Franz Anton Häger, Entry page of Count Richard Auersperg, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 351r.

1.4 The Provenance and Current Condition of the Manuscript

There is no reliable information about the location of *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* in the early nineteenth century, when the association ceased to exist. In his brief foreword to the studies accompanying the facsimile edition, Vladimir Žumer writes that Baron Joseph Kalasanz Erberg most likely obtained the chronicle from the association's last secretary Friedrich Vanino, when he embarked on writing *An Attempt at a Sketch of the Literary History of Carniola* in 1825 (Žumer, 2001, 15). According to Marijan Smolik, after Vanino's death, his widow handed over the *Album* to the oldest member of the St. Dismas Society, Wenzel Gandini, as evidenced by the certificate of January 15th, 1822, preserved in the archives of the manor at Dol pri Ljubljani (*Spominska*

knjiga I, 330).⁴¹ There is currently no information on when precisely Baron Erberg, one of the last living members of the St. Dismas Society, received the *Album* from Gandini. What is certain is that the volume had made its way into the Dol library by 1825. Boris Golec allows for the possibility that it arrived in the Dol archives as early as 1822 (Golec, 2022, 27/2, 82). Erberg, an all-round erudite as well as a collector and connoisseur of archival curiosities, subsequently succeeded in purchasing the *Album*. When this occurred precisely remains unknown; what we do know is that in 1878 his grandsons decided to sell the family archives, and that in 1880 the *Dismas Chronicle* was purchased along with other material by the Provincial

⁴¹ According to Klun (1852, 28), Cajetan Balthasar Pettenegg was the last member who kept the *Dismas Chronicle*, and Smolik makes the same observation in his note (*Spominska knjiga II*, 2001, 303, n. 4).

Museum of Carniola in Ljubljana. When the Central State Archives of Slovenia were established in 1945, the archival material of what had meanwhile become the National Museum of Slovenia passed into its domain. The newly established archival institution was housed in the National Museum until it was moved in 1953 to the current premises on the Gruber Waterfront (*Gruberjevo nabrežje*) in Ljubljana (Žumer, 2001, 15). Today, *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* is kept at Gruber Palace, the central building of the national archives, as one of the most valuable holdings of its archival collection.

Before being prepared for the facsimile edition, the manuscript volume was disbound in 1999 and subject to all the necessary conservation work (Golob, 2001, 60). In a disbound state, the manuscript also underwent its last foliation.⁴² The text block of the fortunately well-preserved memorial book comprises 399 folios, which were originally made of paper of uniform quality. Because of their relative thinness, about 110 folios were subsequently replaced (or reinforced) with thicker paper or parchment folios (Golob, 2001, 62).⁴³ This holds particularly for the illuminated folios, where colors would otherwise pass through the pages too intensely, or the folios would suffer damage more quickly. The members of the St. Dismas Society had already encountered this problem with the first miniature—the full-page Apotheosis of Ljubljana, which required them to use much thicker paper that also allowed for the use of more pastose coats of colors and gilt. The portrait of the association’s founder, Wolfgang Sigmund Künpach, was painted on a separate folio that was subsequently glued onto the double folio in the volume. The first parchment folio (fol. 45) was already inserted in 1689 and ninety-two out of 187 illuminations are on parchment, which offers numerous advantages as a painting medium (Golob, 2001, 62). It is immediately apparent that the folios are heavily

trimmed, some to the extent that the trimmed margin reaches the edge of the miniature or in a few cases cuts into the painted border.⁴⁴ Most illuminations are in good, many even in mint condition, which is of crucial importance for their analysis, understanding, and art-historical evaluation: every stroke counts in determining their stylistic features, and every detail may have an important bearing for the understanding of their complex iconography.

In 2020, a high-resolution scan of the entire manuscript was carried out, making *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* available to researchers and interested public in digitized form. The question that requires an explanation is whether the manuscript suffered any losses after it passed from Erberg’s estate into public ownership, and how big these losses may be. The reason for such a consideration is a brief and overlooked note made by Franc Baraga, who collaborated in transcribing and translating the *Album*. Translating the entry folio of the president of St. Dismas Society, Künpach, which starts the first foliation (numbers written in ink on the verso side of the illuminated folios), Baraga writes succinctly: “Folios 120, 132, 177, 178 are missing” (*Spominska knjiga I*, 21, n. 4). The surviving manuscript indeed contains no folios with the above-mentioned sequence numbers of the first foliation, and one will also search for them in vain in the facsimile edition and transcription (*Spominska knjiga I*, 152–153, 162–163, 202–203).

How is it possible that none of the authors of the studies accompanying the *Dismas Chronicle* facsimile edition addresses the problem of the four missing folios? In her codicological analysis of the manuscript, in which the academicians added or replaced folios for decades, Nataša Golob mentions the possibility that there may be a few folios missing, without giving any example or pointing to any of the folios stated by Baraga (Golob, 2001, 62). In Kastelic’s iconographic catalogue, one notices an unusual and noteworthy notation related to the entry folio of Johann Benjamin Erberg (TM, fol. 264

42 The folios in the *Album* were originally unnumbered. The first foliation in ink on the verso side of illuminated folios dates to the early nineteenth century, and it was probably done not long after the noble society was extinguished. The second, incomplete foliation in pencil on the recto side of the folios with miniatures was carried out in the late nineteenth century, very likely soon after 1880, when the manuscript came into the hands of the Provincial Museum.

43 On the codicological analysis of the manuscript, see: Golob, 2001, 61–66.

44 According to Golob, the folios were trimmed at the top by at least 20 mm, at the right edge by at least 30 mm, and at the bottom by 30 mm or more. Today, the folios are no longer uniform, their average size measuring 303 x 220 mm with deviations up to 3 mm. Originally, the folios are believed to have measured between 350 mm and 400 mm in height and between 250 mm and 300 mm in width (Golob, 2001, 61).

or fol. 133 of the foliation from the early nineteenth century or fol. 124 of the foliation from ca. 1880), stating: “The miniature number 123 is missing!” (2001, 204). Considering that the foliation in the iconographic catalogue skips folio 263 (no. 123 of the second foliation), the vague notation might suggest that during the compilation of the catalogue, the folio was not in the manuscript. Regardless of how the notation may be interpreted, the author does not even pause to question it, let alone try to clarify it. Kastelic makes no mention of other folios listed by Baraga. Marijan Smolik, in his otherwise carefully drawn up membership list, which includes the sequence numbers of their entries, as well as modern pagination and the first foliation in ink, as was used in the previous literature (from the publication by August Dimitz to the accompanying studies in 2001), simply skips the missing folios. Nor does he mention any folio missing in his introductory explanations to the overview of the St. Dismas Society’s membership (Smolik, *Spominška knjiga II*, 2001, 291–303).

No mention of any missing folio is likewise made in the record on a minor conservation work performed in 1993 (Vodopivec and Golob, 1996, 47–49). According to Lucija Planinc, Head of the Conservation and Restoration Centre of the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, nothing in the existing documentation on the work that the said institution carried out for the preparation of the facsimile edition (as well as before that and after the completion of the project) suggests that any folio may be missing or lost. A new expert examination of the manuscript that she personally performed at my request in March 2023 showed no errors in unbinding and rebinding of the manuscript, and she therefore excluded the possibility of any folio having been lost in the process.⁴⁵

45 “I have now thoroughly examined the book and found that all the sequence numbers of folios in the book block are arranged in the correct order, as indicated by the restorer before undertaking the restoration work. At that time, the only issues concerned the binding and the covers, which were severely damaged, the painting of Christ, and a few other folios. In my opinion, no page is missing, and the book has been preserved in its original condition both materially and substantively since the day it came into the safekeeping of the Archives of RS” (electronic message to the author of this volume, dated March 28th, 2023). The head of the center further states that she spoke with the restorer who conducted the restoration work and obtained her assurance that no folio had been lost.

But the puzzle of Baraga’s observation regarding the missing folios remains unsolved since examination of the original showed that he did not make an error in counting: according to the foliation in ink on the verso side of the illuminated entry folios, the folios listed above are missing.⁴⁶ Theoretically, of course, there is the possibility that an error occurred during the process of foliation, but it seems highly unlikely. One argument against this assumption is that at least in the case of folio 132, mentioned by Baraga, any error is excluded. Specifically, up until folio 133 (TM, fol. 264), the *Dismas Chronicle* uses double foliation—folios marked in ink (starting with the verso side of Künpach’s entry folio, TM, fol. 11v) and folios marked in pencil on the recto side of the illuminated entry folio (starting with Künpach’s portrait, TM, fol. 7r). Both foliations are interrupted at the same place: folio 132, marked in ink and referred to by Baraga, is also the number of the miniature 123, marked in pencil, highlighted by Kastelic. It is virtually impossible that an error occurred at the same place in both foliations.⁴⁷

Speaking in favor of Baraga’s observation regarding the missing folio 132 (miniature 123) is the coincidence that this very illuminated folio was selected for publication in one of the volumes of the famous *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (the volume *Kärnten und Krain*, 1891, 473) as an illustration accompanying the already mentioned text by Janez Flis. It is the entry folio of Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld, who joined the St. Dismas Society in 1734, and the illumination was produced by Grachower. One would search in vain for the annotation

46 This possibility is also allowed for by Lucija Planinc, Head of the Conservation and Restoration Centre of the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, who notes that “Baraga’s indications are probably the result of a more in-depth study of the content.” In her opinion, the pages went missing even before the *Dismas Chronicle* came into the safekeeping of the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. I extend my sincere gratitude to Lucija Planinc for her valuable information and kind assistance.

47 The irregularities in foliation have only been addressed by Nataša Golob, who finds that numbers 122 and 124 belong to the hand of a different scribe to numbers 1–121. The missing number 123 led her to assume that the new scribe committed an error and immediately afterward abandoned further numbering of illuminated folios (Golob, 2001, 65). But on the contrary, on transcribing and translating the entry pages 122 and 124, Baraga explicitly reiterates that “painting 123 is obviously missing” (*Spominška knjiga I*, 162–163).

in the upper right corner of the folio published in the monumental book series, because it does not reproduce the original folio. Instead, a special redrawing in the pen and wash technique by an anonymous draftsman was used as a template for the illustration.⁴⁸

At first glance, it would seem that the entry page of Baron Flachenfeld may have been lost during the preparations of the pictorial material for the volume on Carinthia and Carniola. However, this was not the case. Polonca Vrhunc, who for the purposes of her article carefully examined the illuminations in the manuscript, could still see the now missing folio. Not only does she mention it, but she also describes it in sufficient detail to exclude the possibility of error (Vrhunc, 1970, 116 and 118).⁴⁹ Thus, it seems safe to conclude that Flachenfeld's entry folio disappeared after 1970. The loss of the other three folios mentioned by Baraga is less evident. The parallel foliation penciled on folio 120 does not record any skipping, which can only mean one of two things: that an error indeed occurred in the inked foliation, or that the folio was already lost sometime between the first and second foliation. If it was lost before 1880, the author of the second foliation, who recorded the numbers in pencil on the recto side of the entry folios, probably did not even realize it. He might have noticed the gap, had he regularly checked the numbering made in ink on the verso sides, which he evidently did not do. In any regard, the absence of folios 177 and 178 is not immediately

apparent to the reader because both are in the part of the manuscript where the foliation in pencil was not performed, which makes parallel verification impossible. Here, too, there is a need to check the numbering sequence done by the first scribe who foliated the manuscript in pen. It is theoretically possible that an error occurred due to the lack of attention, but given his overall meticulousness, it is very unlikely.⁵⁰

We can only speculate how wide a gap the missing folios leave in the overall understanding of the illuminations in the *Album*. Art historians may feel comforted thinking that perhaps not all the missing folios were illuminated, that the pages were—as in some other cases—merely reserved by notating the members' names, and the miniatures were never painted. On a more optimistic note, we can also hope that the three missing folios, of which we still have no knowledge, are painted and misplaced, shelved away in a safe place, waiting to be rediscovered.

1.5 Models and Influences

The knowledge of Renaissance and Baroque emblematics, and especially of various types of emblem books widely used in the Early Modern Period is of paramount importance in addressing the question of European models for the *Dismas Chronicle*. Although the *Album* of the Carniolan academicians is not an emblem book in the strictest sense of the term, its numerous emblems make the Ljubljana manuscript an important emblematic monument in the European context.⁵¹ A survey of emblem books produced in Europe, from Andrea Alciato's pioneering work *Emblematum Liber*, first published in Augsburg in 1531, up until 1689, when the earliest emblems were created for *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*, demonstrates how intensively emblematics flourished during the period concerned.

48 The redrawing is kept by the Austrian National Library in Vienna and the catalogue record describes it as “*Zeichnung nach einer Miniatur von Simon Wolfgang Grachower*” and offers the key pieces of information: “*Von unbekanntem Zeichner nach einer Miniatur von Simon Thaddeus Volbenk Grachower (Simon Wolfgang Grachower 1710–1774) aus der Handschrift: Schau-Bühne der Gedächtnuß der Adeliichen und Gottseeligen Gesellschaft der Vereinigten zu Stättwehrenden Andenken. Eröffnet in der ubralten Haupt-Statt Laybach 1688*” (1734). *Pinzel- und Federzeichnung, laviert, mit Weißhöbungen. Vorzeichnung zum ‘Kronprinzenwerk’ (Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Wien 1886–1902), Bd. ‘Kärnten und Krain,’ 1891, S. 473.*

49 She erroneously identifies the personification of justice as *Fidelitas*; however, what is essential for the recognizability of the miniature is that she describes it correctly and states both its attributes—the sword and the scales. Her misinterpretations of a deer as a stag and a sighthound as a Great Dane are inconsequential. Further excluding any possibility of error is, not least, the indication of the commissioning member's academic nickname—*Der Verfolgte* (The Hunted). See: Vrhunc, 1970, 118.

50 The death of Polonca Vrhunc (1940–2020) prevented me from verifying whether she noticed any folio missing on inspection of the manuscript; in any regard, she did not make any such mention in her article.

51 Although *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* is included in individual bibliographical databases specialized in emblematics, it remains almost completely unknown to the readership outside Slovenia's borders and has yet to receive serious research attention by international experts in this field.

Publications that, one way or another, cultivated the art of emblems were many and diverse, because this witty language of images and succinct sayings was extremely popular among the educated. In looking for models or sources of inspiration for the Ljubljana *Theatrum memoriae*, the album of the members of the Bologna-based Academy of the Frozen,⁵² titled *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* (Bologna 1672) commands special attention.⁵³ The volume was written by the association's president at the time, Count Valerio Zani, to preserve a lasting memory of its members and their endeavors in science and art, as well as to present their role in society, their efforts to disseminate knowledge, and, of course, their virtues, erudition, culture, and interest in art to serve as an example for future generations.⁵⁴ A similar idea led to the creation of the Ljubljana *Album*. Although the *Dismas Chronicle* is greatly concerned with the spiritual wellbeing of its deceased members by emphasizing the task of celebrating a mass for the departed, its central purpose is unequivocally defined in the introduction by Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, the first secretary of the association. The society of learned men, Thalnitscher writes, "has decided to present, as in an exhibition or in a theater, the virtuous life of all its members, their symbols and coats of arms, so that its successors would fully embrace their noble virtues as well as remember and contemplate them after they are gone from sight forever."⁵⁵

The members of the Ljubljana noble society and the academicians from Bologna strove towards essentially the same objectives and undertook their task in a similar manner. For his book, Valerio Zani devised a carefully thought out template for presenting the *Gelati*: the academicians' entries should include their

full name, title of nobility, and coat of arms (if they had one), allegorical academic nickname, portrait, and personal emblem or impresa,⁵⁶ the academy's symbol, as well as a short curriculum vitae and a list of important scientific or artistic achievements. As Giambattista Capponi, the secretary of the academy, explains in his preface to the Bologna album, portraits are only provided for the deceased members of the association.⁵⁷ In such a case, an individual emblem can be incorporated into the decorative framework of their portrait. Where the entry does not include a portrait, the member's personal emblem and coat of arms take center stage, occupying about half of the entry page, whereby prominence is given to the emblem, and the coat of arms may either be embedded within it or printed next to it.⁵⁸ The personal emblem has a standardized structure: the image, housed in a cartouche, a heraldic shield, or a more liberally designed frame, is completed with the member's selected motto and academic nickname. The motto and the nickname are most often inscribed on the banner, the motto above the image and the name below it. The member's personal emblem is followed by his curriculum vitae with his major accomplishments and a list of published works.

52 *Accademia dei Gelati*, founded in Bologna in 1588. The standard work to this day: Maylender, 1926–1930, 81–86. The academy, its members, and their imprese are also presented within the framework of the project "Italian Academies" with an extensive database: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/PersonFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=022-000000175&searchAssoc=Assoc>.

53 [Valerio Zani], *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna, Raccolte nel Principato del Signor Conte Valerio Zani Il Ritardato...* Bologna, per li Manolessi, 1672. See: Praz, 1975, 245.

54 See the preface by G. Capponi, the secretary of the academy, *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, fols. 7r–9r.

55 TM, fol. 4v, cited from: *Spominška knjiga I*, 13.

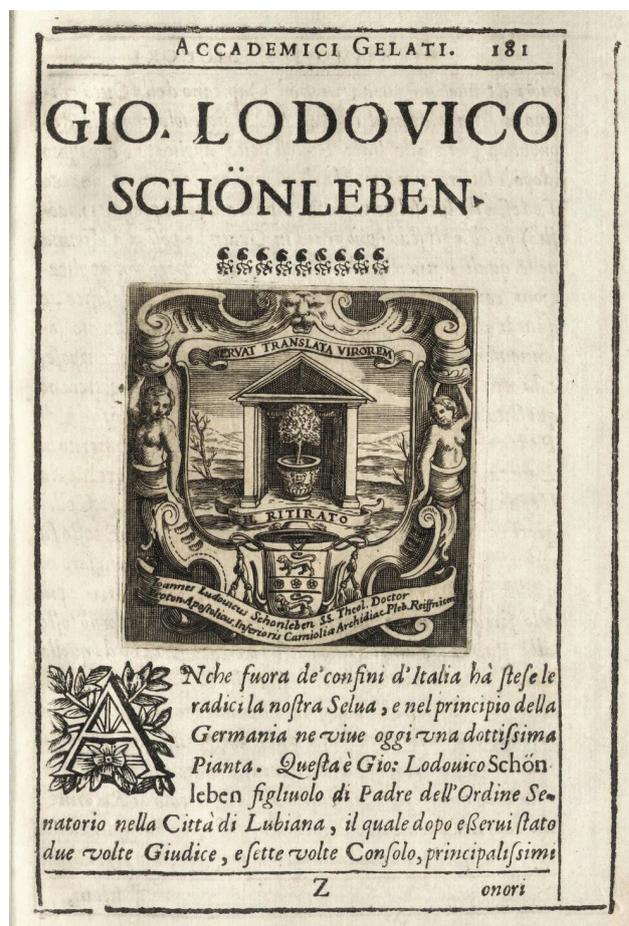
56 Professional terminology distinguishes between an impresa and an emblem: an impresa is usually composed of an image (*pictura, imago*) and a short motto (*inscriptio, motto*), which, combined, form a message, and an emblem further comprises a short explanation in verse or prose (*subscriptio, epigram*). Strictly speaking, the academic album of the Bologna *Gelati* contains imprese, each completed with the member's allegorical nickname. The same holds for the memorial book of the United Academicians from Ljubljana and most academic emblem books in general. Given the variety of emblem types that developed in the Early Modern Period, impresa is treated as one of the manifestations of emblem, making the labels 'impresa' and 'emblem' often interchangeable. The term 'emblem' has established itself in specialist writings on the *Album* of St. Dismas Society, which seems especially appropriate because it is a specific type of emblem that derives from an impresa and upgraded with an allegorical academic nickname as its irreplaceable part. In addition, it is important to remember that the term 'impresa' is often used in Italian early modern emblematics as a synonym for emblem.

57 For an explanation regarding the inclusion of portraits, see the academy secretary's preface: *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, fols. 7v–8v.

58 Exceptionally, an impresa may take the form of a full-page image, as in the case of the poets Francesco Maria Caccianemici and Nicolò Coradini (*Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, 150 and 336).

The concept of the Bologna volume with standardized entries for members obviously appealed to the founders of the *Accademia Unitorum*, given that a similar concept also underscores *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* and the typology of individual emblems. There are, of course, also important differences between the volumes, most notably that the presentations of academicians in the Ljubljana *Album* do not include a portrait. The only exception is the portrait of association's founder Künpach, which does not form part of his entry but is placed at the beginning of the book, immediately after the preface (TM, fol. 7r) as a tribute to his honorable position. Otherwise, his entry folio is structured in the same way as those of his academic colleagues. Another difference between the Bologna and Ljubljana albums is that most members presented in the *Dismas Chronicle* have no *curricula vitae*. However, rather than a conceptual departure, this was, as already noted, due to the inconsistent practice of entering *curricula vitae*. There are two key differences between the albums: the medium and the specific circumstances under which they were produced. Zani's book is an example of extremely widespread Italian printing of the second half of the seventeenth century, complete with copperplate engravings, whereas the *Dismas Chronicle* is a manuscript boasting lavish color illuminations. The former is an integral whole containing a list of members up to 1672, when the book was printed, while the latter was gradually compiled over a period longer than a hundred years and hence subjected to various cultural and historical factors, as well as changes in style and taste. Given the way in which the Ljubljana *Album* was produced, the presentation page usually also included the member's handwritten signature, and individual pieces of information (most often the year of death and a short eulogium in the early periods). Of course, the data could also be added at a later date. Before long, this was coupled with the practice of inserting additional, most often parchment folios for illuminated entry pages. On the other hand, the time gap between the new member's admission into the academy and his entry in the *Album* widened: entries would be made with a significant delay, or a page in the book was "reserved" for the new member with a notation, while (in some cases) the illuminated entry page was never produced.

Browsing through the manuscript, the reader may find it difficult to spot similarities with the much simpler printed volume of the Bologna-based Academy of the Frozen. However, a comparison of their concept and structural design shows that they are related monuments sharing many elements in common. The assumption that the *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* indeed inspired the *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum* is further confirmed by historical circumstances—suffice it to recall the connection between the Ljubljana intellectuals and the *Accademici Gelati*. Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, the first secretary of the Noble Society of St. Dismas, one of its most active members and the conceptual creator of the *Album*, was concurrently also a member of the Academy of the Frozen, which opened its door to him in 1679, most likely on the recommendation of his uncle Johann Ludwig



Entry page of Johann Ludwig Schönleben in: Valerio Zani, *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna*, Bologna 1672, 181.

Schönleben, who himself became its member in 1670. Because this occurred before the memorial book of the *Accademici Gelati* was published in 1672, Schönleben is presented with his full name and impresa.⁵⁹ Entering the Bologna Academy at a later date, Johann Gregor Thalnitscher was not included in the *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* although he was undoubtedly familiar with it. Attesting to this is also a record at the end of his *Concept Book*, in which he proposed that the collected *curricula vitae* of the members of the Ljubljana noble association be printed and made publicly available in a quarto, as the *Accademici Gelati* from Bologna had done in 1672, titling their volume *Memoriae Impressae e Ritratti de Signori Accademici Gelati*.⁶⁰ The record is extremely valuable because it not only proves that Thalnitscher knew about the Bologna album, but also that he thought of it, as he states, in relation to the “glory and honor of our noble society,” believing that a printed format of the book would reach a wider readership. Another detail attesting to his familiarity with the volume of the Bologna academicians is that for

his most important work *Historia Ecclesiae Cathedralis Labacensis* Thalnitscher selected a portrait of a similar typology as those used by the *Gelati* or, specifically, by the president of the *Academia Gelatorum*, Cardinal Francesco Barberini (*Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, fol. 4r) and by a few other illustrious members of the Bologna Academy.⁶¹ In both cases, the upper part of the oval portrait displays the coat of arms, the academic impresa, and the academic nickname. As a comparison with the portrait of Cardinal Antonio Fachenetti (*Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, 8) or Knight Angiolo Cospi (*Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti...*, 30) shows, even the coat of arms and the impresa are incorporated into the frame in the same manner as in the portraits of the Bologna academicians. Other Ljubljana intellectuals, too, were acquainted with Zani's book even before establishing their first academy. This is also confirmed by the fact that Johann Anton Thalnitscher, the younger brother of Johann Gregor, read the *curricula vitae* of the Bologna academicians as early as in 1680.⁶²

Deciding on a book with members' individualized emblems, the Bologna Academy of the Frozen adhered to the established tradition dating back to the mid-sixteenth century. The Italian academies that mushroomed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed a distinct type of academic book that stated their mission, determined their rules, and presented their members. In general, such books included emblems because academies tended to symbolically present the basic ideas of their work and mission through selected emblems or impresas. The idea for each academician to have his personal emblem harmonized with his association's common principles while at the same time expressing his individuality probably stems from the example of contemporaneous emblem books dedicated to sovereigns, influential aristocrats, Church dignitaries, as well as learned men and artists of humble standing. Drawing inspiration from such books is even more understandable because the rosters of illustrious academies also listed many noblemen and high ecclesiastical dignitaries who may have

59 Schönleben chose the academic nickname *Retiratus* (The Withdrawn) and the motto *Servat translata virorem* (Replanted may it continue to thrive), complemented by an emblematic image with a winter landscape featuring a hut in the middle and a small tree in it, planted in a big pot. The tree, most likely a lemon or an orange tree sheltered from frost in a greenhouse or garden, has retained a beautiful crown and is waiting for spring. The pictura explains the name and the motto, and the whole is in line with the basic idea of the Academy of the Frozen, who, in a seemingly inactive (frozen) state, are preparing for spring budding. Schönleben's entry is included in the *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* on pages 181–184. See: Germ, 2011, 33–40.

60 “*Mein Rath war, daß man künftig dise lebens Beschreibungen etwa in der zahl 120 oder mehr soll in öffentlichen Druk (zu grossen Ruhm und Afunemben unser Adelichen Gesellschaft) ausgehen lassen. und zwar in 4to, als die Accademici Gelati di Bologna, intitult Memoriae Impressae e Ritratti de Signori Accademici Gelati, Anno 1672 gethan haben*” (CB, Seminary Library, Ms 6, Part 3, fol. 7). Despite the year 1688 inscribed on the cover of the *Concept Book*, the exact date of its production is not known. According to France Baraga, it was produced in its current form about 1711 and later, and it also includes earlier folios inserted into it. The oldest part of the book is the folio containing the first sketches of emblems, which may be dated to between 1688 and 1689. The last entry in the book is dated 1719, the year of Thalnitscher's death. His note on publishing the biographies in printed form dates to 1718 or shortly before that. Specifically, it is located in the *Concept Book* immediately before an entry dated 1718 on the death of a member of the association, physician Marko Grbec (Baraga, 2001, 235–236).

61 The graphic print portrait showing Thalnitscher at the age of forty-five years, was produced in 1700 in Ljubljana by Elias Bäck. In 1705, Bäck also produced such a portrait of Marko Grbec (Lavrič, 2013, 21). Another noteworthy detail is that Thalnitscher completed his portrait with an emblem that he used as a member of the *Academia Operosorum Labacensium*.

62 Seminary Library Ljubljana, Ms 60 [b], fol. [6]; see: Vidmar, 2013, 17, n. 29.



Entry page of Angiolo Cospi in: Valerio Zani, *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna*, Bologna 1672, 30.



Elias Bäck, *Portrait of Johann Gregor Thalnitzcher von Thalberg*, 1700, Graphics Cabinet, National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana.

been sponsors, patrons, or connoisseurs of art and science, or they may have actively engaged in scholarly or literary writing. The most famous among the early exemplars of noble emblem books is the *Imprese di Diversi Principi, Duchi, Signori, e D'altri Personaggi et Huomini Illustri*, illuminated by the famous master Giovanni Battista Pittoni, and written by the distinguished writer and poet Lodovico Dolce (Venice 1562).⁶³ Due to its tremendous success, a second complete edition appeared no later than 1566, followed by several reprints.⁶⁴ Other

writers soon followed suit, and this type of emblem book also spread north of the Alps.⁶⁵

Intended for public presentation and promotion of academies, most emblem books were printed, just as the *Apes academicae*, published by the Ljubljana Academy of the Industrious. This holds for both Italian academic associations and other early modern academies across Europe. When placing the *Dismas Chronicle* in the European context, it would be remiss not to mention the striking academic book, a hybrid between a manuscript

63 Di Battista Pittoni pittore Vicentino, *Imprese di diversi principi, duchi, signori, e d'altri personaggi et huomini letterati et illustri*, Venice 1562.

64 The second edition has a changed format: instead of the horizontal format displaying the illustration and the text on two separate pages, this edition uses a vertical format with the illustration and the text on the same page—the painting at the top and the epigram below the painting. This type proved to be the most appropriate, and all the subsequent editions (1568, 1578, 1583, 1602) were printed in the vertical format.

65 Among the most famous: Girolamo Ruscelli, *Imprese illustri...* (Venice 1566 and 1572); Camillo Camilli, *Imprese illustri di diversi...* (Venice 1586) and especially Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana...* (Prague 1601–1603). Typotius's book, presenting noble mottos collected by Octavius de Strada, has three volumes bound into a single book. The title of the work is also the title of the first volume, and it is dated 1601; the second and the third volumes have each an independent title, cover page, and year of publication: *Symbola varia diversorum principum sacrosanc. Ecclesiae et sacri imperii Romani...* (1602); *Symbola varia diversorum principum...* (1603).

and an illustrated print, revealing that academies were well acquainted with very diverse practices. This is the *Köthener Gesellschaftbuch*, the album of the famous Weimar *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, or Fruitbearing Society, which brought together distinguished scholars, men of letters, and great patrons of the art (1617–1680).⁶⁶ The most relevant for the comparison to the Ljubljana *Album* is the first volume, which contains two hundred entries (1617–1629) and is the only volume that consistently follows the original design, according to which the manuscript folios were bound together with printed folios (*Köthener Gesellschaftbuch*, History Museum, Köthen, VS 677c).⁶⁷

Investing most of their interest in language and literature, the German academicians followed the example of the *Accademia della Crusca*, founded in Florence in 1582, which is understandable in light of the fact that from 1600 onwards the first president of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, Prince Ludwig I von Anhalt-Köthen, was a member of this prestigious Florence-based academy. Like their Italian counterparts, every member was given an allegorical academic nickname and an emblematic image with a motto. Entries in the Köthen academic album were meticulously structured: each member was assigned two pages, the first featuring his name, noble title, coat of arms, and the date of entry (with an occasional addition of a short, handwritten saying), and the second page displaying a tripartite emblem with the academy nickname. The first entry page is handwritten and the coat of arms painted in the tempera technique, whereas the following page with the emblem is printed and the image produced in the copperplate engraving technique (in some copies, engravings were subsequently colorized). Pursuant to the rules of

the academy, which chose the coconut palm as its emblem and the motto *Alles zu nutzen* (Everything is useful),⁶⁸ the predominant motif of individual emblematic images is the same plant, with an epigram explaining its overall usefulness for humanity, whereas the motto and the academic nickname are harmonized with the content of the epigram and the image.⁶⁹ In addition, every print includes the year of entry and the member's sequence number. The engravings of the emblematic plants are botanically correct and placed at the forefront, with landscape opening behind them, in many cases a topographical scene of a recognizable city, town, or mansion. The emblems produced by the renowned engraver Matthäus Merian Senior represent the first two hundred members. An interesting detail regarding the production of the book is that the commissioned engravings were produced as separate prints and bound together with illuminated manuscript folios into a book at the court of Ludwig I von Anhalt-Köthen, the president of the academy. The subsequent, fully printed edition of the book, for which Merian produced four hundred emblems, has no inserted manuscript folios with hand-painted coats of arms, and its major advantage as a classical print publication was its wide accessibility.⁷⁰ The book also made its way to Carniola, with at least one copy documented in the library of the Princes of Auersperg in Ljubljana (Južnič, 2007, 52).

Among the academic books in which members are represented by individual emblems there are also fully manuscript versions that are particularly interesting with respect to the genesis and nature of the *Dismas Chronicle*. Even though the chronicle undoubtedly drew upon Zani's *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti*, it is

66 Owing to its illustrious membership and activities, the reputation of the most influential German academy of the seventeenth century spread across Europe. On the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in the context of Renaissance academies, see: Ball, 2008, vol. II, 389–422; Herz, 2009, 152–191. Specifically, on *impresas* in the context of the tradition of Italian academies, see: Conermann, 1987, 45–70.

67 The academic book has three volumes, only the first of which has been preserved in its originally envisaged form of a hybrid between a manuscript and a printed book (VS 677c), and the other two (VS 677a and VS 677b) contain members' manuscript entry folios without the insertion of printed pages with emblems. In 1985, a facsimile edition was published with a foreword by Klaus Conermann: *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Vorhaben, Namen, Gemälde und Wörter, Faksimile des ersten Bandes*, Leipzig 1985.

68 The coconut palm was selected because every part of the tree is useful and beneficial. With the allegorical guidance in mind, all members of the academy were to endeavor for the overall benefit and welfare of humanity. In this spirit, each member also received a beneficial plant as his individual academic symbol.

69 Partial deviations are represented by the emblems of Caspar von Teutleben, the founder of the academy, and Ludwig I von Anhalt-Köthen, its first president, featuring the selected plant (a cereal) not as wheat in a field or as a wheat spike, but as grains in a mill (embl. fol. 5r) or as a loaf of bread (embl. fol. 6r).

70 In 1646, the president of the academy commissioned the preparation of a new, fully printed book presenting four hundred members. It was issued in four parts, each containing a hundred emblems and bound together into a single volume (Conermann, 2017, 143–190).



Entry of Friedrich von Schilling, 1619, *Köthener Gesellschaftbuch*, History Museum, Köthen, VS 677c, fols. 20v–21r.

also worthwhile to consider the volume of the Perugia academicians, titled *Il Libro delle Imprese dell' Accademia degli Insensati*. The *Accademia degli Insensati*⁷¹ was founded in Perugia in 1561, and the unfinished and fragmentarily preserved manuscript with impresas, kept by the archives of the University of Perugia (*Archivio storico dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*,

Ms P III), was compiled between 1575 and 1593.⁷² It is a manuscript volume that, like its Ljubljana counterpart, was produced on a continuous basis and boasts hand-painted illustrations. Like the *Ljubljana Album*, it was produced by several master painters and exhibits variable painting techniques, as well as emblems of different forms and sizes. The illustrations are consistently monochromatic; some are drawn in brown ink pen, and most in the pen and wash technique, and daubed profusely with a brush. Whereas both books aspire towards a standardized entry page, the manuscript of the Perugia academicians exhibits

71 It is almost impossible to translate the academy's name to English due to the witty ambiguity of the term 'insensati' in the original. *Insensati* usually means unwise or senseless; however, the word also has a contrary significance, as was also pointed out by the president of the academy, Ottaviano Aureli. The term describes those who do not succumb to their senses and deceptive perceptions but prioritize reason and spiritual cognition. The uninformed might therefore think that the academy under such a name was an association of the senseless, and the select knew very well that just the opposite was true (*Discorso intorno al nome, et impresa comuni degli Academici Insensati*, Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, Ms 1717, fols. 1r–6v). In naming their associations, Italian academicians often leaned into such clever ambiguity (Sacchini, 2016, 245–246).

72 Forty-four undated and unnumbered folios with impresas have been preserved. The first folio has the impresa of the academy, and the rest feature the impresas of individual members. For a comprehensive study of the emblem book of the Perugia academicians with the reproductions of entry pages, see: Teza, 2018. On the activities of the Academy of the *Insensati* and the impresas of members, see also: Sacchini, 2013 and Sacchini, 2016.



Entry page of Gianfrancesco Crispolti, ca. 1575–1593,
University of Perugia Historical Archives, Perugia,
Ms P III, fol. 2.



Entry page of Cesare Crispolti, ca. 1575–1593,
University of Perugia Historical Archives, Perugia,
Ms P III, fol. 34.

fewer deviations from the ideal scheme, mainly in the shape of the frame encasing the *pictura* but also in the typology and richness of decorative elements. The degree of uniformity or departure from the basic typology of emblems in the Perugia manuscript is comparable to the Ljubljana emblems from the early period, where individual entries (barring a few exceptions) preserved Thalnitscher's structural concept. It is also important to note that all emblems in the Perugia memorial book were created within a span of a little over fifteen years, which is comparable to the early period of the *Dismas Chronicle*, during which major deviations from Thalnitscher's concept were rare.

The book of the *Accademia degli Insensati* has no open emblems, which is not surprising, given its early origin. (It is worth noting that the open emblem also appeared relatively late in the *Dismas Chronicle*, when Grachower introduced it in the early 1740s.) Other key elements

characterizing the entry pages in the Perugia and Ljubljana manuscripts are very similar: the academic nickname, the motto, the image, the coat of arms, and the framed inscription field. In terms of content, the entry folios of the Perugia academicians differ in a single aspect from their Ljubljana counterparts: rather than information about the academy member as in the *Theatrum Memoriae*, the framed field contains the epigram explaining the allegorical meaning of the image, the motto, and the selected academic nickname. In this respect, the Perugia album upholds the tradition of the "classical" tripartite emblem (*pictura, inscriptio, subscriptio*), with the addition of the member's academic nickname. The structure of entry pages in *Il Libro delle imprese dell' Accademia degli Insensati* abides by the instructions set forth in 1574 by Ottaviano Aureli, the president (dean) of the academy. In his detailed description of how individual membership entries should be created, Aureli explained the allegorical significance

of the academy's impresa and offered recommendations on how members ought to select their respective nicknames and mottos in harmony with the message of the common impresa.⁷³ The designs of emblems that he provided were then used in the album, which suggests that Aureli conceived at least a few, just as Thalnitscher did in his *Concept Book*.⁷⁴

The emblem book of the Perugia academicians inadvertently raises the question as to whether Johann Gregor Thalnitscher may have been familiar with it and whether it could have in any way shaped his idea of the *Dismas Chronicle*. Thalnitscher had actually spent some years in Italy (1679–1683), he rubbed elbows with local intellectuals and became a member of various Italian academies (the Academy of the Frozen in Bologna, the Academy of the Arcadians in Rome, the Academy of the Strengthened in Foligno, as well as academies in Venice and Forlì).⁷⁵ Unlike the album of the *Gelati* in Bologna, which he explicitly mentioned in relation to his plans, the first secretary of the St. Dismas Society made no reference to the book of the *Insensati*, and there are still no known archival sources to confirm that he was familiar with it. Perhaps the book of Perugia's academicians was known to his son, Alex Sigismund Thalnitscher, who studied in Perugia between 1704 and 1707. The young Thalnitscher probably had the opportunity to become acquainted with the *Insensati* and perhaps also to see their emblems, but this is merely speculation. However, whatever he may have known about the manuscript could in no way have influenced the design of the Ljubljana *Album*, which, by the time he arrived in Perugia, had already inscribed the United for sixteen years.

Apart from the emblem books of Renaissance academies, another genre of popular and widespread books, known as *alba amicorum* or *libri amicorum*, should be

considered as a possible source of inspiration. These 'friendship albums' were most often manuscript albums of (usually) noble youth pursuing their studies at various European universities or making cavalier journeys across the continent as a mandatory part of young gentlemen's education in the Early Modern Period. Nonetheless, the acquisition of knowledge in various formal and informal ways (*peregrinatio academica*) was not limited to nobility. A growing number of students were from middle-class and even rural backgrounds, and they pursued their education with the support of church and secular institutions or private individuals. The *alba amicorum* were likewise popular among teachers, men of letters, diplomats, travelers, merchants, and so on. The first albums of this kind appeared in the German states shortly before the mid-sixteenth century and soon spread across most of Europe.⁷⁶ As early as the sixteenth century, they also entered use in Carniola, with a few valuable specimens having been preserved to the present day.⁷⁷ In connection to the *Dismas Chronicle*, the main appeal of *libri amicorum* is in their frequently emblematic nature: in addition to the inscribed member's personal data, coat of arms and dedication, they also often contain emblems.

According to the recent emblematic research, early modern albums with emblems are categorized as emblem books, and the same holds for bibliographical classification. Emblems in *alba amicorum* were frequently borrowed from the most popular editions of emblem books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their close relatedness is most directly attested to by the fact that many albums were former printed emblem books, into which friends were

73 *Discorso intorno al nome, et impresa comuni degli Academici Insensati*, Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, Ms 1717, fols. 1r–6v; *Letzione dello Svogliato Insensato Delle qualità che ai nomi et alle Imprese particolari de gli Academici si convengono*, Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, Ms 1717a, fols. 48r–57v (Teza, 2018, 21–22).

74 The year 1688 on the title leaf of the *Concept Book* suggests that Thalnitscher may have already been contemplating the design of the *Album* on the establishment of the St. Dismas Society. This assumption is further supported by his first sketches of emblems that already appear in their more elaborate (or partially altered) version alongside the first entries in the *Dismas Chronicle*.

75 See Vidmar, 2013, 17.

76 There are various known types of *alba amicorum*, including family albums that were compiled through generations, including, for example, the famous album of Paul and later Joseph Jenisch (1575–1647 and 1648–1683), Württemberg State Library, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. qt. 298. On *alba amicorum*, see: Seibold, 2022; Schnabel, 2003 and Taegert, 1995. Specifically, in relation to emblematics: Schnabel, 1997, 117–155.

77 The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia holds the albums of Adam Wagen of Bogenšperk from 1591–1592 (AS 1073 453 31r), Johann Georg Lamberg of Kamen and Gutenberg 1600–1611 (AS 1073 454 33r), Sigmund Galbkhover von Helfenberg in Upper Austria 1608–1618 (AS 1073 455 32r), Baron Karl von Rattmansdorf 1630–1645 (AS 1073 456 271r), and the album of the Wintershoffer family from Pranck in Austrian Styria 1565 (AS 1073 457 34r). My sincere gratitude goes to Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec, called my attention to the albums in the Archives. On the illuminations therein, see: Komelj, 1979, 68–71.



Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata*, Lyon 1551; a copy used by an unknown student at the University of Ingolstadt between 1558 and 1560 as an album (*album amicorum*), Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, MSS Codex 1123, 26, and an unnumbered inserted folio with the entry of Leonard Albert in 1559.

invited to write their information and add their family coat of arms alongside the selected emblem. Where the book format did not allow enough space for the entry, an additional folio was inserted into the chosen segment, converting the printed book into a hybrid with alternating printed and manuscript pages. Most owners based their hybrid albums on Alciato's *Emblemata*. The practice became widespread, and by the mid-sixteenth century printing houses often left Alciato's book with extra blank pages to be filled by friends of the album owner.⁷⁸ Even the titles of

certain emblem books invited readers to use them also as *alba amicorum*.⁷⁹

album preserving seventy-five entries (Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, MSS Codex 1123). On the connection between friendship albums and Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, see: Barker, 2002 <https://www.mun.ca/alciato/album.html>. Apart from Alciato and other emblem books, other popular printed templates for *alba amicorum* were several illustrated editions of classical authors, most notably Ovid and his *Metamorphoses*. Among the best-preserved specimens is the famous *album amicorum* of Jean le Clercq from Tournai, which was produced in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, inv. no. 2015.M.37). Thirty folios with illuminated entry pages are sewn into the incomplete edition of the illustrated French translation of Ovid, *La Métamorphose d'Ovide*, printed by Jean de Tournes (Lyon, 1564), and the entries were made in 1576–1589.

79 For example, the multilingual edition of the emblems of

78 See Alciato's edition that was printed by M. Bonhomme in Lyon in 1551 and used by a student at the University of Ingolstadt (with the introductory pages missing, there is no information regarding the owner's name) in 1558–1560 as an



Entry folio of Lamoral II Count of Egmont, *Stammbuch Kurfürst Friedrich IV. von der Pfalz*, 1582–1605, Heidelberg University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 120, fol. 42r.



Entry folio of Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor, *Grosses Stammbuch Philipp Hainhofers*, 1596–1633, Library of Duke August, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 355 Noviss. 8°, 20.

Alba amicorum share two key characteristics with the Ljubljana *Album*: as the open type of illustrated books or bound manuscript folios, they were compiled on a continuous basis over a long period of time, and their entry pages tend to have a structure similar to the illuminated folios in the *Dismas Chronicle*.⁸⁰ Where the book format so allows, the coat of arms and the emblem, completed with personal information and the date of entry, appear

Georgette de Montenay, *Monumenta Emblematum Christianorum Virtutum... Ad Instar Albi Amicorum Exhibita*, Frankfurt am Main 1619.

80 The memorial books are highly diverse, ranging from simple ones merely featuring each member's entry and coat of arms, to more complex and lavishly illustrated albums displaying full-page illuminations and two-page entries (the painting and the *sententia* usually on one page and the coat of arms and the entry information on the other). The formats tend to be very small and often horizontal. It is precisely due to the small dimensions of folios that a single entry often spans two pages: the coat of arms with personal information on one and the emblematic image on the other.

on the same folio, forming a complete visual and substantive whole, akin to the design of the entry pages in the *Album* of Carniolan scholars. The entry of Lamoral II, Count of Egmont, in the album of Frederick IV, Elector Palatine of the Rhine (*Stammbuch Kurfürst Friedrich IV. von der Pfalz*, 1582–1605, University Library of Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 120, fol. 42r), and that of Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor, in the famous album of Philipp Hainhofer (*Grosses Stammbuch Philipp Hainhofers*, 1596–1633, Library of Duke August, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 355 Noviss. 8°, 20) illustrate the similarity between the concepts both in terms of content and composition.⁸¹ Of particular interest for understanding the European context of the *Dismas Chronicle* is that it

81 Similar examples may be found in the albums of Cristoph von Haugwitz (Christoph von Haugwitz: *Stammbuch*, 1598, Heidelberg University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 621), jurist Wilhelm Bökl, Jr., from Szczecin, Poland (1616–1651, private property), and so forth.



Entry folio of Philip II, Duke of Pomerania, *Grosses Stammbuch Philipp Hainhofers*, 1596–1633, Library of Duke August, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 355 Noviss. 8°, 36.



Emblem featuring an owl being attacked by smaller birds, 1585, *Jenisch Stammbuch*, State Library of Württemberg, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. qt. 298, fol. 192r.

was precisely the illuminations of Renaissance *alba amicorum* that also featured open emblems as painted by Simon Thaddeus Grachower. A few exquisite entry pages with open emblems very similar to Grachower's are found in Hainhofer's album (e.g., the entry of Philip II, Duke of Pomerania, 36) as well as in the book of Paul and later Joseph Jenisch (*Stammbuch Paul*, später *Joseph Jenisch*, Württemberg State Library, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. qt. 298). The most noteworthy emblematic entry in the Jenisch family album is the one displaying the image of an owl being attacked by smaller birds (fol. 192r): namely, the same motif can be seen in the book of the United Academicians (entry folio of Johann Tomáš Garzarolli, TM, fol. 355r).

Both fundamental sources of inspiration—academic albums with emblems and *alba amicorum*—are closely related to each other, especially as the intersection of emblem books and albums, represented by the above-mentioned hybrids.

The combining of these two types is based on the mutual complementarity of visual and textual elements, with extremely inventive use of images and allegories, and witty brevity of expression. Both genres exhibit a clearly recognizable humanistic understanding of education as the common good that ennobles the spirit, thus placing a man of humble descent on a par with a nobleman. Entries in both *alba amicorum* and the academic memorial books clearly illustrate that affiliation with a selected community crucially rested on nobleness of spirit, erudition, mental dexterity, dissemination of knowledge, and public action for the common good, and less on privileged social standing or noble rank. The democratic idea of knowledge bringing together people from different backgrounds into a community of equals is reflected in a long array of records, most often letters. It is also clearly conveyed at declarative and symbolic levels in the tradition of the academic nickname: an allegorical name associated with the academy member's

specific interest, the sphere of his activity, his virtues, and so on, rather than with his social status. An example of a well-documented correspondence are letters by the members of the most famous German academy, the already mentioned *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, which also included representatives of the highest European nobility—kings, electors palatinate, princes, dukes, and so on. In their correspondence, they often used academic nick-names, which gradually almost completely replaced noble titles.⁸² Through their contacts, writings, and various activities, academicians, traveling students and professors, diplomats, merchants and patrons, created an early modern international community of intellectuals, a sort of Erasmian republic of knowledge—*respublica litteraria* (Almásy, 2010, 91–94).⁸³

Albums, academic books of emblems (also serving as treasuries of memory), and various types of emblem books played a pivotal—yet still under-researched—part in establishing this international intellectual network. As a result, each of them may be a valuable testimony to the close-knit early modern community of European intellectuals, diversity of communication, and the richness of topics addressed. Sharing creative reflections and discourses which, once written down, become a legacy for future generations, they are universally interesting documents of their time, mirroring the spirit of an age in which the intellectual network was formed, linking large and small centers of scientific, artistic, and cultural activity. The same also applies to the *Theatrum Memoriae*: it is evident not only from Thalnitscher's introduction and academic rules, but also from the very concept of the book and every single entry in it, the most prominent part of which is the entry page with the carefully conceptualized emblem. One of the most direct pieces of evidence that the idea of a republic of knowledge also lived among the Carniolan academicians is, not least, Thalnitscher's notation that caught Primož Simoniti's attention: in his fragmentarily preserved handwritten notes to the discussion *Dissertatio de academiis veterum*

ac recentium, when describing the purpose or objective of the Ljubljana academicians' work, Thalnitscher stated that their aim was to “benefit the literary republic” (“*Reipublicae Litterariae prodesse*”).⁸⁴

1.6 Introductory Chapters of the *Album*, the Typology of Entry Pages, and the Structure of Emblems

The *Theatrum Memoriae* of Carniolan academicians begins with a full-page introductory miniature featuring the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, the city of the Muses protected by Apollo and Minerva (fol. 2r). The events are placed in a stage-like setting—the “theater of memory”—which symbolically opens with inauguration of the United Academicians' memorial book. The theater stage is framed by an illusionistic triumphal arch dominated by Renaissance-style elements. In front of it, in the upper section of the miniature, is a large, stylized heart holding twenty-six smaller hearts—the symbol of the St. Dismas Society, which counted twenty-six members when it was established. On either side of the magnificent heart is a horn of plenty (*cornucopia*), and above it the sun is shining in the sky. The emblem motif is surrounded by a laurel wreath and a lavish Baroque frame that almost touches the edge of the miniature with the inscription banner at the top, whereas the bottom inscription banner extends towards the raised stage curtain. The upper inscription banner displays the society's motto in capital letters: *CONCORDIAE FRUCTUS*, and its bottom counterpart states the abbreviated name of the academic association—*UNITI*. The idea of unity and concord is visually represented by the members' hearts drawn into the single large heart, while the horns of plenty illustrate the abundant fruit of their concord. The wooden forestage panel features a dedication with the year of the establishment of the academy in a decoratively carved frame: *Famae et musis. Theatrum Memoriae causa apertum ab Academicis Unitis Anno 1688*.

82 A critical edition of letters written by members of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and of other primary sources was published under the leadership of Klaus Conermann and others as part of the project “Die Deutsche Akademie des 17. Jahrhunderts Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.” See: http://www.die-fruchtbringende-gesellschaft.de/19-0-Publikationen-.html?category_id=21&article_id=26.

83 Cf. also: Burke, 2015 (especially the first chapter “La République des Lettres redécouverte”).

84 “*Scopus itidem cum huic Academiae omnium primo praefigendus erat, omnibus arrisit, us sit Reipublicae Litterariae prodesse...*” Seminary Library Ljubljana, Ms 22, Drobni zapiski. Cited from: Simoniti, 1994, 48–49.



Andreas Trost, Apotheosis of Ljubljana, 1689, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 2r.

Set against the backdrop of a scenic landscape, the stage is occupied by five animals: a unicorn, an elephant, a lion, a horse, and a lamb. At the center, the genius of Ljubljana rises towards the sky, holding a large platter with the miniature of the old city centre and the castle hill. Above it are Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, nursing Ljubljana, and Apollo, the divine patron of the Muses that found their home in the city.⁸⁵ The introductory miniature is followed by the title leaf of the *Album* (fol. 3r) and a celebratory preface, in which Johann Gregor Thalnitscher presents the association's mission and explains the meaning of the painted allegory (fols. 4r–6r). Whereas the message conveyed by the central part of the allegory with Apollo and Minerva is completely unambiguous, the animals on the stage might have proven to be a considerable iconographic puzzle had the secretary of St. Dismas Society not explained to the reader without hesitation that the unicorn stands for wisdom and fear of God, the elephant represents sound advice, the lion signifies generosity and courage, the horse symbolizes nobility, and the lamb embodies grace and benevolence. All these virtues should also distinguish the members of the Noble Society of St. Dismas.⁸⁶

The Apotheosis of Ljubljana is of particular interest to this study because it unequivocally highlights the emblematic nature of the book and emphasizes the role of animals as the bearers of a deeper meaning, while hinting at both basic forms of emblems that appear on the entry pages of the *Album*. The cartouche housing the painted symbol of St. Dismas Society, complemented by two inscription banners, establishes the

85 The leader of the Muses, Apollo, is not only the patron saint of the arts but also of related sciences, as suggested by the lyre in his right hand as well as science instruments and tools that the miniaturist painted next to his left hand. Thalnitscher specifically draws attention to this detail in his preface: “Apollo, mit einem Lorber-Khrantz gekrönnet, seine Leyer in der Handt haltend, mit unterschiedlichen Instrumenten zur Khunst umgeben,...” (TM, fol. 5v).

86 “Das ist Schaubüne der Göttin Famae oder Ruehms undt denen Musen zur Gedächtnuß eröffnet, von der Verainigten Gesellschaft im Jahr 1688ten, worauff erstlich 5 Sünbilder vorgestellt werden als: ain Ainborn, Elephandt, Lew, Pferd und ein Lamb, durch welche sovill Tugendten, wie es khundt ist, verstanden werden, als nemblich: durch den Ainborn wierdet die Gottes Forcht und Weißheit, durch den Elephanten der weise Rath, durch den Lewen die Groß- und Starkhmüettigkeit, durch das Pferd der Adl unnd durch das Lamb die Müldigkeit unnd Vortrefflichkeit” (TM, fol. 5r).

predominant type of emblems in the chronicle. Moreover, the structure of the emblem instantly points to the rich tradition of emblem books, with which it can be affiliated both in formal and iconographic terms. At the same time, the full-page miniature with inscriptions and allegorical figures heralds the development of the open emblem, the mature form of which makes its first appearance in the album in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The frontispiece reveals yet another characteristic of the emblems in the book: although at first glance they seem to be entirely original creations, the study of emblematics and early prints shows that the Ljubljana academicians selected their emblems by leaning on the established tradition and popular emblem books. In the emblem of the St. Dismas Society incorporated into the Apotheosis of Ljubljana this is clearly confirmed by the central symbol of the heart and the chosen motto, *Concordiae fructus*, which (along with the variants *Fructus concordiae* and *Dulcis concordiae fructus*) can be found in a variety of other emblem books. The selection of heart as the association's main symbol was undoubtedly influenced by the intensive veneration of the Sacred Heart at the time, promoted primarily by the Jesuits. The link between the academy's symbol of the heart and the Jesuit iconography is, not least, also clarified in the *Disma-Philologia*, the second part of which, immediately after the Litanies of St. Dismas, cites the famous Jesuit motto in German: *Alles in grösserer Ehr Gottes* (All for the greater glory of God).⁸⁷ The United Academicians could draw directly from one of the many Jesuit emblem books containing emblems with the same heart motif in all its key versions that are also present in the *Dismas Chronicle*: the stylized red heart, the burning heart, and the winged heart. The motto *Concordiae fructus* was highly popular among intellectuals, and it featured not only in Renaissance emblematics but also in printed impresas, on medals, and in mottos of some academies, including the famous Altdorf Academy (Stopp, 1974, 169).

The motto, which retained its popularity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has its roots in ancient sayings on the importance of concord. Its literary premise may be found, among other sources, in Aelius Aristides' *Rhodian Oration on Concord* (*Ad Rhodienses*

87 See: Kastelic, 2001, 115–116.

de concordia oratio).⁸⁸ In emblematics, the motto is often accompanied by the image of a beehive and a swarm of worker bees. In this case, the most probable source seems to be the chapter about bees in the book on agriculture by the Roman writer Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (*De re rustica*, IX, 2).⁸⁹ The question whether the founding members of the *Academia Uitorum* read and followed the example of the ancient works mentioned above remains unanswered. It seems more likely that the idea for the motto came from the famous book *Imagini de i Dei de gli antichi* by Vincenzo Cartari (the first edition was published in Venice in 1556 and it was reprinted a number of times), in which the author describes the goddess of concord (*Concordia*) by invoking the *Rhodian Oration on Concord*.⁹⁰ Further adding to this likelihood is that Cartari also makes an explicit mention of the *cornucopia* as the attribute of Concord, which might explain why the horn of plenty appears next to the symbol of the Ljubljana academic society. The composition with the horns of plenty flanking the central symbol and bearer of the fundamental meaning already established itself in emblematics with Alciato's *Emblemata*.⁹¹ In relation to the motif in the *Dismas Chronicle*,

88 The treatise was first published shortly before the end of the fifteenth century: *Cleomedes, De contemplatione orbium excelsum, Aristidis oratio ad Rhodienses de concordia*, Bernardinus de Misintis, Brescia 1497, F2r–F7v.

89 See Henkel and Schöne, 1996, col. 926. The emblem with the motto *Dulcis Concordiae fructus* once graced the Great Hall of the Nürnberg Town Hall. The authorship of the preliminary drawing is attributed to Albrecht Dürer and the iconographic design to Wilibald Pirckheimer. The emblem is included in the description and explanation of the paintings in the said hall, written by Georg Remus: *Inscriptiones picturae et emblemata quae in aula magna curiae Norimbergensis publice extant quibus ob argumenti similitudinem accesserunt*, Nürnberg 1620 (Newberry Library, Vault Wing, Ms 279, fol. 167). The emblem with the motto *Dulcis Concordiae fructus* is presented under the sequence number 24. As already noted, it was also popular in the form of a printed impresa, especially among the French printers of the seventeenth century (including the famous Paris printers Roberti Fouët, Nicolai Buon, and Sebastiani Cramoisy).

90 In the first illustrated edition of Cartari's volume (Venice 1571), the description of Concord may be found on p. 317.

91 The emblem with the horns of plenty entwining the caduceus and the motto *Virtuti Fortuna comes* may be found in the first edition of Alciato's *Emblemata liber* (Augsburg 1531, B1v), only that they are depicted as the horns of Amalthea (which came to represent the horns of plenty pursuant to mythological lore). In the Paris edition from 1534 (*Emblemata libellus*, embl. B3v) and subsequent editions, the *cornucopia* are

the impresa of the Paris publishing house Compagnie des Librairies du Palais is also noteworthy, having the same structure except that it features a bundle of rods between the horns of plenty; rods, the ancient symbol of concord, were also deeply ingrained in Renaissance and Baroque emblematics.⁹²

The bundle of rods or the beehive, which, together with the horns of plenty, serve as an emblematic representation of the fruit of concord, is replaced in the *Theater of Memory* by the symbolic image of small hearts united into a single larger heart. In his explanation of the introductory allegory, Thalnitser writes the following on the importance of the symbol: "... twenty-six hearts point to the number of members, and the horns of plenty symbolize the benefit that is due to an association of all the honest."⁹³ This symbolic image is therefore a creative reinterpretation of a motif that European emblematics had known for a long time in a slightly different form but with the same fundamental message. Similar patterns of reproductions, improvements, and transformations of established examples are encountered in most emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*, with the spectrum of the commissioning member's inventiveness and the painter's creativity ranging from minor adaptations to imaginative solutions, where the existing model merely served as the basic inspiration or the starting point for an original emblem design.

depicted in their classical form. The renowned printer Peter Bellerus from Antwerpen used the same motif with the motto *Fructus concordiae* on his impresa.

92 In the mid-seventeenth century, the publishing house brought together several publishers in the city. For the impresa, see the title leaf of Robert Triquel's volume *Instructions pour les arbres fruitiers*, Paris 1664, fol. 1r. The bundle of rods symbolizing concord, friendship, strength, and wellbeing appears in various contexts. Of paramount importance for the emblematic tradition is the famous Aesop fable about an old man showing his quarrelsome sons that it is impossible to break a bundle of sticks. But once taken apart, each stick is easily broken separately. In emblematics, the motif first appeared in the volume *Hecatographie* by Gilles Corrozet (Paris 1540, E8v).

93 "Dann so ist an diesem Theatro zu oberst das Sünbildt oder Symbolum diser Gesellschaft Uitorum oder der Verainigten zube-trachten, welches da ist ein grosses, von 26 anderen zusamben ge-füegtes Herz. An Seithen siht mann zwoy Horn des Überflusses oder cornu copiae; ob allen disen erscheint die sonne, als von welcher alle Ordnung herrüebet. Die 26 Herzen aber deuten an die Zahl der Einverleibten unnd der Horn des Überflusses den Nutzen, welcher aus aller Ehrlichen Verainigung zugewartten" (TM, fol. 6r; cf. *Spominska knjiga I*, 14–15).

Thalnitscher's preface is followed by the portrait of the founder and first president of the Academy of the United, Wolfgang Sigmund Künpach, with a cartouche containing the inscription of his name (fol. 11r). Cevc attributes the unsigned miniature to the style of the visiting German painter and engraver Elias Bäck (1679–1747), the creator of the engraving of Johann Gregor Thalnitscher from 1700 (2001, 102). The bust portrait in an upright oval frame follows the tradition of Renaissance prints. Italian books of emblems or *impresas*, as they tended to call them, began to include such portraits in the second half of the sixteenth century. In academic albums, the honor of having the introductory portrait made belonged to the founding member and/or the patron of the association. Emblem books dedicated to their patron, prince, or sovereign usually display that person's portrait. In the late sixteenth century, an increasing number of emblem books began to include a portrait of the creator. The makers of *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* followed the example of Italian academic associations, specifically, the *Gelati* from Bologna, whose *Memorie, Imprese, e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati* starts with a portrait of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the president and patron of the Academy of the Frozen.⁹⁴

Künpach's portrait is followed by four pages with a decorative border, containing the academic rules, *Leges Academiae Unitorum* (fols. 7r–10r), and a dedication miniature with the patron saint of the association, the “good” thief Dismas at the forefront and the summit of Golgotha with Jesus on the Cross and the “bad” thief crucified next to him in the background. The cartouche at the bottom of the illumination displays the society's Latin dedication to its patron saint. The painting, which Cevc attributes to Bartholomeus Ramschissl (2001, 103), does not attain the artistic quality of the first two, and its special iconographic approach lies in highlighting a strong affiliation with the association's patron saint. As may be inferred from the inscription “*To God, the Mightiest and the Highest. To St. Dismas, our Intercessor in the last hour, our Guardian, the United Academicians of Ljubljana dedicate this painting,*”⁹⁵ it is an expression of devoutness and a

prayer revealing one of the key societal imperatives of that period: life in faith and hope for salvation. This spells two reasons why the full-page title allegory and the portrait of the association's president are further followed by a painting with religious content: first, veneration of the patron saint and, second, concern for spiritual wellbeing, specifically set out in the academic rules. Although the St. Dismas Society strictly identified itself as a secular organization, it was deeply rooted in the spiritual world of the Counter-Reformation Christianity of the late seventeenth century, and thus its emphatic invocation of its patron saint in the album comes as no surprise.

The introductory part of the *Theater of Memory* is followed by the illuminated entry pages of members of the academy, starting with its founder. This is where the *Album* in the strict sense of the term begins. The academic rules stipulate that every member fill his entry page with his name, coat of arms, date of entry and his emblem comprising an image, a motto, and the academic nickname.⁹⁶ The nickname is invariably of an allegorical nature and in line with the motto and the motif of the emblematic image. As such, it forms an important part of the emblem itself, and it can allude to the member's family tradition, virtues, personality traits, work, interests, and so on. The coat of arms, too, is indirectly included in the emblematic message, usually in two different ways. The symbolic elements in a noble coat of arms (most often heraldic animals) tend to be closely associated with the iconography of the emblematic image or are even the main bearers of its symbolic content. The heraldic aurochs of the Counts and Princes of Auerberg, the lion of the Counts of Barbo, and the eagle of the Barons of Erberg also feature in their respective emblematic images. The opposite may be said of the academic coats of arms—the escutcheons of learned men of humble origin who, on entering the Dismas Society, obtained the right to conceptualize their own coat of arms as a token of their intellectual nobility. In principle, the concept of such armorial bearings is iconographically harmonized with the

94 See the chapter: “Models and Influences.”

95 “*Deo, Optimo, Maximo./ S. Dismae, agonizatium patrono, tutelari suo,/ Academici Uniti Labacensis fieri fecunt*” (TM, fol. 10v).

96 The ideal content structure of the entry folio, as conceptualized by Thalnitscher, was sometimes truncated or altered in the *Dismas Chronicle*. Especially after his death, the omission of one of the elements listed above became increasingly common.

selected emblem,⁹⁷ except where the main motif of the emblematic image is one of the variants of the heart representing the St. Dismas Society.

An entry folio may be illuminated more or less luxuriously—in addition to an emblematic image with a motto and academic nickname, they tend to include allegorical figures, mythological or (less often) Biblical figures, as well as scenery settings, such as a landscape with miniature narrative scenes, an idealized bucolic landscape, or a realistic panoramic view of the commissioning member's mansion. Given the span of time in which the illuminated entry pages were produced, it is understandable that the emblems differ not only with respect to the style and the way in which the painting is executed, but also in terms of typology and conceptual design. Thalnitscher, who kept a watchful eye over the entries in the *Album*, endeavored to attain a standardized form of entry pages and wished all emblems to include the academy symbol—the stylized heart occasionally completed with wings (winged heart) or flames (burning heart). As may be gathered from his *Concept Book*,⁹⁸ he personally conceptualized the emblems and sketched the basic emblematic compositions for many members of the St. Dismas Society, thus actually creating the symbolic messages of the emblems. In terms of composition, Thalnitscher's drafts are fully standardized: the image is encased in a horizontal, oval-shaped cartouche; above it is an inscription banner with the member's personal motto and below it a shorter inscription banner with his academic nickname. In Late Renaissance and especially Baroque art, the oval-shaped cartouche was a very

popular frame for various types of paintings, reliefs, inscription plaques, and so on, and it also featured regularly in emblem books. Although Thalnitscher faithfully followed the established tradition, his desire to standardize leaned on printed emblem books where all the emblems had a more or less identical structure. Thalnitscher's imitation of Italian examples is further expressed in the standardized setting of the motto above the emblematic image and of the academic's nickname below it. This pattern was formed in Italian academic albums as an expression of the academicians' humility and based on the understanding that the idea always takes precedence over the individual.⁹⁹

Early entries in the *Theatrum Memoriae* show that the members accepted Thalnitscher's concept of emblems, and the vast majority also embraced his iconographic solutions. A typical illuminated page of early entries has a strictly symmetrical composition with the central vertical axis formed by three key emphases:

- at the center of the folio is the commissioning member's luxuriously decorated coat of arms;
- below the coat of arms is an inscription cartouche in an ornate Baroque frame,¹⁰⁰ housing a field that contains information about the member;¹⁰¹
- the top section of the illumination features an oval-shaped cartouche with an emblematic image completed with lavish (mainly vegetal) decoration and two inscription banners. The upper inscription banner displays the commissioning

97 The academic coat of arms of physician Johann Georg Kerschiner displays an anchor, which is also the main motif of his emblem (TM, fol. 91r), whereas theologian and parish priest Johann Jacob Schilling (TM, fol. 191r) chose a lamb as the central motif of his coat of arms, aligning with his emblematic image of a shepherd calling his sheep.

98 Thalnitscher's *Concept Book* contains eighty-three numbered drafts of emblems for the association's members (an error in numbering occurred when the author accidentally skipped number 22, causing the last numbered draft to bear the sequence number 84). Out of all numbered cartouches, six remain empty, and one merely features the sketch of a heart as the starting point for the never-completed composition. Thus, the total number of preliminary drawings for emblem images is seventy-six. The separately inserted folio constituting the oldest part of the *Concept Book* contains thirty-two original emblem sketches that were only partially accepted (*Spominska knjiga I*, 2001, 235).

99 See the explanation by Ottavio Aureli, the president of the Academy of the *Insensati*, who stipulates in the rules on forming individual members' emblems that the academic's name must always be written below the image as a token of modesty: "...si scriva di sotto per modestia; et non di sopra allo scudo della impresa, che ciò mostrerebbe superbia." For the same reason, Aureli continues, the noble coat of arms must also be placed below the emblematic image or the inscription banner (*Letzione dello Svogliato Insensato Delle qualità che ai nomi et alle Imprese particolari de gli Academici si convengono*, Augusta Municipal Library, Perugia, Ms 1717a, fol. 57v., cited from: Teza, 2018, 28).

100 Where architectural elements predominate in the miniature composition, the cartouche may be replaced by a decorative stone base or an inscription plaque.

101 The member's noble title (if he had one), the information about his birth, status or profession, possible academic or honorary title, and the date of entering the Society of St. Dismas. Initially, the year of death was also added for deceased members.

member's motto, and the lower one his academic nickname.

Early entry pages, produced in 1689 and 1690, abide by the type described above, with slight deviations in the quantity and selection of decorative elements, minor compositional alterations, and color scale. What all the illuminations have in common iconographically is that the decorative elements do not bear any symbolic meaning. Emblematic images have simple and clear compositions, based on Thalnitscher's concepts, and they therefore (with rare exceptions) also include the heart motif as a symbol of St. Dismas Society.

Andreas Trost turned Thalnitscher's sketches into masterful emblematic images and skillfully placed them in the decorative scheme of entry pages. Trost, as already noted, was adept in designing emblematic images even before he embarked on the illumination of the *Ljubljana Album*. While working for Baron Johann Weikhard Valvasor,¹⁰² he produced a number of emblems and enjoyed access to his library at Bogenšperk, where he would read emblem books by various artists, gaining an insight into the world of Renaissance and Baroque emblematics.¹⁰³ His flair for harmonizing the visual value of the emblematic image with its communicative expression is best manifested in his logical completions or alterations of Thalnitscher's sketches. In the emblems of Count Johann Heinrich Watzenberg (TM,

fol. 63r),¹⁰⁴ Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch (TM, fol. 73r), and Lorenz Wollwiz (TM, fol. 113r), the inventive changes stand out prominently and he even went as far as to omit the heart as the association's symbol. In all these examples, Trost's solutions were much more accomplished than their original drafts, and they were apparently endorsed by both Thalnitscher and respective commissioning academicians.

Moreover, the entry page of Count Watzenberg also represents a major shift from Thalnitscher's standardized design. Its upper section no longer features the emblematic image but a mighty eagle with outspread wings, straddling the family coat of arms. The banner tied around its neck bears the motto *In magnis voluisse sat est* (In great matters, the will alone suffices)¹⁰⁵ and his academic nickname *Magnanimus* (The Magnanimous One). Above the cartouche with the information about the member is the second academic nickname, held by a pair of equally sized eagles: *Der Heldenmütige* (The Valiant One). Having two academic nicknames in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle* is an exception, even more so because Thalnitscher's sketch for Watzenberg only envisaged the first one (CB, sketch 27). However, this bears less significance for the emblem structure than the fact that Watzenberg's emblem represents an early form or better, pre-stage of the open emblem, in which the entire miniature assumes the nature of an emblematic image. The

102 Andreas Trost, the leading engraver in Carniola in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, headed Valvasor's graphic print workshop from its founding in 1678 to 1688.

103 Valvasor kept numerous emblem books in his library—apart from three editions of Andrea Alciato (BV, 50, 51, 52) also: *Symbolicarum quaestionium de universo genere* by Achille Bocchi (BV, 282), *Emblematum liber* by Jean Jacques Boissard (BV, 324), *Moralia Bornitiana. Hoc est: Symbola et Emblemata* by Jacobi Borniti (BV, 382), *Emblemata* by Hadrian Junius (BV, 1204), *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae, exhibens symbola, emblemata, hieroglyphica* by Jacobo Masenius (BV, 1545), *Sciographia cosmica* by Daniel Meisner (BV, 1562), *Homo microcosmus, hoc est: Parvus mundus* by Martin Meyer (BV, 1610), *Symbola Heroica* by Claude Paradin (BV 1749; the Latin translation of the French original, published together with the homonymous work by Gabriele Simeoni), *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum* by Gabriel Rollenhagen (BV 1204), *Emblemata* by Joannes Sambucus (BV, 2058), *Symbola Heroica* by Gabriele Simeoni (BV, 1749; the Latin translation, published together with the homonymous work by Claude Paradin), and *Emblemata Psycho-ethica* by Nicolaus Taurellus (BV, 2308).

104 Emilijan Cevc maintains that Watzenberg's emblem cannot be credited to Andreas Trost, bearing "the monumentally heavy composition of a volute cartouche with two black eagles," which is uncharacteristic of the painter. While noting that the eagles on the cartouche indeed resemble an eagle that Trost painted on the title page of the prospectus of the *Academia Operosorum Labacensium (Apes academicae, Ljubljana 1701)*, he adds that "the the composition as a whole is not depicted in Trost's style." In his opinion, the most likely author of the emblem is Trost's pupil Ramschissl (2001, 104–105). Cevc's argument seems weak, given that equally monumental cartouches and compositional concepts are also found in illuminations that are undoubtedly Trost's work (e.g., the emblem of S. Raigersfeld, TM, fol. 65r). The assumption that Watzenberg's entry page was painted by Trost is further supported by the mastery with which the miniaturist addressed Thalnitscher's sketch, boldly introducing both visual and iconographic changes to it. Only an established master, "familiar" enough with his commissioning clients, the memorial book, and the noble association, would so radically alter the preliminary drawing prepared by its chief secretary.

105 The motto is borrowed from Propertius (*Elegies*, II, 10, 6).

illumination adheres to the type developed in the hand-painted albums of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where the key elements of an illuminated page are the cartouche with the inscribed member's personal data, his coat of arms, and the selected *sententia* or a line of poetry. On Watzenberg's entry folio, the eagle with the motto and academic nickname symbolizes the count, as is further confirmed by Thalnitscher's study sketch and a notation that he made on the count's death (TM, fol. 64v). Thus, the heraldic animal takes on the role of an emblem animal which, combined with the motto and the academic nickname, replaces the ordinary emblematic image and brings the miniature closer to the open emblem.

A different yet equally striking deviation from the canonical scheme is the emblem of Baron Zacharias Gottfried Webersperg (TM, fols. 69r–69v). This is the only entry folio painted on both sides and featuring two illuminations with related content. The first side displays the coat of arms and the inscription cartouche, incorporated into a large architectural niche resembling a stone frame of a wall altar or tomb. The coat of arms occupies the central part of the niche, held by a pair of female figures, most likely the personifications of the Old and New Testaments (see the image on p. 21).¹⁰⁶ The figure on the left is wrapped in a purple cloak, and the figure on the right wears a colorful, richly tailored dress. The miniature does not include the usual cartouche with the emblematic image and inscriptions, which has been moved to the following page (fol. 69v) and painted in a completely different manner to the previous emblems (see



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Count Johann Heinrich Watzenberg, 1690, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 63r.

the image on p. 99). It is framed by an upright oval-shaped wreath, enriched with an elaborate curlicue ornamentation. The illumination depicts the Ark of the Covenant held by two Levites, as well as wrought-iron lanterns, and fire in a golden vessel flanked by a pair of winged genii.¹⁰⁷ The motifs from the Old

¹⁰⁶ Cevc describes the female figures as the “personifications of two indeterminable virtues” (2001, 72); Kastelic likewise offers no explanation in his iconographic catalogue (2001, 138). Due to the absence of attributes, inscriptions, or any related symbolic elements in the painting, the female figures are indeed difficult to determine with certainty. Given that Webersperg’s emblem on the verso side of the folio highlights the motifs from the Old Testament, such as salvation, God’s grace, and the covenant that God made with the chosen people, it is very likely that the figure wearing the cloak and turning away from the viewer represents the Old Testament, and the figure dressed in brighter colors facing the viewer represents the New Testament. The posture of the two women, their clothing, and the iconography of colors support such an explanation. Furthermore, the pair personifying the Old and New Testaments wearing similarly clothes is an established motif that also appears in the illustrations of Renaissance and Bibles printed during the Baroque.

¹⁰⁷ The Ark of the Covenant is the central and most commonly used symbol of the covenant between God and his chosen people, and it also logically completes the message of the emblematic image. The flames in the golden vessel represent the fire on the altar in Solomon’s Temple, where the Ark of the Covenant was held. The altar standing in the Holy of Holies, described in the Bible as covered in gold, was used for offerings, which ritualistically perpetuated the expression of loyalty to the covenant and prayers for God’s mercy. In this respect, the genii, who have an important compositional and decorative role in the miniature, may be associated with the pair of cherubim placed in the chamber with the Ark of the Covenant and the altar (1 Kings 6). Both motifs—the Ark of the Covenant and the altar fire—thus relate to Solomon’s Temple, the construction of which in itself represents

Testament surrounding the image of Noah's Ark are incorporated into the emblematic message of God's grace, reconciliation, and the covenant of the chosen people with God, bringing the miniature close to an open-type emblem. Interestingly, the development towards the open emblem is completely different than on the entry page of Count Watzenberg, because this one includes the *pictura*, which is furthermore visually and iconographically improved. The unusual illumination was not the work of Andreas Trost but of an unknown painter. The reason why the artist made such a radical break with the established tradition remains unknown.

The following six emblems (TM, fols. 71r–81r) may again be attributed to Andreas Trost, and their conceptualization adheres to Thalnitscher's "canonical" type. Nonetheless, the unknown master of Webersperg's emblem must have pleased a few commissioning academicians with his concept of an architectural niche offering new compositional possibilities and creating the impression of greater monumentality, given that similar niches or altar frames repeatedly appeared on the entry pages of the *Dismas Chronicle* until the early eighteenth century.¹⁰⁸ His influence is also observed in the inclusion of new architectural elements, such as stone bases and carved frames, and of figures (personifications, ancient deities, *putti*, cherubs) in the composition. The search for original approaches is likewise apparent on the entry folios of Johann Rudolf Coraduzzi (TM, fol. 97r) and Johann Christoph Ottheim (TM, fol. 99r). In Coraduzzi's case, the monumentally conceived *putti* supporting the commissioning member's coat of arms, the classical composition, the anatomy of the *putti*, and their exposure clearly draw inspiration from Italian examples. Ottheim's family coat of arms is imaginatively placed in front of the decorative drapery, strung between two palm trees. The aforementioned compositions did not directly influence the visual solutions that Trost and Ramschissl

designed for the subsequent entries, where it is clear that the masters readily accepted only the idea of the architectural niche and played with its variations. Regardless of the new features that they introduced, impressed by the unknown painter of Webersperg's emblem, their solutions nonetheless continued to respect Thalnitscher's original concept with the vertical axis hierarchy of all the key elements and employ, save for a few exceptions, characteristic horizontal oval-shaped cartouches with emblematic images, as envisaged by the first secretary of the St. Dismas Society.

On the entry folio of the parish priest Urban Cavalier (TM, fol. 127r), we again come across a notable deviation from Thalnitscher's canon. The illumination features the popular type of the Baroque-style wall tomb with a sarcophagus in a triumphal arch niche and above it a statue of a woman. According to Emilijan Cevc, the miniature imitates Bernini's tomb



Unknown master, Entry page of Urban Cavalier, 1701, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 127r.

the renewal of God's covenant with the people of Israel. For the symbolism of Solomon's Temple, see: Bloch-Smith, 1994, 18–31.

¹⁰⁸ Emblems with a motif of an architectural niche are found in TM, fols. 83r, 85r, 101r, and 127r. The role of the architectural frame in the miniature of F. B. Dinzl (TM, fol. 85) is intensified to the degree that the emblematic image is no longer housed in the independent oval cartouche but is moved to the lunette of the stone niche.

of Countess Matilda of Tuscany in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome (2001, 155). The painter of the illumination (probably the same individual who produced Webersperg's entry leaf) replaced both attributes that Countess Matilda holds on Bernini's tomb (a scepter in her right hand and a papal tiara in her left) with two large, stylized hearts. He thus defined the figure set in the architectural niche as the personification of love (*Caritas*) while linking it to the St. Dismas Society represented by the heart. In terms of emblem typology, this is yet another early form of the open emblem, in which the entire illuminated page takes on the character of an emblematic image with the inscribed motto and academic nickname, along with the mandatory coat of arms and the field presenting the commissioning member's data.¹⁰⁹ On the base of the sarcophagus is inscribed Cavalier's academic nickname—*Der Geneigte* (The Favorable One)—, whereas the front of the sarcophagus serves as the inscription plaque with his entry information. The two *putti* on the stone coffin hold the cartouche with the member's motto: *Cor CorDIe MeI* (The heart of my heart), which is simultaneously a chronogram for the year 1701, when Cavalier entered the St. Dismas Society. Although the personification of love, the motto, and the academic nickname combine to form the emblematic message, they build the compositional whole in a more relaxed manner, not following Thalnitscher's concept and also deviating from the classical structure in traditionally designed emblem books.

The new type of emblem, where the entire illumination becomes an emblematic image, was evidently a novelty too radical for most academy members. The following twenty-three emblems produced between 1701 and 1710 preserved the basic scheme, with the emblematic image encased in the cartouche, while the illumination of the entry folio increasingly followed the idea of a miniature as a framed painting with lavish Baroque decoration. The authorship of illuminations cannot be determined with certainty. In the early eighteenth century, Trost (who died in 1708) collaborated closely with his pupils, most

notably Bartholomeus Ramschissl. The miniatures are not signed, and some emblems were apparently the work of anonymous masters who did not belong to the circle of Trost's pupils. One of them may be the author of an interesting illumination representing a very imaginative, "soft" transition from Thalnitscher's canon towards the open emblem. It is the entry of Johann Daniel Gallenfels (TM, fol. 175r), which follows the idea of a full-page emblematic image as encountered in the example of Urban Cavalier. At first glance, the miniature may be classified as a genuine open emblem, even more so because it is conceived as a panel painting: set in a natural scenery, it includes a panoramic view of an idealized landscape and highlights three protagonists engaged in vivid interaction. In the foreground are two women sitting on a bench in front of a carved marble block reminiscent of a grave stele or a tomb. Their posture emanates a heartfelt and mutual affection: the woman on the left is holding a stylized heart in one hand and embracing her friend with the other. They are allegorical figures and, in the context of the emblematic message, most probably personifications of love and fidelity.¹¹⁰ Standing in front of them to the right is a winged genius, showing them a painted oval-shaped escutcheon. Depicted at the center of the escutcheon is a steep mountain with a large red heart at the top and a small *putto* climbing towards it. The image is framed by a banner with the motto *Vere aManti nIhIL DIffICILe* (For the one who loves truly, nothing is difficult). The motto is also a chronogram for the year of entry: 1711. On his left arm, the genius wears an unrolled scroll with the baron's academic nickname: *Der Treusuchende* (The Seeker of Fidelity). The carved inscription on the front of the tomb behind the sitting women offers information about the commissioning member, and the top section of the stone block displays the family coat of arms of the Barons of Gallenfels.

¹⁰⁹ The first mature form of the open emblem appears in the *Dismas Chronicle* on the entry folio of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini (TM, fol. 244r). It is characterized by the inclusion of narrative elements illustrating the content of the motto and the selected academic nickname (see below).

¹¹⁰ Such an interpretation is in line with the Baroque-style iconography of the pair personifying love and fidelity (*Caritas* and *Fidelitas*), usually depicted as beautiful young women in a loving pose or embrace, and the personification of love holding a heart in her hand. See the painting attributed to Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn, *An Allegory of Love and Fidelity with Other Virtues and Vices*, after 1612, private ownership, or the painting by Charles Mellin, *The Allegory of Divine Love and Faithfulness*, ca. 1635–1640, private collection.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Baron Johann Daniel Gallenfels, 1711, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 175r.

Although the miniature has all the characteristics of the open emblem,¹¹¹ we should observe that the escutcheon held by the winged genius is the original version of the emblem incorporated in the miniature. The symbolic image, the motto, and the academic nickname are visually and substantively harmonized as in most early illuminations: the painted escutcheon assumes the role of a *pictura* and its border with Gallenfels' motto serves as an inscription banner. The academic nickname is placed just below the escutcheon, on the banner, in form of a partly unrolled scroll. An important change in the design of the illumination is the new, dynamic connection between the emblematic image and the allegorical figures. In early examples, personifications are usually given a more passive role, standing next to the coat of arms or supporting it. Exceptionally, in the role of acolytes, they hold the cartouche or the decorative drapery displaying the information regarding the member's entry (e.g., the emblem of Johann Adam Erberg, TM, fol. 109r) or the emblematic image (e.g., the emblem of Augustin Carl Sebastian Rüssenstein, TM, fol. 149r). On the entry page of Johann Daniel Gallenfels, the protagonists are engaged in a lively interaction, and the composition as a whole takes on an emphatically narrative character. Moreover, the winged genius is presenting the escutcheon not only to the reader but also to the female personifications, whose posture and gestures indicate their interest in the painted armory: it seems like as though they are talking precisely about the content of the image on it. A further connection between the emblematic image and the allegorical figures is highlighted by the motif of the stylized heart: the red heart at the summit of the mountain depicted on the escutcheon is also seen in the hands of the figure personifying love. And we can likewise not ignore the fact that the winged genius also appears in the emblematic image itself; we see him on the escutcheon, steadily climbing the steep rock towards the heart. The inventive example of a painting within a painting is a testimony to the author's artistic ingenuity and virtuosity.¹¹²

111 In his catalogue, Kastelic indeed defines it as an open emblem, but his classification is not entirely accurate (2001, 170).

112 The conceptual premise for such a structure may be the introductory miniature with the Apotheosis of Ljubljana, which similarly combines the framed emblematic image with inscriptions and the allegorical scene associated with it.

In the period between Gallenfels's entry page and the miniature of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini (TM, fol. 244r), when we come across the first mature form of the open emblem developed by Simon Thaddeus Grachower, the commissioning members opted for what were more or less "traditionally" designed entry pages. The sole deviation from the established scheme in this period is the extraordinary illumination commissioned by the Carniolan jurist Johann Baptist Preschern (TM, fol. 215r). What radically sets it apart from the rest in the Ljubljana *Album* is that it has no usual emblematic image with the symbolic message.¹¹³ A pair of naked and shackled Turks, bowed down by the weight of the commissioning member's coat of arms, are painted in a very naturalistic style and do not belong to the world of allegories. Coupled with the confiscated weapons and military banners, they *pars pro toto* represent the defeated Turkish Army. Perhaps they indeed allude to the defeat of the Turkish forces and the signing of the Treaty of Požarevac,¹¹⁴ as suggested by Kastelic (2001, 184), even though there is no evidence to prove this. In light of the conceptual homogeneity characteristic of the emblems in the *Album*, the composition is very unusual because the motif of the vanquished Turks cannot be directly linked to the commissioning academician. Preschern had never been engaged in a battle: not as a soldier, let alone as a military commander. He was in civil service, a doctor in juridical science, and a "sworn-in lawyer of the Carniolan estates" as the *Dismas Chronicle* informs us (TM, fol. 215v). Equally enigmatic seems to be the connection between the principles of St. Dismas Society and the chained Turkish captives which so far remains without a convincing explanation.

As already noted, the first mature form of the open emblem can only be found on Coppini's entry folio, with its illumination conceived as a full-page panel painting and appearing as a realistic scene from a landscape,

113 Kastelic even argues that this is "a miniature without an emblem" (2001, 184).

114 The Treaty of Požarevac was concluded on July 21st, 1718, between the Ottoman Empire on one hand and the Habsburg Monarchy and the Venetian Republic on the other after the Austrian troops, led by Prince Eugene of Savoie, defeated the Turkish Army in the Battle of Petrovaradin in 1716 and seized Belgrade the year after. This marked the end of the Turkish expansion into Central Europe, and the passing of imminent danger also brought relief to Carniola.

into which the artist places a heavily armed officer (see the image on p. 156). Grachower renders the depiction even more compelling by drawing a real architecture—Coppini's Lisičje manor house near Škofljica, which he copied from an illustration in Valvasor's *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain* (XI, 173). However, as becomes immediately clear, the scene has an allegorical value, because the soldier standing in front of the ornate stone base displaying the commissioning member's coat of arms is wrestling a lion while stomping on the mythical basilisk with its right foot. Slightly in the background, a dragon and a serpent are fleeing for their lives. Appearing in the well-known iconographic motif of Christ in Triumph, the four animals suggest that this is a liberal interpretation of the aforementioned Christological motif, in which the soldier embodies the ideal soldier of Christ—*miles christianus*.¹¹⁵ The commissioning member's motto on the inscription banner, held by the winged genius, and the academic nickname written on the inner side of the genius's shield leave no doubt that this is indeed an emblematic image. Such interpretation is further confirmed by the clever inclusion of the symbol of St. Dismas Society in no fewer than three places: the large red heart attached to the officer's fur cap, as well as his military uniform and his bag.

In Grachower's miniatures, the skill of setting the emblematic elements in the masterly painted landscape reveals his interest in the real topographic vistas. They often include the commissioning member's mansion, castle, or manor, regularly based on the illustrations in Valvasor. The painter's keen eye for landscape finds its expression as much in the classical emblems with the image encased in a decorative cartouche as it does in the open emblems offering more opportunities for painting panoramic landscapes. In terms of iconographic interpretation, the open emblem is especially interesting: Grachower combines landscape and symbolic elements in a way that adds to the narrativity and complexity of the emblem. Sometimes he includes figures and minor narrative scenes which, at the first glance, may be understood as mere visual additions with no allegorical value. Or he inserts allegorical figures that outwardly appear not to be directly related to the emblematic message. However, it generally turns out that just the opposite is true: the author skillfully

uses them to complete the emblem's allegorical content. Grachower, who was familiar with the notion that a good emblem should be intriguing, even goes a step further: occasionally he depicts the personifications without traditional attributes, and place them in the composition in a way which does not necessarily reveal their allegorical character. Consequently, this may render the iconographic interpretation of individual emblems rather difficult.¹¹⁶

The open emblem type appealed to Grachower, who used it on several occasions. His creative approach (as described above) often goes well beyond the painter's contribution to the emblem, as he himself also makes known—in addition to showing the usual *Grachower pinxit* signature, quite a few of his miniatures inform the viewer that he also conceptualized the painting (*Grachower invenit*). Grachower and his pupils—a few emblems are also believed to have been painted by his daughter Maria Nicolaia Grachower (Cevc, 2001, 111)—established a “standard” typology of entry pages in the *Album*: the predominant type are emblems drawing on the traditional tripartite structure conceptualized by Thalnitscher, with examples of open emblems interspersed among them. The selection of one or the other form was mainly influenced by the wishes of the member who commissioned it.

In addition to the prevailing types of emblems, a few entry pages in the mid-eighteenth century were characterized by a radical departure from the existing tradition in both typological conception and visual expression. The first example is the already mentioned emblem of Leopold Christoph Radics (TM, fol. 343r) from 1754, whose entry folio is artistically rather modest: in the upper section of the miniature, we see a small piece of paper with the emblem image and the motto, painted illusionistically as though waxed to the leaf in the book. The memento mori still life is a pen-and-ink drawing, and the typology of letters further accentuates the impression that the leaf has been cut out of a printed emblem book and glued into the chronicle. Occupying the lower

115 For the iconographic explanation of the emblem, see pp. 163–165.

116 The above-mentioned characteristics are also observed in emblems where the *pictura* is encased in the cartouche. Because in such cases the personifications are not directly included in the emblematic message but merely complement it, the interpretation of their role is less problematic for the purposes of iconographic analysis.

and the dove.) A striking deviation that we have yet to find an explanation for is the fact that the emblem has no motto and instead boasts as many as five academic nicknames associated with the content of its image.



Joseph Hübner, Entry page of Anton Medard von Wiederkher, 1770, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1 fol. 383r.

The main academic nickname, *Der Wiederkehrende* (The Returning One) clearly alludes to the commissioning member's family name Wiederkher (German for 'come back' or 'return'). It is written on the escutcheon, incorporated into the central and largest emblematic image presenting the return of the prodigal son. The other four—*Der Verachtete* (The Despised One), *Der Geplagte* (The Suffering One), *Der Friedliebende* (The Peaceful One), and *Der sich Erneuerende* (The Recovering One)—refer to the parable of the Prodigal Son. The nickname 'The Despised One' is displayed next to the image of the son begging, 'The Suffering One' next to Job on the pile of manure, 'The Peaceful One' is placed

next to Noah's Ark, and the phoenix is accompanied by the nickname 'The Recovering One.' This is clearly an example of not only departing from the basic design of the entry page, but also of dismantling the structure of the emblem and of disregarding the stipulation that every member of the St. Dismas Society select a (single) academic nickname and motto.

Changes to the structure of late entries in the *Album* grow increasingly apparent, culminating on the pages of Baron Vincenc Argento (TM, fol. 387r) and Count Maria Joseph Ursini-Blagaj (TM, fol. 389r) from 1801, marking the very last entries in *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*. Each folio features only a large family coat of arms, completed by the commissioning member's name and the date of admission. Not only is the emblematic image missing, but there is also no indication of the member's academic nickname and motto. On the top margin of Baron Argento's entry page, we can read the words of the psalmist, *Dominus pars hereditatis meae et calicis mei; tu es qui restitues hereditatem meam mihi*,¹¹⁹ which may be interpreted as a variant of the academic motto. However, in the absence of the emblematic image and academic nickname the message of the citation is not entirely clear. The entry page of Count Ursini-Blagaj contains no emblematic inscription, only the commissioning member's name below the coat of arms and the information that he was admitted into the Noble Society of St. Dismas on June 12th, 1801. The entries of Baron Argento and Count Ursini-Blagaj are the last illustrated pages in the *Theater of Memory*, while the series of emblems ends earlier on in 1800, with the entry folio of Baron Franz Xavier Lichtenberg-Janeschitsch (TM, fol. 385r).

119 *The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot* (Ps 16,5–6). The English translation of the Bible passage is taken from the Authorized King James Version.

2 Animals in Emblematics and Their Role in the Miniatures in the Ljubljana Album

2.1 Animals in Emblematics—Main Sources and Interconnected Traditions

A quick overview of the most popular emblem books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows that animal motifs featured prominently and that in many emblem collections they by far outnumbered other motifs.¹²⁰ There are also quite a number of emblem books containing exclusively animal motifs. The most influential of these were three volumes from the series of emblems *Symbolorum et emblematorum*, designed by the Nuremberg physician, naturalist, and polymath Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–1598), the son of the great German humanist of the same name. Each volume contains a hundred emblems that the author arranged in accordance with the established zoological classification of his day: four-legged animals (*Symbolorum et emblematorum ex animalibus quadrupedibus*), birds and insects (*Symbolorum et emblematorum ex volatilibus et insectis*), and fish and reptiles (*Symbolorum et emblematorum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus*).¹²¹ He

thus created a very comprehensive corpus of emblems with animal motifs that was of invaluable importance for the occurrence of animals in emblematics and the development of the early modern iconography of animals.

Although Camerarius' work is remarkable in every regard, it also ought to be understood as the result of the long development of emblem books, in which authors devoted particularly close attention to animals. Andrea Alciato had already demonstrated that animal symbolism could serve as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the design of emblems: in the first edition of *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg 1531) containing 104 emblems, animals appear in more than half, most often as the key bearers of the emblematic message. The ratio remains the same even in subsequent editions, in which more emblems appear, and animals usually feature in over half of the emblems.¹²² Based on the popularity of Alciato's book—which went through as many as 170 editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was translated into thirty languages—it is understandable why the role of animals in emblematics was so great (Enekel and Smith, 2017, 2). Enthusiasm over animal symbolism is well illustrated in early emblem books produced in France, such as Guillaume de La Perrière's *Theatre des bons engins* (Paris 1540, but already written in 1535–1536)¹²³

120 When discussing animals in emblems, it should be borne in mind that, in accordance with the established iconographic tradition, they also include mythical animals, such as the dragon, basilisk, griffon, phoenix and unicorn, as well as hybrid mythological beings like sirens, tritons, harpies, centaurs, sphinxes, etc.

121 The series of emblems is composed of three volumes with animal emblems and a volume with plant emblems. In the 1590s, Camerarius published them in Nuremberg, and the fourth volume was released posthumously in 1604 in the redaction of his son Ludwig Camerarius. Every volume contains a hundred emblems: *Symbolorum et emblematorum ex re herbaria desumptorum centuria una collecta a Joachimo Camerario* (1590), *Symbolorum et emblematorum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera collecta a Joachimo Camerario* (1595), *Symbolorum et emblematorum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia collecta a Joachimo Camerario* (1596), and *Symbolorum et emblematorum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumptorum centuria quarta* (1604). In the subsequent editions, the four volumes were most often combined in a single book (for the first time in 1605 in the Nuremberg edition, edited by the author's son Ludwig Camerarius: *Symbolorum et Emblematorum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera collecta* ...). In 1671, all the volumes were translated into German (Joachim Camerarius, *Vier Hundert Wahl-Sprüche und*

Sinnen-Bilder durch welche beygebracht und aussgelegt werden, die angeborne Eigenschafften, wie auch lustige Historien, Mainz 1671). There is also a modern edition of all four volumes with the introduction and register available: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata (Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604). Mit Einführung und Registern hrsg. von Wolfgang Harms und Ulla-Britta Kuechen. Teil 1: Centuria I, II, III. Teil 2: Centuria IV, Einführung und Register*, Akademische Druck, Graz 1986–1988. In 2009, a slightly lesser-known manuscript of Camerarius' emblems, kept by the Mainz City Library (Handschrift II/366), was published under the title *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra: Joachim Camerarius, Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra. Die handschriftlichen Embleme von 1587 hg. und kommentiert von Wolfgang Harms und Gilbert Hess*, Tübingen 2009.

122 On Alciato and the role of animals in his emblems, see especially: Andenmatten, 2017.

123 Animals feature in forty-five out of a hundred emblems.

and Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatographie* (Paris 1540).¹²⁴ In the mid-sixteenth century, the first two books fully dedicated to animals were published in France: *Décades de la description, forme, et vertu naturelle des animaux* by Barthélemy Aneau (Lyon 1549)¹²⁵ and *Le livre de la description des animaux, contenant blason des oyseaux* by Guillaume Guérout (Lyon 1550), which includes only birds. In the second half of the sixteenth century, books of this kind became fashionable throughout Europe. Nicolaus Reusner dedicated an entire volume of his collection *Emblemata partim ethica et physica, partim vero historica et hieroglyphica* (Frankfurt am Main 1581) to animals. The volume *Emblemata physica* contains forty emblems, in which Reusner, interestingly, focused on existing animal species, without including mythological creatures as most of his predecessors did. Many animals are also encountered in *Emblemata* by Joannes Sambucus (Antwerp 1564) and *Emblemata* by Hadrian Junius (Antwerp 1565).

The frequent appearance of animals in emblems is further demonstrated by the fact that Filippo Picinelli devoted by far the most attention to animals in his monumental encyclopedia of emblems, *Mundus Symbolicus*, which covers a wide range of fields, from the structure of the universe, celestial bodies, elements and natural phenomena to symbolically significant precious stones, plants, animals, and a variety of tools, musical instruments, etc., from humans and parts of human bodies and internal organs to a list of Biblical figures, heroes of classical mythology, and so on. His corpus of emblems is divided into twenty-five volumes and comprises more than a thousand pages, in which every major chapter constitutes a complete thematic section: the first volume, for example, covers celestial bodies, cosmological notions, zodiac signs, etc. The second volume discusses the iconography of the four elements (fire, air, water, earth) and related notions (flame, smoke, ash, clouds, fog, rain, sea, rivers, wells, mountains, valleys, fields, etc.). The third volume comprises various man-related areas, and so on. Plants and animals are the only area to which the author dedicates several volumes: plants are covered in three volumes (IX–XI) and animals in five

(IV–VIII). To express this ratio in pages: the twenty-five volumes comprise a total of 1,014 pages, of which no fewer than 274 are devoted to animals. Hybrid mythological beings, usually considered part of the animal realm, are treated in the third volume alongside man.¹²⁶

Regarding the sources that Alciato and early writers of emblem books used for designing animal emblems, text analysis reveals that they preferred to draw from classical works. These were most often natural history records, particularly Aristoteles' *History of Animals* (*Historia animalium*)¹²⁷ and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (*Naturalis historia*).¹²⁸ Almost equally important sources were the authors of literary works addressing topics from classic mythology and mythological compendiums, most notably Ovid, followed by Homer and Vergil. The most prominent authors of encyclopedic mythological writings were Pseudo-Apollodorus, Fulgentius the Mythographer, and Hyginus the Mythographer. An outstandingly popular source of inspiration were Aesop's fables (Aesop, Phaedrus, and Babrius), which experienced a real revival in the Renaissance.¹²⁹ The epigrams collected in the compendium *Greek Anthology* (*Anthologia Graeca*) were also highly valued, along with various animal-based proverbs and sayings.¹³⁰ These were mostly familiar to

126 This scope applied to the Latin edition: *Mundus symbolicus: in emblematum universitate formatus... Latinum tractatus a R. D. Augustino Erath*, Cologne 1681 (and subsequent editions). Picinelli's encyclopedia of emblems was first published in Italian: *Mondo simbolico: o sia università d'imprese scelte, spiegate, ed'illustrate con sentenze...*, Milan 1653.

127 In accordance with the established tradition, works in Greek, such as Aristotle's *Tōn peri tā zōia istorion*, are usually stated in Latin. Because in both the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, Latin translations were by far the most frequently used, the authors cited Latin texts.

128 Other most cited authors who wrote about animals and their traits were Plutarch (*Moralia*, XII), Aelian (*De natura animalium*), and Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*). Because this study only mentions Pliny the Elder, the name is hitherto abbreviated to Pliny in accordance with the tradition. See: "Bibliography."

129 See the chapter: "Emblem Books and the Tradition of Aesop's Fables."

130 Alciato rested heavily on Planudes' redaction of *Greek Anthology*, which he also translated into Latin while compiling his book of emblems (the translated parts were published as *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine versa, ex septem epigrammatum Graecorum libris* (Basel 1529)). As many as thirty-one emblems in the first edition of *Emblematum liber* derive from the epigrams that Alciato translated from the Greek collection (Daly, 1998, 9–12).

124 The book contains a hundred emblems, in forty of which animals are the bearers of the emblematic message.

125 Many animals also appear in Barthélemy Aneau's *Picta poesis* (Lyon 1552), in which as many as half of a hundred emblems are animal-based.

the authors of emblems through Erasmus of Rotterdam's redaction. His *Adagia* was the most extensive and by far the most influential Renaissance collection of ancient proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms, to which he further added many new ones.¹³¹ Erasmus's *Adagia* was often consulted by Alciato and many subsequent authors.¹³² The crucial source in animal allegory is *Physiologus*, especially its Greek redaction, traditionally attributed to Bishop Epiphanius of Constantia, which was widely accessible during the Renaissance period.¹³³ The Church Fathers' writings on animal allegory were also of great importance, whereby some early Fathers influenced the *Physiologus* and others drew inspiration from it or polemicized with it. The use of medieval natural history writings, encyclopedias, bestiaries, various theological and moral-didactic treatises, as well as sermon manuals (the so-called *exempla*) only became more frequent towards the end of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century. During that period, the influence of Renaissance natural history also grew, primarily of the great zoological compendiums produced by Conrad Gessner and Ulisse Aldrovandi (see the chapter: "Emblems and the Renaissance Natural History").

In addition to the written sources above, we should not forget that, from the very beginning, late medieval heraldry had also importantly marked the presence and significance of animals in emblematics. According to some theories, it was even paramount to its development. The flourishing of emblems and impresas was presumably closely linked to noble heraldic devices and coats of arms. Paolo Giovio wrote that Italian impresas

developed from French heraldic devices combining a nobleman's heraldic symbol and motto (*Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*, Rome 1555, 6–7). Today, it is clear that the genesis of emblems was not as straightforward as described by Giovio and that many other factors (especially a fascination with ancient epigrammatics) also played a pivotal role.¹³⁴ However, the authors of emblems undoubtedly drew inspiration from the coats of arms and heraldic devices of the European nobility and directly transferred the heraldic animals with their symbolic meaning into the emblems of the persons who commissioned them or whom they were intended for. This may be observed by comparing coats of arms and heraldic devices of noblemen and their emblems in emblem books, in addition to which the authors of such books often pointed to the link between heraldry and emblems in their prefaces or introductory explanations.¹³⁵ The close relationship between emblems and heraldry is perhaps most directly reflected in Jacobus Typotius' famous book of emblems, which used the noble heraldic devices collected by Octavio de Strada, the court antiquarian and custodian of the museum collection of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. The title *Symbola divina & humana pontificum imperatorum regum: ex musaeo Octavii de Strada, civis Romani. Accessit brevis & facilis isagoge Jacobi Typotii* clearly indicates where the material for the book came from, and the author states that he merely added explanations to the images with mottos. Yet, his contribution to the development of emblematics was far from negligible, as he converted noble heraldic devices into tripartite emblems, and his work (also thanks to quality engravings by Aegidius

131 The collection of sayings was compiled over a number of years: the first edition, titled *Collectanea Adagiorum* and containing 820 sayings, was published in Paris in 1500; the second edition, *Adagiorum chiliades tres ac centuriae fere totidem*, with 3260 sayings, was released in Venice in 1508, and the edition of 1533 (Venice) contains no fewer than 4151 sayings. The modern Latin–German edition is published in Erasmus's selected works (Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 7, Darmstadt 1972).

132 On Alciato and Erasmus, see: Woods Callahan, 1979, 183–196.

133 The Greek redaction of *Physiologus*, the so-called *Physiologus of St. Epiphanius*, along with its Latin translation and commentary by Gonzalo Ponce de Leon (*Sancti Patris Nostri Epiphani ad Physiologum*, Rome 1587), went through several editions (Antwerp 1588, Rome 1601 and 1612, Paris 1621). It is also included in the editions of Epiphanius' collected works.

134 Giovio was, not least, also mistaken in thinking that heraldic devices only made their way into Italy with the military attack mounted by the French king Charles VIII in 1494. They could be found in various parts of the Apennine Peninsula at least in the late fourteenth century and were already widespread by the fifteenth century, also beginning to feature in fine art. A particularly beautiful example of small sculpture is Pisanello's medals often displaying allegorical animal motifs, completed with a brief adage. See: Pastoureau, 1983, III, 702–705.

135 Among the seventeenth-century authors, this was done particularly by Claude-François Menestrier, a French theorist of symbolic images and renowned heraldist, in the introductions to his books of emblems *L'Art des emblèmes* (Paris 1662) and *L'art des emblèmes, où s'enseigne la morale par les figures de la fable, de l'histoire, & de la nature* (Paris 1684) as well as in several other works, such as *La véritable art du blason* (Lyon 1659), *La philosophie des images* (Paris 1682), and *La philosophie des images énigmatiques* (Lyon 1694).

Sadeler the Elder) became one of the most influential books of emblems in Central Europe. Although noble heraldic devices were not identical to coats of arms, the motto—and even more often the artistic elements—also appeared on the owner’s coat of arms, establishing a direct link with heraldry in the proper sense of the term. The almost organic connection between heraldry and emblematics was especially characteristic of territories under the rule of the House of Habsburg, which actively incorporated emblems into its early modern political and family iconography. This process reached one of its pinnacles at the court of Emperor Rudolf II, where Typotius was also active.

For the understanding of animals in emblematics and their role from an artistic point of view, noble coats of arms and heraldic devices are an important source since they include a rich variety of animal depictions. Heraldic animals, with their established symbolism and relatively standardized artistic patterns resting on visual recognizability, refined composition, concise visual narrative and clear message, provided a convenient starting point for the designers of emblematic images. Apart from heraldic motifs, the artistic models often used were ancient coins, royal medals, and Roman glyptics, as well as Renaissance medals and commemorative coins, largely inspired by the Greco-Roman tradition. On the other hand, due to their more complex structure, composition, and sheer size, monumental sculptures and paintings served much less frequently as sources for animal depictions in emblems. Their influence on emblematics was most often indirect, conveyed through the descriptions of famous works of Classical Antiquity mentioned in the textual part of the emblem that the illustrator aimed to reproduce in line with his understanding and conceptions. This could lead to misinterpretations, already encountered in the incunabulum of Renaissance emblematics. The example most often cited in professional literature is that of Alciato’s emblem featuring Venus with one foot resting on a tortoise (Alc. 1531, F1v). Alciato alluded to Phidias’ statue at the Temple of Venus in Elis, mentioned by Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, VI, 25, 1) and Plutarch in his *Advice to Bride and Groom* (*Moralia*, II, 142). However, unlike Pausanias, who merely described the statue, Plutarch also explained it as an image of the ideal wife who takes care of home and never leaves the house like

a tortoise while remaining quiet and submitting to her husband. Alciato derived the emblematic message from Plutarch’s interpretation and summarized it in the motto: *Mulieris famam, non formam vulgatam esse oportere* (A woman’s reputation, not her beauty, should be known to the world.). The woodcutter obviously misunderstood the wording of the epigram, which explicitly mentioned a tortoise, and instead depicted a snail. By doing so, he inadvertently distorted the idea of Phidias’ statue and spoiled the relationship between the textual and pictorial part of the emblem.¹³⁶

To simplify somewhat, it could be said that three comprehensive and interrelated areas were key to the occurrence, role, and significance of animals in emblematics:

- Renaissance zoology with its rich ancient heritage, a variety of natural history records in the broadest sense of the term (by including interesting facts about animals and wide-ranging cultural observations, by citing allegorical meanings and established symbolic contents), the popularity of menageries and the emergence of the first zoological gardens, natural history collections as part of the so-called cabinets of curiosities, Renaissance zoological illustrations and realistic depiction of animals in other artistic media related to Renaissance zoology;
- literary tradition—diverse genres and thematic types where animals appear in an allegorical role; by far the most important place was occupied by Aesop’s fables which were passed down from Antiquity up to the Early Modern Period;
- medieval and early modern heraldry (together with noble heraldic devices, coins, commemorative coins, medals, and small sculptures containing heraldic elements and symbolic depictions of animals).

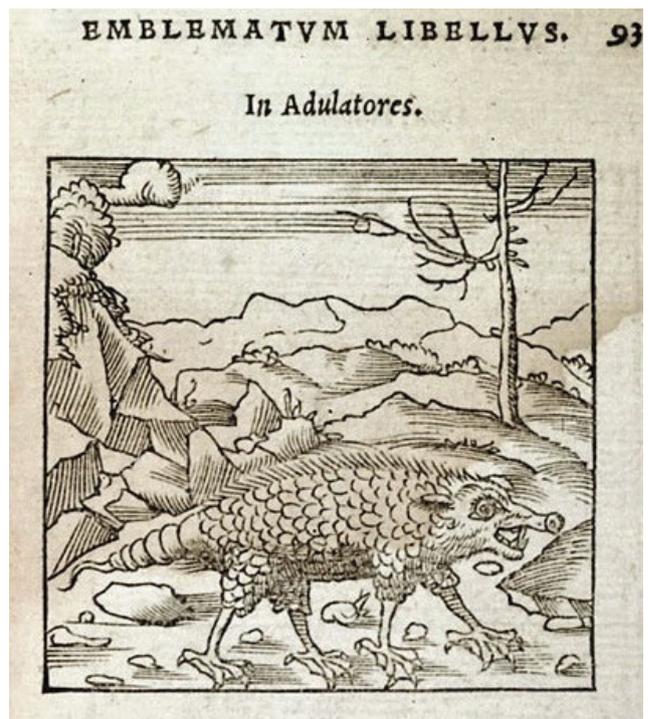
¹³⁶ The error in the illustration is corrected in the Paris edition of 1534 and subsequent editions. A different problem concerning the illustrator’s interpretation, which follows the description of the artwork, is posed by an emblem featuring the tombstone of the famous courtesan Laida of Corinth with a carved lioness extending her paw towards a goat or an ibex. In some editions (e.g., Chrestien Wechel, Paris 1534, 29, and subsequent editions of the same publisher), the illustrator (probably Mercure Jollat) did not have a correct visual idea of the relief on the stone sarcophagus, depicting the lioness and the ibex as alive and standing in front of the stone altar slab on which lies the courtesan’s skeleton.

The selection of sources is, of course, significantly broader. In addition to those in which animals play an important role, written sources include all records mentioning animals in different contexts, such as proverbs, sayings, fragments of ceremonial speeches and sermons. We should also not forget the rich oral tradition (animals in folk poetry and storytelling, carnival tradition, children's games, etc.), which has remained almost completely unexplored as regards emblematics. Artistic examples are primarily linked to manuscript illumination and book illustration; apart from depictions in bestiaries and natural history books, the impact of the illustrated collections of Aesop's fables as well as popular literary works, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, should also be highlighted. Individual sculptural works (especially reliefs) with animal motifs also served as a source of inspiration, while the influence of panel and wall painting was rather modest.

With respect to emblematic images, the authors paid little attention to the veristic representation of animals until the late sixteenth century. Depictions were quite rudimentary and stylized; it was essential that the viewer recognized the animal. The creators of emblematic images had no major difficulties depicting European species and the most familiar exotic ones, such as the lion, cheetah, monkey, elephant, camel, crocodile, and ostrich. The problem arose with less familiar animal species (e.g., the hippopotamus, hyena, or chameleon), where we encounter rather unusual depictions that sometimes have little in common with the animal's actual appearance.

This is well illustrated by the woodcut of a chameleon in the early editions of Alciato's emblems, depicting a strange creature that looks like a fantasy hybrid between a lizard and a hedgehog (e.g., *Emblematum libellus*, Paris 1534, F7r; *Livret des emblemes*, Paris 1536, M7v; *Emblematum libellus*, Paris 1542, N2v; *Los emblemas*, Lyon 1549, H3v). The fantasy image was finally replaced by a more realistic depiction of the chameleon in the bilingual edition (*Emblemata/Les Emblemes*, Paris 1584, embl. 53), suggesting that the woodcutter was familiar with the illustration in Gessner's *Historiae animalium*.¹³⁷ The more veristic approach was established in its mature form by Joachim Camerarius,

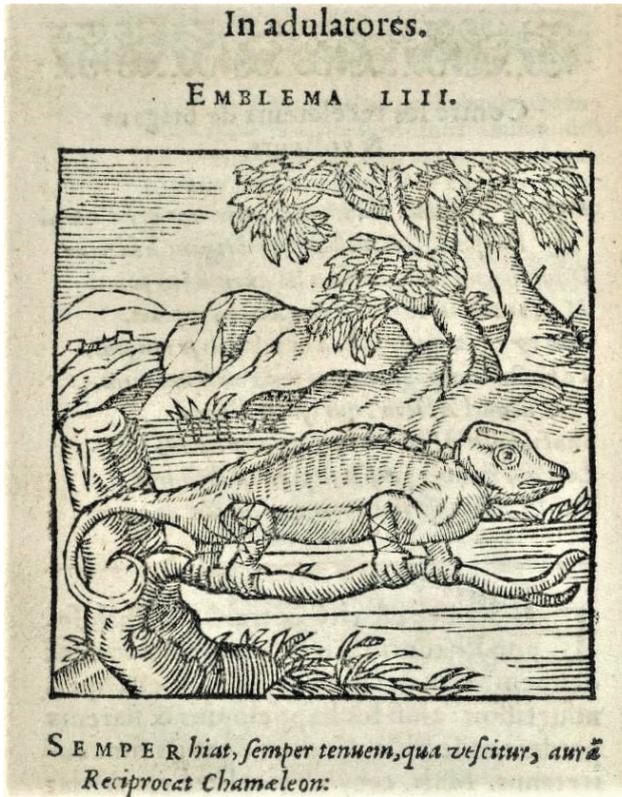
¹³⁷ On the depictions of the chameleon in emblem books, see: Enenkel, 2018, 29–38.



Emblem with a chameleon (detail), Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus*, Paris 1534, 93.



Emblem with a chameleon (detail), Andrea Alciato, *Liber emblematum/Kunstbuch*, Frankfurt am Main 1567, 106.



Emblem with a chameleon (detail), Andrea Alciato, Emblemata/Les Emblemes, Paris 1584, emblem 53.

who set new standards for the depiction of animals in emblem books. The compelling realism of his illustrations is understandable, given that he was a close friend of Conrad Gessner, who provided him with accurate descriptions and, in most cases, images of the selected animal species.

Iconographic analysis of animal motifs in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle* shows that (as for emblematics in general) the three major areas mentioned above were of paramount importance and that the influence of Renaissance natural history and fables was predominantly indirect—i.e., borrowed from the most widespread emblem books. This is understandable given the late origin of the *Ljubljana Album*. In the more than 150 years that separated the early emblem books from the first emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*, emblematics had already absorbed the influences of the above-mentioned areas, with the process of reception being at its most intensive in the late sixteenth century. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the realistic rendition of animals characteristic of miniatures in the *Ljubljana*



The chameleon, Conrad Gessner, Historiae animalium, Zurich 1554, Lib. II, 3.

manuscript had already prevailed both in emblem books and the illustrated collections of fables (the turning point occurred with the remarkable etchings produced by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder for the book *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*).¹³⁸ The same did not hold for heraldry. Due to the specifics of the *Album*, where entries not only include but also strongly highlight the member's coat of arms, the interaction between the heraldic bearings and the emblem is direct and iconographically formative. The academicians' heraldic symbols played a constitutive role in the design of their emblems. Moreover, judging from the chronology of entries, their role increased over the decades. The great importance that heraldry had in the miniatures of the *Ljubljana Theater of Memory* was

138 See the chapter: "Emblem Books and the Tradition of Aesop's Fables."

further reflected in the presentation of animals in the emblematic images. After the fairly pronounced influence of heraldic patterns in the depiction of animals in the early period, marked by Andreas Trost and his pupils, Grachower introduced a visible shift by freeing the emblematic animals from heraldic rigidity and depicting them much more naturally and vividly. At the same time, a shift also occurred in the depiction of heraldic animals, which were painted with more realism.

2.1.1 Emblems and Renaissance Natural History

Among natural history sources, Renaissance zoology (which gradually established itself as a scientific discipline in the Early Modern Period) is pivotal for understanding the role and significance of animals in emblematics. By incorporating numerous cultural and anthropological aspects due to its affiliation with the tradition of ancient and medieval natural history, it appealed to a wide circle of intellectuals and, of course, creators of emblems. An overview of early modern emblem books shows that their authors were, for the most part, very familiar with the widely distributed writings in the field, particularly with the major zoological inventories by Conrad Gessner and Ulisse Aldrovandi. Renaissance zoologists possessed an admirable knowledge of early (not necessarily natural-historical) writings about animals, which conveyed important information about the understanding of animals and their allegorical value in a variety of cultural environments. Early modern authors expanded the old knowledge with new findings obtained through research and observation, and added chapters on animals unknown to ancient and medieval writers. Major discoveries overseas in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (most notably of America and Oceania) introduced Europeans to a multitude of new animal species. Regardless of their scientific orientation in terms of modern zoology, nearly all Renaissance naturalists also devoted ample attention to cultural topics, including the newly emerging ones. Gessner and Aldrovandi, the leading early modern zoologists, who were well acquainted with Alciato and several other authors of emblem books, cited the allegorical meanings of animals that had been developed precisely within the framework of emblematics.

In their explanations of the symbolic meanings of animals, early researchers into Renaissance emblematics highlighted the ancient and medieval sources that the writers of emblematic books most commonly used.¹³⁹ More recent studies point to the importance of publications in Renaissance zoology, which rapidly grew in prominence during the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁰ The reasons for this were usually purely pragmatic, as Renaissance zoological surveys spared the authors of emblem books an enormous amount of time and work. When searching for the symbolic meanings of selected animals, they did not need to sift through the tomes of Aristotle, Plutarch, or Pliny or through the records of the Church Fathers and medieval scholars. Instead, they found their knowledge, opinions, and explanations in a modern natural history handbook, most often meticulously completed with the citation of the author, volume, and chapter. In Gessner's *Historiae animalium* (1551–1587),¹⁴¹ the

139 Alciato and many other early writers of emblem books did not cite their sources. This practice was only established in the second half of the sixteenth century, and even then, it most often involved a general reference to the author rather than a precise citation. The systematic citation of sources as a regular practice was introduced in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, in Filippo Picinelli's great compendium of emblems, *Mundus Symbolicus*. Referencing made by Renaissance authors can be misleading for the understanding of sources they used. This is also well illustrated in the example of Camerarius, who in his explanations of emblems invoked the names of distinguished ancient authors while only occasionally mentioning Conrad Gessner, from whom he in fact obtained most information (Enenkel, 2018, 333–334, 341–342).

140 Especially the two-volume studies, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith: *Zoology in Early Modern Culture*, Brill, Leiden 2014; *Emblems in the Natural World*, Brill, Leiden 2017. The iconography of animals in emblematics and the importance of Renaissance natural history for its development also became an increasingly frequent topic in specialized academic journals, such as *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, and online articles on emblematic research (see: "Bibliography").

141 The work was published by the Christopher Froschauer publishing house in Zurich in the following five volumes: *Liber I. De Quadrupedibus viviparis* (1551), *Liber II. Quadrupedibus oviparis* (1554), *Liber III. qui est de avium natura* (1555), *De piscibus et aquatilibus omnibus libelli* (1556). The incomplete volume on serpents and scorpions (*Liber V. qui est de serpentium natura*) was released posthumously in 1587. The illustrations were by various artists, the most prominent (and the only one that Gessner mentioned by name) being Lukas Schan from Strasbourg. Gessner also used whatever existing illustrations he deemed good enough, and he even created many drawings himself.

first major compendium of early modern zoology, animals are systematically classified into species, described in detail, and presented with quality woodcut illustrations. His volume further includes a list of all relevant records from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period, along with the allegorical meanings of animals, the mythological context, Christian interpretation, folk beliefs, and so on. Adopting such an approach, Renaissance zoologists compiled extensive bodies of knowledge about animals and treasure-troves of iconographic data invaluable for the authors of emblem books. However, emblematics was also distinctly characterized by illustrations published in contemporary zoological publications. Many authors of emblematic images drew inspiration from the exquisite illustrations and quite often copied them almost exactly. The remarkable woodcuts in Gessner's animal encyclopedia demonstrably contributed to its popularization, as is also confirmed by the fact that in 1560 Gessner produced two commercially very successful albums of illustrations (*Icones animalium quadrupedum viviparorum et oviparorum* and *Icones avium omnium*, both Christopher Forschauer, Zurich).¹⁴² The abridged editions of his books on birds, mammals, and fish in German, all released by the same publisher, were also richly illustrated: *Vogelbuch* (1557), *Thierbuch* (1563), and *Fischbuch* (1563). Animal woodcuts soon became iconic—so much so that copies of them made their way into illustrated prints from a wide variety of fields.

There is no need to devote too many words to the overall impact that Gessner's work had on emblematics. Suffice it to remember that Joachim Camerarius, the creator of the widest corpus of animal emblems, was his close friend and hence thoroughly acquainted with his work. Gessner's books provided Camerarius with many symbolic meanings of animals which he included in his emblems. Moreover, the depictions of animals in the emblematic images that Johann Siebmacher cut for him also imitated the illustrations in *Historiae animalium*. It should further be emphasized that Gessner had a lively interest in emblematics and wrote that the

records on animal characteristics could serve as a lesson and an example to people (Gessner, *Historia piscium*, 1558, fol. a3v), which was one of the most important objectives of emblem books (Hendriks, 2017, 184–226). The monumental collection *Historiae animalium* had a tremendous impact on further development of early modern natural science. It was extremely popular among scholars in various fields, and it was also known among the Carniolan *Academici Uniti*.¹⁴³

Gessner's zoological encyclopedia was continued and expanded by the Bologna-based naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who inventoried all the existing knowledge about animals in nine thick volumes.¹⁴⁴ Many of his descriptions are more precise and comprehensive, and he also included new animal species that cannot be found in Gessner's work. Aldrovandi's illustrations are more numerous and of higher quality, and there is more emphasis on anatomy and observation in nature.¹⁴⁵ With regard to the influence of Aldrovandi's works on animal iconography, it is also important that he was even more systematic in citing ancient and medieval writings than Gessner; he paid more attention to allegorical content and included more Renaissance hieroglyphics and emblematics. His chapters on iconographically significant animals are structured in a way that the discussion on natural scientific aspects is followed by systematically organized subchapters on their symbolism and allegorical meanings, topics featured in historical records, mythology,

143 Valvasor already had all four of Gessner's volumes on animals in his library, both in the original Latin edition and the subsequent German edition (BV, 847 and 850).

144 Aldrovandi drew from Gessner and added new findings. His books also feature a number of illustrations and excellent anatomical studies. Four volumes on animals were published in his life time and five posthumously: *Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII* (Bologna 1599), *Ornithologiae tomus alter cum indice copiosissimo* (Bologna 1600), *De animalibus insectis libri septem, cum singulorum iconibus ad vivum expressis* (Bologna 1602), *Ornithologiae tomus tertius, ac postremus* (Bologna 1603), *De reliquis animalibus exanguibus libri quatuor* (Bologna 1606), *De piscibus libri V* (Bologna 1613), *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia* (Bologna 1621), *De quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis libri tres, et de quadrupedibus digitatis oviparis libri duo* (Bologna 1637), *Serpentum, et draconum historiae libri duo* (Bologna 1640), and *Monstrorum historia cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bologna 1642); see "Bibliography."

145 On Gessner and Aldrovandi, especially about zoological illustrations, see: Fischel, 2009.

142 For an overview of all the editions of Gessner's *Historia animalium*, see: Wellisch, 1975, 151–247. On the illustrations in Gessner's books, see: Fischel, 2010, 147–164; Kusakawa, 2010, 303–328.

literature (especially fables), visual art, emblematics, and hieroglyphics, Christian symbolism, and so on.¹⁴⁶

146 In the chapter on horses, the author first addresses all the natural historical aspects and then adds a subchapter on the sympathy and antipathy that horses feel towards other animal species (*Sympathia. Antipathia*), in which he also draws attention to the cultural points of interest. He proceeds with a series of other subchapters, the titles of which eloquently announce the content that may be of iconographic interest: the horse as an omen, an apparition in a dream, and as a sacrificial offering (*Omina. Somnia. Ostenta. Prodigia*); compelling facts about horses in historical records (*Historica*); a special section dedicated to records on the horses that were, in one way or another, involved in the death of known personalities (*Ab equis occisi*); and a reflection on the temperament of horses, which he (just like people) divides into four groups—choleric, sanguine, melancholic, and phlegmatic (*Temperamentum*). Then follow a few largely scientific chapters on horse diseases and treatment, which also present the reader with interesting historical knowledge pertaining to horses (*Morbi equorumque cura*), and an etymologically colored chapter on denominations containing the word ‘horse’ (*Cognominata. Denominata*). The subsequent chapters discuss the symbolical meanings in Christian tradition (*Mystica*), horses in hieroglyphics, symbolism and mythology, with a special emphasis on the connection with respective ancient gods (*Hieroglyphica. Symbolica. Mythologica, Quibus diis sacri*). The next chapter centers on the famous horses in mythology and the world of historical figures carefully listed by name (*Equorum diis, principibusque attributorum propria nomina*), followed by a record of pagan rituals of horse sacrifice (*Usus in vanis ethnicorum sacrificiis*) and a record of mythological transformations of gods into horses (*Metamorphoses*). The chapter *Fabulosa*, presenting the mythical horses Pegasus and Bellerophon, is followed by a lengthy chapter on centaurs (*Centauri sive Hippocentauri*), a brief note on fairy horses (*Apologa*), and a comprehensive chapter on horses in proverbs (*Proverbia*). A few subsequent chapters discuss the valuable use of horses in nutrition (*Usus in cibis*), medicine (*Usus in medicina*), warfare (*Usus in bello*), hunting (*Usus in venatione*), transport and express mail (*Usus in itinere faciendo*), and triumphal processions (*Usus in triumphis*). The next chapter talks about horses on royal insignia as well as a rare and intriguing detail: the role of horses in installing Carinthian dukes (*Usus in electione principis Charinthiae*), in which Aldrovandi summarizes the record by Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) in his work *De Europa* (1458). The erudite humanist described the ritual as a “ceremony unheard of anywhere else” (*Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii PP. II De Evropa, XX/64* (see: Štih, 2012, 310)). Then follows an overview of the depictions of horses in monumental sculptures (*Picturae statuae*) and on ancient coins (*Numismata*). In continuation, Aldrovandi also describes the role of horses in teams (*Usus in ventione*) by listing magnificent teams from mythology (Phaeton’s quadriga) and teams of major military commanders and sovereigns. He then demonstrates his knowledge of Renaissance emblems with a horse motif in the chapter *Emblemata*. A brief note on horses in tombstone epitaphs (*Epitaphium*) is followed by a consideration of horses in agriculture (*Usus in agris*) and games (*Usus in ludis*). Out of the 290 pages in his book on

Aldrovandi, too, gained widespread recognition across Europe, and his works were well known to at least a few Carniolan intellectuals. According to archival sources, the zoological books of the Bologna-based scientist were once kept in the library of Wolf Engelbert Auersperg (Južnič, 2007, 306),¹⁴⁷ and most of his works were also held by Johann Weikhard Valvasor in his library (BV 53–57).

Apart from the two giants of Renaissance zoology, who compiled extensive surveys of the fauna known at the time, mention should also be made of a few prominent scholars who specialized in various fields and whose books also influenced the occurrence of animals in emblematics. Gessner’s professional colleague and friend Pierre Belon (1517–1564) primarily focused on birds and marine fauna. His most important works, *L’histoire naturelle des estranges poissons marins* (Paris 1551), *La Nature et diversité des poissons* (Paris 1555), *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux, avec leurs descriptions et naïfs portraits retirez du naturel* (Paris 1555), and *Portraits d’oyseaux... (Paris 1557)*, heralded the beginning of modern research on birds and marine animals. They were valuable because they presented new findings resulting from his research, as well as for their quality illustrations.¹⁴⁸ Birds were likewise studied by English naturalist and physician William Turner (ca. 1509–1568). More than ten years before Belon, he published his book *Avium praecipuarum, quarum apud Plinium et Aristotelem mentio est...* (Cologne 1544), in which he presented selected birds, adding his own observations to Aristotle’s and Pliny’s knowledge. French naturalist and physician Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566) explored marine animals, to which he devoted his paramount work *Libri de piscibus marinis in quibus verae piscium effigies expressae sunt* (Lyon 1554). In terms of the development of

quadrupeds (*De quadrupedibus Lib. I*) that Aldrovandi devotes to horses, 120 focus on scientific observations and as many as 170 on cultural content, including many directly linked to symbolic and allegorical meanings of horses in European civilization.

147 For more recent findings about the collection of the Auersperg library, see also: Ručigaj, 2019, 123–149.

148 The second of Belon’s books is designed as an album that may be of interest to a broader public. It contains illustrations of birds with brief descriptions and a few added woodcuts of mammals, reptiles, marine animals, and even a dragon. The book concludes with the presentation of some plants, paintings with representatives of foreign lands in their traditional attire, and maps.

modern science, Rondelet took a step further than Belon by strictly limiting himself to scientific aspects and omitting the usual cultural content. Marine animals were also studied by Italian physician and naturalist Ippolito Salviani, whose work *Aquatilium animalium historiae* (Rome 1554) is acclaimed especially for its outstanding illustrations in the copperplate engraving technique, which allowed for a more detailed depiction. The author adopted Rondelet's approach but became even stricter in applying the new scientific spirit and only included in his book those species that he became familiar with during his own research. However, despite the growing empiricism in Renaissance natural history, the medieval Christian belief that studying nature was the path towards understanding the world and God as well as towards the redemption of man remained alive for a long time. In the introduction to his book *Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, Aldrovandi's younger contemporary Edward Topsell (1572–1625) applied this idea directly to animals. Thus, he wrote, among other things, that God saved animals from the Deluge, so that man could learn the divine wisdom by studying them.¹⁴⁹

The revolution in natural science went hand in hand with new translations and the first printed editions of works written by prominent ancient naturalists: first and foremost, Aristotle in a new translation by Theodorus Gaza (*De animalibus*, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Venice 1476), Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, Johannes de Spira, Venice 1469), and Pedanius Dioscorides, who also discussed animals in the second volume of his pharmacological compendium (Gr. orig. *Peri hulēs iatrikēs*, Aldus Manutius, Venice 1499; Lat. transl. *De materia medica* with commentaries by Andrea Mattioli, Niccolò Bascariini, Venice 1544), as well as many other writers. The same holds for selected medieval authors, among whom the most influential zoologists were Thomas of Cantimpré (*De natura rerum*, the first complete manuscript redaction ca. 1237–1244),¹⁵⁰ Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*De pro-*

prietatibus rerum, ca. 1240–1247, the first printed edition: Berthold Ruppel, Basel ca. 1470), Albertus Magnus (*De animalibus libri XXVI*, ca. 1256–1263, the first edition Simon Nicolai Cardella de Luca, Rome 1478), and Conrad of Megenberg (*Buch der Natur*, the first edition Johann Bäumler, Augsburg 1475).¹⁵¹ The *Physiologus*, a crucial reference for animal iconography in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, also received ample attention among Renaissance naturalists, especially in its Greek edition, the so-called *Physiologus of St. Epiphanius*, with the Latin translation and commentary by Gonzalo Ponce de Leon (*Sancti Patris nostri Epiphani, episcopi Constantiae Cypri, Ad Physiologum*, Christopher Plantin, Antwerp 1588).

Apart from Renaissance zoological publications, works from other fields were also important for animal iconography in emblems by providing the authors of emblem books with captivating animal descriptions and interesting details. These were, for example, early modern descriptions of distant lands and their particularities, presentations of marvels, strange animals and monsters, a variety of historical records, chronicles, and so on. Among the chronicles, Hartmann Schedel's *World History*, abundantly decorated with woodcut illustrations, is especially famous (concurrent Latin and German editions, *Liber chronicarum/Weltchronik*, Nuremberg 1493). Even though this was primarily a historical work, the author devoted much attention to exotic animals, monsters, and fantasy hybrid creatures in his inventory of the characteristics and particularities of the then known world.¹⁵² Shortly before the mid-sixteenth century, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* (*Cosmographia universalis*, Basel 1544) was published with descriptions of European and Asian countries. The work also briefly includes parts of Africa (*Liber VI. Africa*) and of the New World, discovered about half a century before (*Liber V. Nova India. De novis Insulis*). Münster's descriptions testify to his vivid interest in animals and monsters, to which he dedicated much more space than Schedel, and several illustrations are of high-

149 "Surely, it was for that a man might gaine out of them much knowledge, such as is imprinted in them by nature, as a spark of that great wisdom whereby they were created" (Topsell, 1607, fol. A4r).

150 Albeit not printed in the Renaissance period, the work nonetheless served as an important source for contemporaneous writers. As the history of the manuscript reveals, its transcripts continued to be produced all until the very end of the fifteenth century. The significant impact of the work spread through its Dutch version *Der Naturen Bloeme* by Jacob van

Maerlant (ca. 1270) and its German redaction by Conrad of Megenberg (ca. 1350). See: Pyle, 1996, 265–321.

151 For a brief overview of the most influential medieval authors and editions of their works in the Early Modern Period, see: Enenkel and Smith, 2017, 28–30.

152 For one of more recent monographic studies of Schedel's *World History*, see: Posselt, 2015.

er quality.¹⁵³ For example, in some editions, the rhinoceros, based on the famous Albrecht Dürer engraving from 1515, is given a full-page illustration. In respect of American fauna, which the author was less knowledgeable about, the book only contains an illustration of an opossum. Münster's *Cosmography* met with an unprecedented success. Republished in forty-six editions by the mid-seventeenth century and translations into Latin (Basel 1550), French (Basel 1552), Italian (Basel 1558), and Czech (Prague 1554), it became one of the most widely distributed illustrated printed works of the Renaissance period.¹⁵⁴

A Description of the Northern Peoples by Swedish diplomat and versatile scholar Olaf Mansson (Olauf Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Rome 1555) exemplified a successful presentation of the still largely unknown northernmost part of Europe. Essentially a geographical work describing the lands, people, and their peculiarities, what truly earned it popularity were its vivid depictions and illustrations of sea monsters in volume 21, titled *De piscibus monstrosis*. Monstruous creatures, such as the gigantic sea serpent attacking a ship, the toothed whale that can bite a boat in half, the bearded whale, the enormous crab, are already well illustrated on Mansson's marine map of the Nordic lands (*Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum*), printed in Venice in 1539.¹⁵⁵ With its exhaustive list of monsters, the book became an international bestseller, translated into English (1658), French (1561), Italian (1565), German (1567), and Dutch (1665), and its

depictions of fantasy sea creatures sparked a vivid interest in exploring the fauna of the northern seas. Their images came to inhabit numerous Renaissance publications and nautical charts and were even incorporated into marine animal surveys by Conrad Gessner and Ulisse Aldrovandi.¹⁵⁶ The illustrations of Mansson's marine animals had a demonstrable impact on emblematics. Joachim Camerarius included as many as four whale depictions based on Mansson's map in the fourth volume of his collection of emblems. He also directly referred to him as his source (Cam. IV, 1605, embls. 1–4).

Interest in the new, unknown, and exotic became particularly strong after the discovery of the New World (the Americas) and Oceania, which spurred the production of illustrated travelogues with descriptions of landscapes, natural features, indigenous inhabitants, and the vibrant animal world. The most comprehensive and famous is Theodor de Bry's richly illustrated series *The Great Travels (Collectiones peregrinatorum in Indiam orientalem et Indiam occidentalem)*,¹⁵⁷ in which thirteen of altogether twenty-five volumes are dedicated to the New World. It is a compilation of works by various authors, including the translation of the book by the erudite Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las*

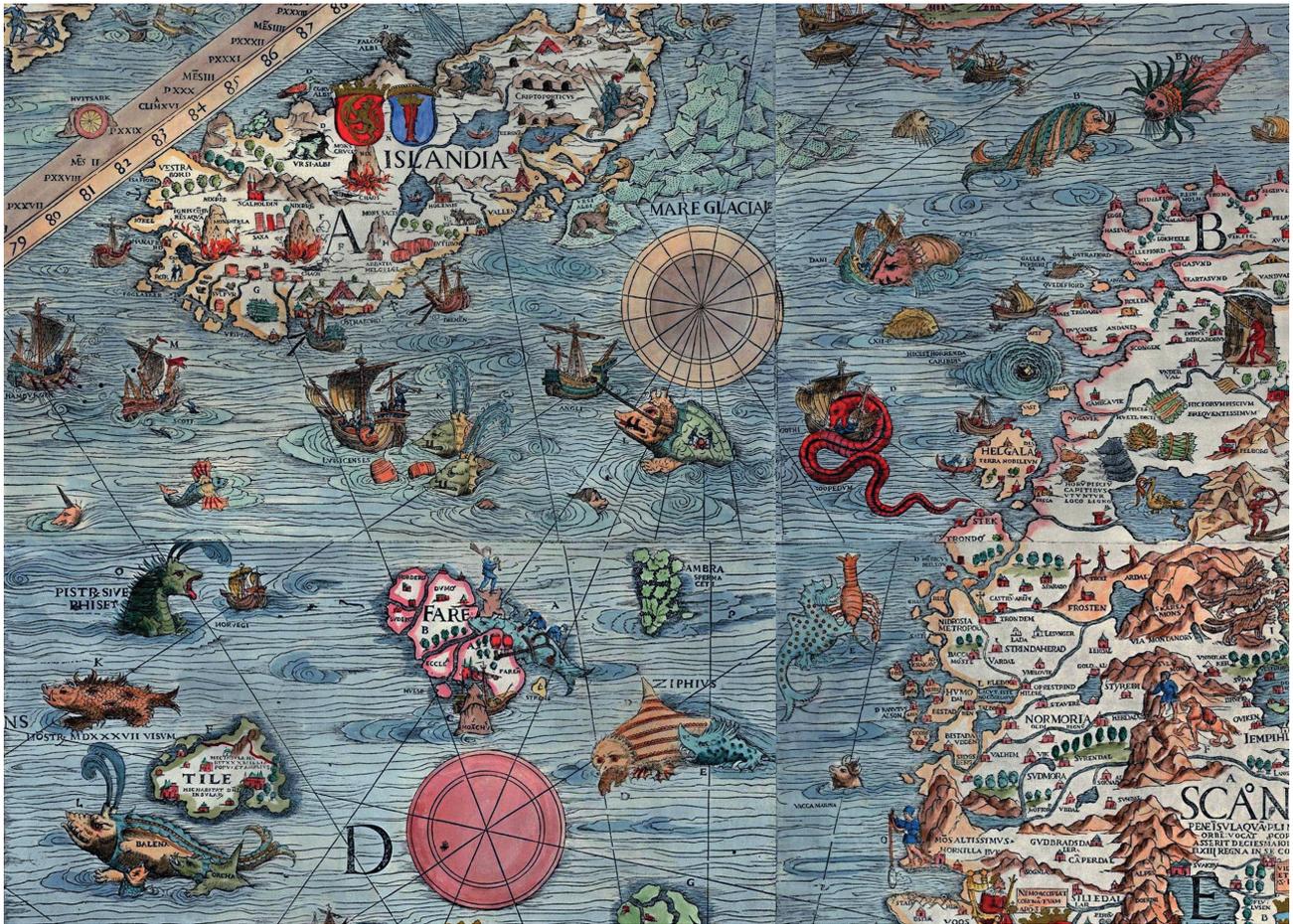
153 There is also a significant difference between the first edition, in which the illustrations are fewer and more modest, and the post-1548 editions, in which they become more numerous, and the new woodcuts were made by master Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch.

154 The abridged edition was also translated into English (London 1557). The National and University Library in Ljubljana also keeps several editions of *Cosmography*, testifying to its popularity in Carniola. The Seminary Library in Ljubljana keeps the Basel edition from 1598. The book was once also part of Valvasor's collection and the Auersperg library in Ljubljana. The rudimentary work on the editions of Münster's *Cosmography* remains to be: Hantzsch, 1898. Specifically for the analysis of *Cosmography*, see: McLean, 2016.

155 Sebastian Münster was fascinated by the fantastical fauna on Mansson's marine map—so much so that he drew an illustration of land and sea monsters (*Meerwunder und seltsame thier/wie die in Mitnächtigen Ländern im Meer und auff dem Landt gefunden werden*) to complete his *Cosmography* (Basel 1550, 852–853). The sea monsters (by far predominant in Münster's work) were borrowed or mostly copied from Mansson's marine map.

156 Captivated by the visually striking monsters, Gessner included most of them in the fourth volume of his compendium on aquatic animals (*Historiae animalium liber IV. Qui est de piscium & aquatiliu animantium natura*, Zurich 1558, 118, 137139, 246–249, 433, 438, 941, 1040). Although Aldrovandi was more reserved about them, we can still find quite a few monsters in his books on marine animals, *De piscibus libri V et De cetis liber Unus* (Bologna 1613, 343–344, 446–448, 699) and the famous *Liber Monstrorum* (Bologna 1642, 353). On sea monsters described by Olaf Mansson, see: Nigg, 2013, and Starkey, 2017, 31–62.

157 The series was a monumental publishing project undertaken by Theodor de Bry and his sons, released concurrently in German and Latin between 1590 and 1634: *Collectiones peregrinatorum in Indiam orientalem et Indiam occidentalem...*, a Theodoro, Joan-Theodoro de Bry, et a Matheo Merian publicatae, Frankfurt am Main/Oppenheim 1590–1634. The series comprised twenty-five volumes—thirteen centered on West Indies (America) and twelve on East Indies (specifically, Africa, India, Southeast Asia, and Oceania). The part presenting the New World attracted more of the readers' attention: volumes I–VI were published and illustrated by Theodor de Bry, volumes VII–IX by his sons Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, volumes X–XII by his son Johann Theodor, and the last volume (XIII) was published and illustrated by Matthäus Merian the Elder. See: Bouyer and Duviols, 1992. Specifically on the animals in De Bry's collections, see: Groesen, 2008, 149–150.



Olaf Mansson, *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum*, Venice 1539.

Indias (Juan de León, 1590, Seville), which went through several editions. By the end of the century, it had been translated into Italian, French, and Dutch, followed by English and German translations in the early seventeenth century.¹⁵⁸

The first internationally prominent book about America dealing specifically with nature and meticulously describing new animal species was *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*, written by the Spanish

158 The translation into Italian in 1596 (Venice), French in 1598 (Paris), Dutch in 1598 (Enkhuizen/Haarlem), English in 1604 (London), and German in 1605 (Ursel). The Ursel edition was the first independent publication of Acosta's book in German. The first German translation was completed in 1601 under the title "Neundter und letzter Theil Americae... von der Gelegenheit der Elementen, Natur, Art und Eigenschaft der Neuen Welt," and it appeared in the book *America*, published as part of Johann Theodor de Bry's *The Great Travels* series (Frankfurt am Main). In 1602, the Latin edition was also released by the same publisher. For the editions of Acosta's book, see: *Index-catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office*, 1939, 13–14.

chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Toledo 1526). Owing to the author's close contact with Venetian humanists and printers, the work was soon translated into Italian and Latin (both published in 1534 by the Venice-based versatile intellectual and publisher Giovanni Battista Ramusio, who specialized in travelogues).¹⁵⁹ There then followed translations into French (Paris 1545) and English (London 1555). At the behest of Emperor Charles V (who had a keen interest in his work and appointed him court chronicler in 1530), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo prepared an extensive and all-encompassing presentation of the New World in *La historia general de las Indias*, compiled in the period between 1535 and 1557. Out of

159 In addition to introducing illustrated travelogues as an important early modern genre, Ramusio also developed high editorial and publishing standards. The three-volume collection of travelogues *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice 1550–1559) became an exemplar for similar projects elsewhere in Europe. See: Van Groesen, 2008, 37–49.

fifty volumes divided into three parts, only nineteen volumes of Part I (Seville 1535) and the first volume of Part II (Valladolid 1557) were published, while the rest were printed as late as the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ De Oviedo's monumental work was an important source for Ulisse Aldrovandi, indirectly lending his contribution to the knowledge of American fauna an even greater prominence (Markey, 2017, 229).¹⁶¹

In parallel to the increasingly numerous natural history publications showcasing a significant professional and amateur interest in animals, the overall fascination with exotic animals was also reflected in events related to geographical discoveries and rapid advances in transoceanic trade. In other words, this period witnessed an unprecedented surge in trade in exotic animals, which were in high demand throughout Europe. Their rarity made them exceptionally popular as diplomatic gifts and soon set off a veritable collecting euphoria among European sovereigns and wealthy princes. This was most directly mirrored in a growing number of aristocratic menageries and aviaries, which evolved into the first private zoological gardens. Taxidermized animals and parts of their bodies became highly valued exhibits in the so-called cabinets of curiosities (Germ. *Wunderkammer*), precursors of the first natural history museums, which became popular precisely during this period. Menageries and cabinets of curiosities were indicators of social status, prestige, and wealth, and their expansion was further accelerated by the rivalry among European princes. Smaller menageries, primarily housing African and Asian beasts (such as lions, leopards, and cheetahs), were already kept by medieval rulers, who set an example for Renaissance princes. The discovery of America and the sea route to India at the end of the fifteenth century led to the rapid establishment of new trade routes which

increased the inflow of non-European animal species. Animals at European courts were not only used for display but also for hunting (especially cheetahs), animal fights, ceremonial processions, shows, and so on. Due to their rarity, prestige, and high cost, exotic animals made their way into European diplomacy, politics, and consequently art with an intensity never witnessed before.

The Portuguese, who monopolized maritime trade with India, initially also had primacy over the imports of non-native animal species, driven by the high demand for large animals that were known and extremely rare in Europe.¹⁶² In the early sixteenth century, King Manuel I, captivated by exotic fauna, built the largest and most diverse menagerie in the Europe of his day as well as an unrivaled aviary next to his new royal palace Paço de Ribeira near Lisbon. Concurrently, he also set up a special menagerie for elephants and other large beasts at his palace at Estãos (Kisling, 2000, 29),¹⁶³ directly promoting the proliferation of menageries and the advent of zoological gardens

160 It was not until between 1851 and 1855 that the work was printed in its entirety by the Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*) in the redaction of historian and archaeologist José Amador de los Ríos y Serrano. For early reports on the animals of the New World and specifically on the contribution of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, see: Gerbi, 1985.

161 Gessner was more reserved towards the new discoveries, only including seven American mammals in his book: the llama, anteater, armadillo, possum, guinea pig, sloth, tamarin, and a rodent that cannot be identified with any certainty (Enekel, 2018, 352–360).

162 In the Middle Ages and before the discovery of the maritime route to India, elephants, lions, and tigers mainly arrived in Europe as rare and precious offerings from Turkish sultans and Arab rulers. However, in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese royalty made Indian animals more readily accessible through systematic imports. Especially Manuel I (1495–1521) enjoyed presenting them as diplomatic gifts. In 1514, he sent an entire menagerie of exotic animals to Pope Leo X in honor of the commencement of his pontificate. The crown jewel of the animals sent to the Pope was the elephant Hanno, who became the Pope's and the Romans' favorite. He participated in every important procession and appeared on a number of contemporaneous paintings (Bedini, 2000, 14–15). The following year, Manuel sent another priceless gift to the Pope—an Indian rhinoceros that he had received from Sultan Muzaffar II, who ruled the Indian sultanate of Gujarat. However, the ship sank, and the king's intention was unfulfilled. The immense worth of the rhinoceros was most clearly demonstrated by the effort to retrieve its carcass from the water, preserve it, and deliver it to the Vatican, where it was placed on view as a great attraction (Bedini, 1997, 125–131). King Manuel's rhinoceros became particularly famous through Dürer's woodcut, which underwent countless reproductions in natural history publications and artworks. And it also quickly began to feature in emblematics: Paolo Giovio, for example, included it in the impresa of Alessandro de' Medici with the motto: *Non vuelvo sin vencer* (*Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amorose*, Rome 1559, 49). Giovio already described the emblem with the rhinoceros and its unfortunate journey to Rome in the manuscript version of the *Dialogue* in 1551.

163 See also: Groom, 2018, 13–15.

throughout Europe.¹⁶⁴ During his pontificate, Pope Leo X pursued his passion for exotic wildlife by constructing the most expansive menagerie outside Portugal (with diplomatic gifts from King Manuel I). His father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, already held a collection of exotic animals. The most majestic of them was a giraffe which, along with other animals, arrived in Florence in 1487 as a gift from the Sultan of Egypt. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the menageries of the Habsburg rulers—Philip II of Spain in Madrid and El Escorial, Maximilian II of Habsburg in Vienna, and his son Rudolf II in Prague—were especially prestigious. Rudolf's menagerie was designed as a modern zoological garden with heated spaces for exotic animal species, open enclosures, cages for birds, ponds, and lakes. Special galleries were arranged for visitors to obtain a better view of wildlife.¹⁶⁵ Even after the newly discovered species from the Americas had finally arrived at European menageries and zoos in the second half of the sixteenth century, Asian and African wildlife were favored by Europeans (Kisling, 2000, 33).

As already noted, fascination with exotic animals was also reflected in cabinets of curiosities displaying highly sought-after natural history exhibits or *naturalia*. Among them were taxidermized animals, animal skeletons or especially their most attractive parts (skulls, horns, teeth, fur, etc.), animals with unusual deformities (mutated forms with an irregular number of limbs, two heads, etc.), human freaks, and (fake) hybrids such as mermaids. There was also an abundance

of exhibits like giant Pacific conches, rare pearls, stuffed non-European birds, bird eggs, and a multitude of insects.¹⁶⁶ The owners of cabinets of curiosities greatly benefited from the imports of exotic species from non-European countries, as many animals intended for menageries died during the journey. Not to lose the precious cargo in its entirety, merchants preserved at least the skeletons of dead animals and sometimes taxidermized smaller specimens on board of a ship. The same fate was met by rare animals after they died at zoos of old age or disease: their keepers preserved them and added them to their display collection. Furthermore, by collecting various depictions of animals, paintings, drawings, prints, etc., the owners of cabinets of curiosities established yet another popular collectors' activity mirroring early modern fascination with the animal realm.

One of the first and particularly famous collections of curiosities was the *Wunderkammer* (*Kunstammer*) of the Bavarian duke Albrecht V, a passionate collector of art, valuables, and natural wonders. It contained such an enormous number of exhibits that the duke constructed a special building for it at his residence in Munich.¹⁶⁷ Invaluable for our knowledge of the collection is the inventory put together by Johann Baptist Fickler, the court jurist and tutor of the duke's children, which has been preserved from 1598 and contains 3,407 records on a little over 6,000 exhibits.¹⁶⁸ Equally interesting

164 His example was followed by subsequent Portuguese rulers, among them the especially generous Queen Catherine of Austria, the wife of John III and regent for her minor son Sebastian of Portugal from 1557 to 1562. She ensured that her Habsburg relatives acquired a significant number of exotic animals. Through the marriage of Philip II and Isabella of Portugal in 1580 and the annexation of Portugal to Spain, the Habsburgs secured themselves a decades-long primacy over access to non-European animal species.

165 Emperor Rudolf II had such rarities in his zoo as the extinct dodo, which was especially valuable, with only two specimens documented in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. Rarer still was the Australian cassowary, the first of its kind in Europe, which was brought to Amsterdam in 1597, where the owner sold it to an animal collector, Georg Eberhard von Solms. It took the emperor immense diplomatic efforts to obtain the cassowary from the count for his own collection. The exotic bird was such an attraction that it was given its own elaborate pavilion in Rudolf II's zoo, decorated with paintings. After its death, it was carefully taxidermized and moved into the emperor's *Wunderkammer* (Belozerskaya, 2007, 66–68). See also: Geschwend, 2018, 76–103.

166 The preserved inventories testify to the richness of the collections. In respect of the cabinets of curiosities of Ferrante Imperato, a pharmacist and naturalist from Naples, a depiction showing the arrangement of displays has also been preserved. The graphic print bearing the unequivocal inscription, *Ritratto di museo del Ferrante Imperato*, was published in his book *Dell'Historia Naturale* (Naples 1599).

167 The collection acquired a space (*Kunstammer*) on the second floor of the newly constructed building, while the court stables occupied the first floor (1563–1567).

168 Most exhibits were stolen or destroyed when Gustav II Adolf of Sweden invaded Bavaria in 1632 and sacked the royal palace in Munich. Whatever was left of it burned in the great fire of 1729. Nonetheless, a substantial number of artworks had been preserved and taken away by the Swedes, currently kept in Swedish museums, along with valuables that Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince Elector Palatine, moved to his private collection in 1607. For the *Kunstammer* of Duke Albrecht V, see: D. Diemer and P. Diemer, 1995, 55–104 as well as D. Diemer, P. Diemer et al. 2008. Fickler's inventory from 1589 is published in: Diemer, 2004 and also accessible at: https://hainhofer.hab.de/informationen-zur-edition/bibliographie/diemer_fickler_2004a.

is the division of the collection into four major areas: “Naturalia,” “Exotica,” “Artificialia,” and “Scientifica” or, rather, into natural history, exotic rarities and wonders, works of art and handicrafts, as well as scientific and technical instruments, mechanical devices, and so on. This marks the emergence of the very first museums classified by distinct fields: natural history museums, art museums and galleries, and technical museums. A substantial segment of content under the category “exotica” was moved to ethnographic museums. With respect to the importance of animals in the cabinets of wonders, mention ought to be made of a stuffed elephant as the most impressive exhibit in the duke’s *Wunderkammer*, which he was given by Emperor Maximilian II in 1553.¹⁶⁹

Even more famous was Emperor Rudolf II’s collection at Prague Castle, which comprised a much larger number of animal exhibits.¹⁷⁰ The inventory that Daniel Fröschl, the court painter and custodian of imperial collections, compiled for the period between 1607 and 1611, lists a multitude of taxidermized animals, including a crocodile, chameleon, exotic birds and strange fish.¹⁷¹ Further adding to the value of the collection was its diverse assortment of

animal paintings, produced in various techniques by the prominent painters of the time.

The interest in natural history was also reflected in contemporaneous fine art, especially painting. The owners of exotic animals expected the painters to render their “trophies” in a naturalistic style. No matter what painting technique was used, they sought the greatest possible verism and zoological accuracy. The most famous collection of animal paintings was held by Emperor Rudolf II, the proud owner of the then most advanced zoological garden in Europe and the most extensive natural history collection (*naturalia*) in his cabinet of curiosities. After the emperor’s death, the zoo began to deteriorate, and the main portion of the curiosity collection was dispersed. A considerable number of paintings (predominantly miniatures) have been preserved that are invaluable in terms of early modern natural history and painting. The Austrian National Library in Vienna holds two comprehensive albums of zoological illustrations: the so-called *Museum of Emperor Rudolf II* (*Museum Rudolfs II*, Cod. Min. 129 and Cod. Min. 130) and *Collection of Natural History Studies* (*Sammlung der Naturstudien*, Cod. Min. 42). Furthermore, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., keeps four albums of drawings, arranged in accordance with the iconographic tradition of the four elements of nature (*The Four Elements*, Inv. no. 1987, 205–208).

The *Museum of Rudolf II* (or the *Bestiary of Rudolf II*) contains two codices with full-page illustrations of animals from the emperor’s zoo, taxidermized animals from his *Wunderkammer*, and animal specimens that he had heard interesting details about but could not obtain. Altogether, the manuscripts contain 181 preserved parchment folios with exquisite zoological studies (including a few botanical illustrations), created between 1577 and 1612 by Giuseppe Arcimboldo (or a painter from his circle), Joris Hoefnagel, Hans Verhagen den Stommen, Daniel Fröschel, Dirk de Quade van Ravesteyn, and other masters.¹⁷²

Artists from the same circle were also responsible for the illustrations in the *Collection of Natural History Studies* (usually abbreviated as *Naturstudien* in

169 The elephant was a major attraction. Emperor Maximilian received it from John III of Portugal in 1551 during his visit to Spain. He traveled much of Europe with the elephant and in 1552 arrived in Vienna in a triumphal procession that delighted the city’s inhabitants with the sight of the Indian giant. Soliman, as the elephant was named, soon died in the emperor’s menagerie. The emperor had a memorial plaque created with its image, and its body was carefully dissected. A few bones were donated to various dignitaries, and the elephant’s skin was taxidermized, stuffed, and donated to Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria. (Opll, 2004, 229–273; Opll, 2006, 337–343).

170 The Swedish soldiers looted the imperial collection in 1648 during their siege of Prague and taking control of Malá Strana under the command of General Hans Christoff Königsmarck. Christina, Queen of Sweden, ordered the army commander, Count Karl Gustav, and General Königsmarck to protect the collection and transport it to Sweden. Today, the artworks are dispersed across European museums, as Christina of Sweden transferred a considerable portion of the collection to Rome after she abdicated the throne. Following her death, the books and manuscripts were moved to the Vatican Library and most paintings were sold to France. The majority of prized objects from the collection of Rudolf II are currently kept in the Imperial Treasury (*Kaiserliche Schatzkammer*) in Vienna, where his successors moved some of these valuables soon after Rudolf’s death in 1612. On Rudolf II’s cabinet of curiosities, see: Bukovinská, 2005, 199–227; Bukovinská, 2007, 143–167; Bukovinská, 2015, 229–153; Fučíková, 2017, 47–53.

171 The inventory was published in: Bauer, 1976.

172 On the studies of animals in both codices, see: Irblich, 1990; Staudinger, 1996, 230–276.

Id quoq; quod ventis animal nutritur et aëra,
 Protinus assimilat tetigit quoscunque colores.

CHAMALEONTE MUTABILIOR.



LIII.

Quis nisi vidisset, pisces habitare sub undis,
 sub limo ranas, salamandras vivere in igne,
 Aëra CHAMELEONTA, et pasci rose cicadas,
 Crederet.

Joris Hoefnagel, Chameleons, illustration no. 53 (cutout), *Animalia Quadrupedia et Reptilia (Terra)*, 1575–1588, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

professional literature). It is an album of 170 folios, with studies of animals and plants (226 paintings of animals) pasted into it. Some of these studies are identical to those in the *Museum of Rudolf II*. Joris Hoefnagel arranged his animal depictions, now housed in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., into four albums: *Animalia rationalia et insecta—Ignis*, *Animalia quadrupedia et reptilia—Terra*, *Animalia aquatilia et conchiliata—Aqua*, and *Animalia volatilia et amphibia—Aeris*. Hoefnagel spent years creating his remarkable paintings in watercolor and gouache, enhanced with gold accents (272 folios were produced roughly between

1575 and 1590).¹⁷³ The painter brought his animal illustrations closer to the emblem-type depictions by encasing them in gold-rimmed ellipses. This was

¹⁷³ The three albums for the elements of earth, water, and air follow what was then the usual categorization of animals into “terrestrial” (mammals, reptiles), aquatic (fish, shells, and other animals living in water), and “aerial,” i.e., animals capable of flying (mostly birds, but also bats, certain amphibians, and insects). Hoefnagel departed from this scheme in respect of insects, which he classified as animals of fire. Determining when the drawings were produced is a challenging task because a vast majority of them are not dated and the few that contain the indication of a year raise the question whether it was added subsequently or perhaps does not refer to the creation of the drawing. On Hoefnagel’s albums, see: Hendrix, 1984; Hendrix, 1997, 157–171; Bass, 2017, 521–547.

a deliberate imitation of emblems, as is also evidenced by the added sayings and lines of verse.

Rather than merely a matter of fashion and prestige, zoos, menageries with exotic animals, cabinets of curiosities as well as collections of zoological drawings and paintings also served specific scientific purposes, as in the case of Emperor Rudolf II. Conrad Gessner received from a wide circle of friends and fellow scholars abundant information about animals from major menageries, zoos, and natural history collections of European princes for his monumental *History of Animals*. It was also Gessner who crucially contributed to the development of zoological illustration: the outstanding watercolor illustrations of animals, which were used to create the woodcuts for his book, introduced a standard in the naturalistic approach that Joris Hoefnagel and other masters of Rudolf's circle would later build upon.¹⁷⁴ In addition to well-stocked libraries holding illustrated books on animals as well as albums of hand-painted miniatures, colored woodcuts and engravings, cabinets of curiosities and zoological gardens, were also a proof of their owner's cosmopolitanism and education. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they became an indispensable part of enlightened princes' courts. Such an understanding was eloquently described by Francis Bacon in his play *Gesta Grayorum*, in which a court advisor counsels the prince that, as a wise ruler, he should take care of four important institutions: the library, the botanical and zoological garden, the cabinet (of curiosities), and the museum of scientific instruments and technical devices. The royal advisor particularly highlights the zoological garden, explains how the cages should be arranged, and stresses that a well-organized zoo for aquatic animals should have at least two lakes: one with freshwater and another with salt water. He concludes his description with an important thought that reveals one of the premises for the creation of zoos: that a zoological garden constitutes a small-scale replica of nature as a whole.¹⁷⁵ Ever since An-

tiquity, the idea of a wise, fair-minded, and cultured sovereign has been immanent to all periods of European history. In addition to the sovereign's general education, the Early Modern Period for the first time specifically highlighted natural history—not only in terms of theoretical knowledge but also its empirical application, including the establishment of botanical and zoological gardens. The model of cultivated European monarchs was imitated not only by the high aristocracy but also, to the best of their abilities, by representatives of the gentry and the middle-class. The same was true of the Duchy of Carniola, which in this regard Valvasor had brought on a par with the rest of Europe.

A genuine polymath of his day, Valvasor aspired towards the ideal of general education. Pursuing a broad spectrum of scientific interests, he surpassed the established notion of an educated nobleman in many regards. Although limited resources prevented him from having a zoological garden of his own, he possessed a vast library, an enviable number of art prints, as well as a noteworthy selection of technical, cartographic, and mathematical instruments, alongside coins, antiquities, and curiosities that he had accumulated during the years of his travels and

collecting of a most perfect and general Library, wherein whatsoever the Wit of Man hath heretofore committed to Books of worth, be they ancient or modern, printed or Manuscript, European or of the other Parts, of one or other Language, may be made contributory to your Wisdom. Next, a spacious, wonderful Garden, wherein whatsoever Plant, the Sun of divers Climates, out of the Earth of divers Moulds, either wild, or by the Culture of Man, brought forth, may be, with that Care that appertaineth to the good prospering thereof, set and cherished. This Garden to be built about with Rooms, to stable in all rare Beasts, and to cage in all rare Birds; with two Lakes adjoining, the one of fresh Water, and the other of salt, for like variety of Fishes: And so you may have, in a small Compass, a Model of Universal Nature made private. The third, A goodly huge Cabinet, wherein whatsoever the Hand of Man, by exquisite Art or Engine, hath made rare in Stuff, Form, or Motion, whatsoever Singularity, Chance and the Shuffle of things hath produced, whatsoever Nature hath wrought in things that want Life, and may be kept, shall be sorted and included. The fourth, Such a Still-house so furnished with Mills, Instruments, Furnaces and Vessels, as may be a Palace fit for a Philosopher's Stone." (*Gesta Grayorum*, or, *The history of the high and mighty prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole...*, London 1688, 34–35.) The publication does not name the author of the book; today, the text with advice to the ruler is ascribed to Francis Bacon.

174 The zoological illustrations from Gessner's collection are now dispersed across various museums and libraries. The greatest portion is held by the University Library in Amsterdam. They are divided into two albums with several hundreds of watercolor paintings kept under the label Ms III C 22 and Ms III C 23, respectively. See: Egmond, 2013, 149–170.

175 "And to this purpose I will commend to your Highness four principal Works and Monuments of your self: First, The

later expanded with purchases.¹⁷⁶ The collection at Bogenšperk was a veritable small museum, and he himself also referred to it as such (Radics, 1910, 98). Jože Hudales regards Valvasor's collection as equivalent to prestigious museum-like collections elsewhere in Europe, even outshining a typical cabinet of curiosities and, due to its scientific character, ranking among the most important natural history collections of that time (Hudales, 2008, 64–70).¹⁷⁷ Valvasor was, of course, not the only Carniolan nobleman to boast a collection of rarities. In *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain*, he mentioned and described such collections, the largest being the one created by the House of Auersperg, headed by Count Wolf Engelbert Auersperg, the provincial governor of Carniola. Their valuable objects, artworks, military trophies, weapons, and rarities were kept at three locations: the family castle at Turjak, the castle at Žužemberk, and the family palace in Ljubljana. The creation of art and natural history collections is also documented among the founding members of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas: in the curriculum vitae of Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch (TM, fol. 74v),¹⁷⁸ Thalnitscher not only referred to a sizeable collection of ancient coins and medals, but also specifically highlighted Floriantschitsch's museum (*berüembtes Museum*), which also contained natural rarities (*Natur rariteten*). The museum soon became a sensation; so much so that it attracted visitors from all over Europe.

176 The number of scientific instruments recorded in the probate inventory is 300. According to Hudales, Valvasor sold off a considerable number of them due to severe financial strain arising from the publication of *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*. The multifaceted and scientific character of the collection is further highlighted by Erasmus Francisci, the editor of *The Glory*, who supplemented the chapter on famous Carniolans and wrote that Valvasor engaged in experimental work related to glass production and processing, the fabrication of enamel and dye, foundry operations, as well as the production of cosmetics and medicines. Even more revealing is the section stating that Valvasor's (no longer preserved) works also contained records concerning astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, stereometrics, music, optics, perspective, statics, pneumatics, hydraulics, mechanics, chemistry, architecture, etc. (Hudales, 2008, 64–70).

177 On Valvasor's museum collection, see also: Radics (1910, 97–104) and Reisp (1983, 106–108).

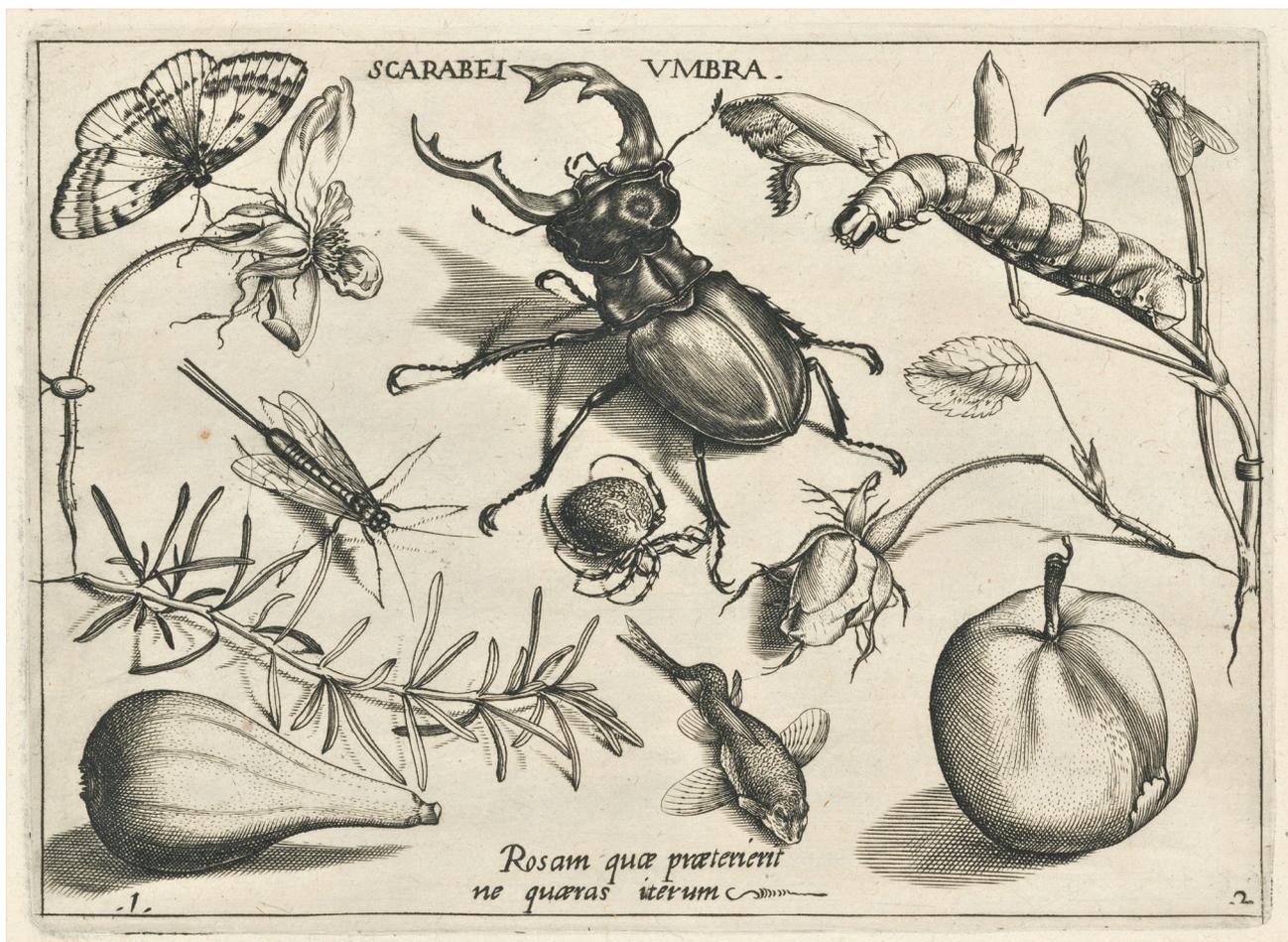
178 Floriantschitsch also had an extensive library, which he passed down to his sons. The eldest among them, Johann Dismas Floriantschitsch, particularly distinguished himself. He devoted his life to studying mathematics, astronomy, and geography, earning a place in history as the author of the most comprehensive map of Carniola (*Ducatus Carnioliae tabula chorographica*, 1744). See: Preinfalk, 2014, 70.

Valvasor's knowledge of the natural world greatly exceeded the contemporaneous ideal of a learned prince. His many areas of research earned him the standing of an internationally renowned scientist and explorer, also attested to by his membership in the English Royal Academy. He was a quintessential Renaissance polymath with a well-documented interest in animals as one of his many scientific pursuits. This is clearly confirmed by the sheer number of natural history books and graphic illustrations with animal motifs in his library at Bogenšperk.¹⁷⁹ In *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain*, Valvasor often wrote about animals from his own experience, and with genuine interest and knowledge, devoting more attention to them than one might expect to see in a topographical work. In addition to the famous botanical watercolors, he created quite a few excellent animal studies in watercolor and gouache



Johann Weikhard Valvasor, European dormouse (cutout), Metropolitan Library, Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, VZ XVIII, 106.

179 Valvasor's library contained a wide array of natural history literature, including a vast portion of the above-mentioned works on zoology and especially geographic works and travelogues. See: *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana. Katalog knjižnice Johanna Vajkarda Valvasorja*, Ljubljana/Zagreb 1995.



Jacob Hoefnagel, *Graphic sheet with the European stag beetle and the motto Scarabei umbra, Archetypa Studiaque, I, 2, Frankfurt am Main 1592.*

techniques, worthy of illustrating the most exquisite zoological publications.¹⁸⁰

Valvasor's collection of books and graphic prints is interesting not only because it demonstrates his interest in natural history, but also in terms of the close relationship between Renaissance natural history and emblematics. The baron cultivated a vivid interest in both fields, evidenced by the emblems that Andreas

¹⁸⁰ Valvasor's botanical and zoological studies are collected in the last, eighteenth volume of the collection *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*. Of 163 preserved folios, forty-five feature studies of animals, usually painted in natural size. The most abundant representations are of insects, which are either depicted on individual folios or on folios with botanical motifs. In addition to insects, there are also a snail, common frog, slow worm, smooth snake, lizards, and a few birds depicted on individual folios. Among the latter, the representations of the gray heron (fol. 146), little egret (fol. 161), and tawny owl (fol. 163) are particularly noteworthy. As regards zoological studies, the image of the only mammal—the common dormouse (fol. 106)—is the most compelling.

Trost created for him, numerous emblem books in his library, and emblematic animal motifs embellishing two of his early publications: *Dominicae Passionis Icones* (Bogenšperk 1679) and *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* (Ljubljana 1682). The main source of inspiration for the miniature animals populating the decorative borders of engravings in the *Passion Booklet* and the *Theater of Death* was the superb zoological depictions of animals on the graphic sheets from Jacob Hoefnagel's series *Archetypa studiaque*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1592.¹⁸¹ Valvasor kept two copies

¹⁸¹ The full title reads: *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii Jacobus F. genio duce ab ipso scalpta omnibus philomusis amice D. ac perbenigne communicat*. The book is divided into four parts, each comprising twelve folios with engravings of animals and plants, and a title folio, amounting to a total of fifty-two folios. Most of them include a succinct motto and a saying, usually taken from the Bible or from the treasure trove of ancient authors. For the analysis of animal motifs on the decorative borders of both

of Hoefnagel's prints: the unbound series of fifty-two graphic sheets (*Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, IX, 157–208) and the book-format edition (*Bibliotheca Valvasoriana*, 1096). The famous series is one of the paramount sixteenth-century monuments at the intersection between Renaissance natural history and emblematics. Hoefnagel's engravings, based on the sketches by his father, Joris Hoefnagel, were extremely popular and used as a unique "model book for artists" while also representing the finest exemplars of the combining of natural history and emblematics. Concise inscriptions serving as mottos are meaningfully linked to the symbolism of depicted animals and give this superb zoological animal study an emblematic character.

Jacob Hoefnagel adopted this idea from his father Joris, who in the second half of the sixteenth century established himself as one of the most talented painters at the intersection of zoological illustration and emblematic tradition.¹⁸² Joris Hoefnagel completed some of his animal miniatures with proverbs that served as emblematic mottos. By doing so, he made it clear that



Joris Hoefnagel, *A study of the European stag beetle with the motto Scarabei umbra*, illustration no. 5, *Animalia rationalia et insecta (Ignis)*, 1575–1588, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Valvasor's prints, see: Germ, 2015, 109–136.

182 Joris Hoefnagel was a multifaceted scholar, publisher, art trader, diplomat, and poet. Although he had no formal education in painting, his talent and precision in producing zoological motifs ranked him among the greatest masters of animal representation. See: Gerszi, 1972, 755–762; Vignau-Wilberg, 1985, 103–167; Vignau-Wilberg, 1987, 185–214; Hendrix and Vignau-Wilberg, 1992.

his work was not only a study of animals, but that it was also allegorical in nature. An explicitly emblematic character is also exhibited by illustrations collected in the already mentioned *Four Elements* albums (see above). A motto in a golden frame is usually inscribed above the images, and sometimes the combination of the painting and the motto is completed with a brief notation serving as an explanatory text (*subscriptio*). With such a composition, the painter converted a zoological study into a classic emblematic representation, resulting in a compelling fusion of zoological illustration and emblematics. However, according to Marisa Anne Bass, the *Four Elements* collection takes on a specific emblematic character. Given the superb painting execution, calligraphic records, the use of gold, and especially the open structure of illustrated folios, sometimes containing several notes or intentionally blank space for additional notations, it seems safe to assume that he created the collection primarily for himself and a very narrow circle of friends, professional peers, and connoisseurs. The studies surely left a profound impression on the Bavarian Duke Albrecht V, who appointed Hoefnagel as court painter, and other sovereigns who commissioned his work, most notably Emperor Rudolf II (Bass, 2017, 536–537). The emperor explicitly mentioned the fusion of mastery in painting and "hieroglyphic images with mystical and moral meaning" when he appointed Jacob Hoefnagel as his court painter. After the artist's death, the emperor also acquired the complete albums of the *Four Elements*.

Hoefnagel's emblematic studies of animals—breath-taking images often endowed with hidden meanings¹⁸³—are typologically very close to those used by Joachim Camerarius (and many other authors of emblematic paintings). The parallels are surely not coincidental: Camerarius and Hoefnagel were very likely personal acquaintances moving in the same intellectual circle (Jorink, 2010, 189–191).¹⁸⁴ Irrespective of

183 "pulchras quaedam imagines, quae praeter elegantiam picturae plerumque hieroglyphicam quandam ac mysticam interpretationem aut moralem habeant" (Evans, 1984, 270). Joris Hoefnagel was the creator of the emblem book, titled *Traité de la Patience, Par Emblèmes Inventées et dessinées par George Hoefnagel* (London 1569, the manuscript with the original illustrations is kept in the Municipality Library of Rouen, Ms Leber, 2916).

184 See also: DaCosta Kaufmann, 1993, 11–48, 79–99; Vignau-Wilberg, 2007, 217–243.

the precise chronological sequence of the drawings made by Joris Hoefnagel and the edition of Camerarius' emblems, the latter probably had the opportunity to become acquainted with Hoefnagel's work. Moreover, their conceptual similarities point to the close interconnection of Renaissance zoology and emblematics (Vignau-Wilberg, 1987, 145–156). The popular series of graphic prints *Archetypa studiaque*, which Jacob Hoefnagel designed and published based on his father's drawings, also sheds light on the blending of the two fields in terms of attracting a broader public. Thus, the animals of master Joris Hoefnagel made their way from the curiosity cabinets and private libraries of Renaissance princes onto graphic sheets accessible to the broadest possible circle of scholars and amateurs alike.¹⁸⁵

With his multifaceted pursuits ranging from research, collecting, writing, and publishing to an all-round interest in art and nature, Valvasor had a pivotal impact on the intellectual environment in which the first Carniolan academics were formed. Apart from his interest in animals from scientific and emblematic perspectives, his fascination with Aesopic fables is also significant for this study. The baron's collection at Bogenšperk counted quite a few graphic sheets with illustrated fables,¹⁸⁶ and his library contained several editions of Aesopic fables from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸⁷ Just how naturally zoology, emblematics, and the fables could be combined into an iconographic and artistic whole is demonstrated by the decorative frames of engravings in the *Passion Booklet* and the *Theater of Death*, which borrowed animal representations not only from zoological and emblematic images but also from illustrations in popular animal stories with a moral lesson.¹⁸⁸ At the time Valvasor's works were published, emblematics and the Aesopic fabulist tradition had merged to such an extent that it was often impossible to ascertain whether a given iconographic motif in Trost's borders originated

from an emblem book or a collection of fables. There is likewise no need to be overly meticulous: during the sixteenth century, emblem books integrated fables, and when fable collections began to imitate emblem books, a new hybrid genre emerged, known as emblem fable books. Because the process is also key to understanding animals that appear on the entry pages of the *Dismas Chronicle*, it deserves at least a brief mention.

2.1.2 Emblem Books and the Tradition of Aesopic Fables

The direct impact that fables had on the formation of animal emblems is evident from the earliest stage of Renaissance emblematics onwards. Andrea Alciato openly drew inspiration from the Aesopic fabulist tradition, which is understandable, as the messages of instructive animal stories were perfectly fitted for the concise moral-allegorical teachings of emblems. The first edition of *Emblematum liber* contains as many as twenty-five emblems based on fables.¹⁸⁹ The two genres were more interconnected than seems at first glance, with their creative interaction crucially marking the role and significance of animals in emblematics. The emergence and swift development of emblematics during the sixteenth century did not coincide by chance with the enhanced interest in fables, a popular genre that had developed in Antiquity and influenced other areas of artistic creativity. It was in ancient Greece that instructive Aesopic stories about animals were incorporated into other literary genres (especially epigrammatics), as well as rhetoric, philosophy, and visual art. In short, they became part of general culture. Their popularity continued to grow in Ancient Rome, with the first major collections of fables having been preserved from that period: Phaedrus' *Fabulae aesopiae* (first century), Babrius'

185 Jacob Hoefnagel, like his father, had a vivid interest in emblematics. Apart from the above-mentioned graphic series with emblematic images of animals, he is also attributed the authorship of the emblem book *Gloria Crocodilus* (Elblag 1634).

186 *Iconotheca Valvasoriana*, X, 158–182 and XVI, 226a–230d.

187 BV, 27–31, 539 and 2462.

188 On the iconography of animals in both of Valvasor's early prints as well as on the fusion of emblems and fables, see: Germ, 2017.

189 Perhaps the best-known example is the fable about a fox looking at a theater mask. The artfully crafted face struck it as magnificent until it turned the mask around and realized that it was hollow on the inside, that behind the beautiful appearance lay complete emptiness. In an emblematic representation and accompanied by the motto *Mentem, non formam, plus pollere*, the motif already appeared in the first edition of *Emblematum liber* (Alc., 1531, C5r). On Aesopic fables in Alciato's emblems, see: Tung, 1989, 315–329.

Fabulae aesopiae metro iambico (probably early second century), and Avianus' *Fabulae* (ca. 400).¹⁹⁰ Further contributing to their wide distribution and continuity was the fact that they entered instruction in rhetoric as one of the most revered skills of the ancient world. In rhetoric workbooks, the so-called *progymnasmata* (Lat. *praexercitamina*), orations with content borrowed from fables made up the standard repertoire, and students were required to write their own version of a fable according to a set example and present it in their rhetorical performance. The famous *progymnasmata* by the rhetorician Aphthonius of Antioch even contained the first fable-related exercise in rhetoric, which is not surprising, given that Aphthonius himself was a renowned fabulist.¹⁹¹

The fabulist tradition in education persisted beyond the fall of the ancient world; fables were also documented in the Middle Ages, during which they formed part of essential readings in Latin instruction.¹⁹² Further enhancing the popularity of animal stories with moral instructions were medieval writers who interpreted fables in the Christian spirit and included them as examples in their sermons. Especially noteworthy is the collection of moralized animal stories *Parabola* (ca. 1220) by Odo of Cheriton. It contains 117 tales, including twenty-six Aesopic fables and the rest originating from various classical and medieval authors (Batany, 2011, 235–245). Aesopic fables had a direct impact on medieval literature by inspiring a multitude of animal tales but also more complex works, such as the series of humorous tales about Reynard the Fox, *Le Roman de Renart* (the oldest preserved version, written by Pierre de

Saint Cloud, dates to 1174). Attesting to the popularity of the genre in literary circles is the collection of Aesopic fables by the famous French poet Marie de France from about 1190, titled *Ysopet* ("Little Aesop"). Although the author stated in the introduction that she merely translated Aesop's fables into French from the collection of Alfred the Great, it was nonetheless her own work, resting on the Aesopic tradition (Brucker, 2011, 187–208). The selection of Aesopic fables that were passed from the ancient world to medieval times was relatively modest, given the proliferation of fables during the Roman period. The most influential collection of Aesopic fables was the so-called *Romulus*, attributed to the (most probably legendary) Roman author Romulus and presumably dating to the fifth century.¹⁹³ The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also saw a wide distribution of the so-called *Aesopus Moralisatus*, a translation of Avianus' versified fables, supposedly turned into elegiac couplets by Gualterus Anglicus in about 1175.¹⁹⁴

In late medieval Italy, the cradle of emblematic art, knowledge of fables was part of general culture both among scholars and common folk (Kent, 2000, 69–77). During the Renaissance era, the appeal of Aesop's animal stories continued to grow, also thanks to the translations of newly found Greek manuscripts into Latin in the early fifteenth century. This may be regarded as a virtual small revolution in the world of fables and their role in Italian Renaissance culture (Cifarelli, 2001, 53). Aesopic fables were translated by the most prominent humanists of the time: Guarino da Verona (*Exopi fabulae e greco in latinum verse per Guarinum Veronensem*, ca. 1420–1422), Ermolao Barbaro the Elder (*Aesopi Fabulae*, 1422), Ognibene Bonisoli (or Ognibene da Lonigo, *Aesopus e graeco in latinum traductus*, ca. 1430), Gregorio Correr (*Libellus fabellarum*, ca. 1431–1433), Lorenzo Valla (*Facetiae morales*, 1438), and Rinuccio d'Arezzo (*Aesopi Vita*

190 In addition to Phaedrus', Babrius', and Avianus' fables, quite a few anonymous redactions of Aesopic fables in Greek and Latin have been preserved from the period of Roman Antiquity. A rudimentary work on fables in Antiquity: Adrados, 1999. On Babrius, Phaedrus, and Avianus, see: Adrados, 2000, 119–274.

191 For our study, it is noteworthy that Aphthonius' exercises also served as a classical handbook in the Early Modern Period. At the end of the fifteenth century, Rodolphus Agricola translated his *Progymnasmata* into Latin. The book saw its first print in 1505 (Aldus Manutius, Venice), followed by countless editions both in Italy and in the region north of the Alps (Adrados 2000, 236–253).

192 Latin textbooks from fourteenth-century Florence, for example, document no fewer than sixty-one Aesopic fables (Grendler, 1989, 107–134).

193 The oldest preserved manuscript of the *Romulus* redaction dates to the tenth century and contains eighty-three stories (Adrados, 2000, 516–558).

194 The collection of fables, also known as "*Anonymus de Nevelet*," is most likely the work of an anonymous writer, the so-called Pseudo-Walter the Englishman.

et *Fabulae*, ca. 1446–1448).¹⁹⁵ The enthusiasm went well beyond educational bounds. Thus, one of the greatest early Renaissance humanists and artists, Leon Battista Alberti, also authored a booklet with a hundred Aesopic fables (*Centum apologi*, 1437), adding an imaginary correspondence with Aesop in the introduction to highlight humor as one of the most distinctive features of animal stories. Alberti's concise fables met with tremendous acclaim among humanists and spurred many other giants of Italian Renaissance to write them. Florentine chancellor Bartolomeo Scala published two collections with a hundred fables each (*Apologi centum*, ca. 1480; *Apologorum liber secundus*, ca. 1488) and Leonardo da Vinci himself also wrote fifty-two short animal stories (*Favole*, ca. 1487–1494).

One of the most consequential Greek editions of Aesopic fables is the collection accompanied by Aesop's biography. It is attributed to Maximus Planudes (ca. 1260–1330), a Greek scholar and connoisseur of ancient literature, who earned recognition in the West primarily with his redaction of the *Greek Anthology* (*Anthologia Graeca*).¹⁹⁶ Planudes' work was published in Milan in around 1478 by Bonus Accursius (*Aisōpou Bios kai Mythoi*, Lat. *Aesopi Vita et Fabulae*) together with the Latin translation by Rinuccio d'Arezzo. D'Arezzo already translated a considerable volume of fables (a hundred out of 144) in the 1440s and published them for the first time around 1474 with Antonio Zarotto in Milan,¹⁹⁷ enriching Renaissance culture with many previously unknown fables. The response was remarkable: by the end of the century, Rinuccio's translation had gone through numerous reprints and spurred the creation of new collections, the

most influential being the bilingual edition of Aldus Manutius, *Vita et Fabellae Aesopi* (Venice 1505).¹⁹⁸

North of the Alps, a similar breakthrough occurred with the richly illustrated bilingual (Latin and German) edition of fables *Buch und Leben des hochberühmten Fabeldichters Esopi*, published by the versatile erudite, physician, writer, and translator Heinrich Steinhöwel.¹⁹⁹ His collection (ca. 1476–1477, Ulm) includes Rinuccio's translation of fables and Aesop's life, and is completed with fables from Latin redactions originating in the West.²⁰⁰ Containing 164 animal stories on 550 pages along with 197 woodcuts, the volume became an international sensation that set a new standard for fable publishing.²⁰¹ Julian Macho promptly translated it into French (*Le livre de subtiles hystoires et fables de Esope*, 1480, Lyon), and his translation served as the basis for the famous English edition of William Caxton (*The Subtle Fables and Histories of Aesop*, Westminster, 1484), which crucially marked the development of the fable in England. Even before the end of the fifteenth century, Steinhöwel's *Aesopus* (as the book was often referred to) was translated into Castilian (Zaragoza, 1482), Dutch (Antwerp, 1485), Czech (Prague, ca. 1488), and Catalan (Toulouse, 1488).²⁰² The influence of Steinhöwel's collection was

195 See: Marsh, 2003, 9–10; Cifarelli, 2002, 439–444.

196 Planudes' manuscript is kept in the Marciana Library in Venice (Cod. Marc. gr. 481), and the anthology was first printed in 1494 (Janus Lascaris, Florence). In 1503, it was published in Venice by Aldo Manuzio (*Florilegium Diversorum Epigrammatum in Septem Libros. [Graece:] Anthologia diaphoron epigrammaton*). The edition also saw numerous reprints outside Italy.

197 Rinuccio translated from the fifteenth century Greek manuscript, now kept in the Laurentian Library in Florence (Cod. Laur. Plut. 89. sup. 79). The manuscript linguistically dates to the early fourteenth century and is largely attributed to Maximus Planudes. On the latest findings regarding the attribution, along with the comprehensive overview of professional literature, see: Grammatiki, 2003, 661–669.

198 Rinuccio's translation was reprinted by Zarotto in 1476 and had already been published in Rome in 1475 by Wendellinus de Willa. It was also embraced surprisingly quickly north of the Alps, edited by Heinrich Steinhöwel ca. 1476–1477 (see below). On the early modern editions of Aesopic fables, see: Biscéré, 2012, 105–106; Biscéré, 2018, 182–209 and 328–353.

199 The German territories, too, boasted a rich medieval tradition of fables. Before Steinhöwel, the most comprehensible and widespread collection was written by Ulrich Boner Der Edelstein (ca. 1349), a Dominican monk from Bern. Boner's collection of fables was published in the fifteenth century as the first German-language printed book with illustrations (Albrecht Pfister, Bamberg 1461).

200 He used the translations by Guarino da Verona, Ermolao Barbaro, Lorenzo Valla, Ognibene Bonisoli, Gregorio Correr, and Rinuccio d'Arezzo (Carnes, 1986, 2). He also consulted the established medieval collections (various redactions of *Romulus*, *Aesopus Moralisatus* by Pseudo-Walter the Englishman, medieval redactions of Avianus' fables, and *Fabulae collectae* by the Spanish Jew Petrus Alfonsi).

201 Apart from the fables, the book also contains a few anecdotal tales by Poggio Braccolini from his collection *Facezie* (Lat. *Liber facetiarum* or *Confabulationes*).

202 In the sixteenth century, Steinhöwel's *Aesopus* was also translated into Polish (ca. 1522), Hungarian (ca. 1534), Catalan (1550), Danish (1556), and even Japanese (1593). See: Dicke, 1994, 374–379; Biscéré, 2018, 102–103.

further enhanced by the new and expanded edition by Sebastian Brant (*Esopi appologi siue mythologi cum quibusdam carminum et fabularum additionibus*, Basel 1501).²⁰³

An important factor in the proliferation of fables throughout the German milieu was that, with the beginning of the Reformation, they entered the polemics between the Catholics and Protestants while assuming a prestigious status in education. Martin Luther had a profound admiration for the witty language and moral teachings of Aesop's animal stories. In his often-quoted letter to Melanchthon, he likened Aesop to the Biblical prophets and Psalms.²⁰⁴ During the Protestant period, Aesopic fables seeped into every pore of cultural, religious, and political life. As Pack Carnes wrote, never had fables met with such a receptive audience as in the sixteenth-century Germany; no one had harnessed their potential better than the Reformers (1984, 176). Luther's colleague and friend Philipp Melanchthon, *Praeceptor Germaniae*, played a pivotal role in this. Endeavoring to reform the school system within the Protestant territories of the German Empire, he increased the importance of fables in education to a degree that had never been seen before. In several of his works, Melanchthon conveyed his views regarding the value of fables in educating youth, most comprehensively in his famous address "De utilitate fabularum" (1526), in which he affirmed that fables were not only instructive but also sparked curiosity and the desire for knowledge.²⁰⁵

203 The book brings forth three hundred fables. The first edition (Jakob Wolf von Pforzheim, Basel 1501) only contains the Latin text, and the German translation (Johann Adelphus Muling) was published in 1508 (Johann Prüss, Strasbourg).

204 In a letter dated April 23rd, 1530, Luther wrote with excitement: "Pervenimus tandem in nostrum Sinai, charissime Philippe, sed faciemus Sion ex ista Sinai aedificabimusque ibi tria tabernacula, Psalterio unum, Prophetis unum et Aesopo unum" (*Martin Luthers Briefe*, 1897, 303). Luther was also preparing a collection of fables for the instruction of youth, for which he wrote an illustrative introduction (ca. 1530). The work was left unfinished and published only posthumously under the title *Etliche Fabeln aus Esopo von Martin Luther verdeutscht* (Christian Rödigers Erben, Jena 1557). On Luther's collection of fables, see: Carnes, 1984, 179–181.

205 "De utilitate Fabulorum, Philippi Melanthonis Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia," in: Karl Gottlieb Bretshneider (ed.), *Corpus Reformatorum XI*, A. C. Schwetschke, Halis Saxonum, 1843, cols. 116–120.

It is thus not surprising that numerous animal story collections proliferated in German lands during the sixteenth century, even though Brant's revised Steinhöwel edition long remained the most popular and "authentic" anthology of Aesop's fables—*Der Deutsche Esop*.

Among the new volumes of fables that emerged north of the Alps the collections of Dutch humanist Martin Dorp (*Fabularum quae hoc librum continentur...*, Basel 1512–1520)²⁰⁶ and of Joachim Camerarius the Elder (*Fabellae Aesopicae plures quadringentis...*, Tübingen 1538) were the most influential. Camerarius' book, with its first edition containing over four hundred fables, saw the highest number of reprints and revised editions, resulting in its final redaction (*Fabulae Aesopicae plures quingentis et aliae quaedam narrationes*, Leipzig 1564) that counts as many as five hundred fables. The foreword for the abridged version, which Camerarius intended for teaching, was written by Melanchthon, who commended their educational value and significance.²⁰⁷ It is thus not surprising that Joachim Camerarius the Younger, who created the most extensive opus of animal emblems, had a deep understanding of Aesop's fables, having been raised in an environment that was very favorable to them. The most impactful role in this regard was played by his father, who in his first volume of fables emphasized the allegorical value of animal stories as well as their value for learning, spiritual development, and understanding of the world.²⁰⁸

206 The first collection of fables, which Dorp prepared as a professor at the University of Leuven for study purposes, was presumably already produced in 1509 (Cifarelli, 2002, 444).

207 *Fabellae aesopicae quaedam notiores, et in scholis usitatae, partim excerptae de priori editione, partim nunc primum compositae, ad usum studiorum puerilium...* (Leipzig 1545). The book became one of the most published textbooks and regularly printed until the end of the eighteenth century. Melanchthon also explicitly praised it in a letter to his friend Christoph Ziegler ("Philippi Melanthonis Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia," in: Karl Gottlieb Bretshneider (ed.), *Corpus Reformatorum VII*, A. C. Schwetschke, Halis Saxonum, 1840, cols. 561–564).

208 See the introductory dedication (*Epistola*), fols. 2r–4r. The emphasis on the allegorical value of animals is also evident from the double index in the book. The alphabetical index of fables (*Fabulorum index*), followed by the index of allegorical meanings—moral instructions, teachings, character traits, virtues and vices described in certain fables (*Capita praeceptorum ad quae singulae fabulae referendae, sive quid illae docent...*). On the editions of Camerarius' fables, see: Thoen, 1973, 659–679.

The ongoing and even growing interest in the fable across German lands was reflected in the many reprints of the above-mentioned collections as well as in Isaac Nicholas Nevelet's ambitious project, the monumental *Mythologia Aesopica*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1610 as the most comprehensive compilation of Aesopic fables with many new animal stories that he had discovered in formerly unknown manuscripts. The illustrated bilingual (Greek and Latin) edition, comprising almost seven hundred pages and embellished with woodcuts by Virgil Solis, remained unmatched in the German speaking world.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the undisputed lead in the development of the fable was taken by France with Jean de La Fontaine. The Prince of Fables, as he was dubbed by the French, supplemented much of the Aesopic corpus with Indian animal stories (also by drawing on Nevelet's edition) and turned them into French verse brimming with vibrant humor, sparkling irony, and subtle hints at the flaws of contemporary society. His fables, published between 1668 and 1694, met with such remarkable success that they caused Aesopic animal stories to become ingrained in the minds of many European readers as La Fontaine's fables.

The connection between fables and emblem books crucially rested on the fusion of the two genres which occurred in France, where the earliest printed editions of fables appeared before the end of the fifteenth century.²⁰⁹ Due to their brevity and being accompanied by illustrations, most fables, especially when written in verse, were shaped into visually and thematically complete units, nearly aligning with the emblem typology by combining the image and epigram. Still before the mid-sixteenth century, certain editions introduced the structure of a printed page, which was so akin to emblem books that they became known as emblem books of fables (Saunders, 2000, 21–64). The earliest example was Gilles Corrozet's *Les fables du très ancien Ésope* from 1542.²¹⁰ The concise moral teaching of the fable can be likened to the emblematic motto, its illustration is an equivalent of the *pictura*, and its versified text possesses the form

and function of the epigram (*subscriptio*). In Corrozet, the combination of the first three elements is highlighted within the framework of a printed page, whereas the longer explanation of the fable is on the next page.

The page layout resembles the one used in the French editions of Alciato's *Emblemata*; however, their similarities extend past mere design. Two years earlier, Corrozet, an avid admirer of Alciato's emblems,²¹¹ published the first French book of emblems, the famous *Hecatographie* (Paris 1540), with the same page layout as his collection of fables. By doing so, he unequivocally highlighted the emblematic character of fables and established a direct link between the genres. Corrozet's idea proved extremely fruitful, given that his adaptation of Aesop's fables underwent numerous editions and promoted the establishment of a new type of emblem book.²¹² The connection between the genres in the Early Modern Period was reflected in yet another interesting occurrence: once Alciato's editions became widely disseminated throughout Europe, his emblems were also incorporated into the collections of illustrated fables (Tung, 1989, 316). Probably the most famous emblem book of fables is *The Truthful Fables of the Animals* (*De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*, Bruges 1567), by Flemish poet Eduard de Dene and painter Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder.²¹³ Gheeraerts's brilliant etchings vastly contributed to the success of the book, which (slightly revised) was soon published in French (*Esbatement moral des animaux*, Antwerp 1578) and Latin (*Mythologia ethica*, Antwerp 1579).²¹⁴

211 Alciato's book of emblems was first published in France in 1534 (*Emblematum libellus*, Chrestien Wechel, Paris). In 1536, the same publisher released a reprint with the French translation (*Livret des emblemes*), which was published again in 1539 (*Les emblemes*), followed by dozens of reprints and revised editions. For a comprehensive overview of Alciato's editions in France, see: Adams, 1999, 1–94.

212 According to many researchers, the blending into a hybrid genre was a natural process that, due to substantive and structural similarities between the illustrated fable and the emblem in early Renaissance prints, was bound to occur (Geirnaert and Smith, 1999, 23).

213 Aesopic fables in verse, written by Gheeraerts's friend Eduard (Edewaerd) de Dene, are accompanied by 107 illustrations. This is a free adaptation of fables from various sources, most notably Corrozet's collection.

214 The French and Latin editions contain an additional eighteen fables, also including engravings by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. On the subsequent editions, translations, and impact, see: Smith 2007, 43–168.

209 On the editions of Aesopic fables in Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, see: Biscéré, 2018, 328–332.

210 Gilles Corrozet, *Les fables du très ancien Ésope Phrigien, premièrement escrites en grec, et depuis mises en rithme française*, Paris 1542.

The book later went through translations into other European languages. Particularly influential was the German edition, published by Aegidius Sadeler II in Prague in 1608, under the title *Theatrum morum*.²¹⁵

The Truthful Fables of the Animals is an illustrative monument of a convergence of all major fields with a shared interest in animals: emblematics, fables, and early modern zoology. However, it does not merely represent the mature form of the emblem book of fables, which stems from Corrozet's idea of fusing emblematics and fables in the sense of bringing an illustrated fable closer to the emblematic form. The originality of such an approach also rests on including the reverse process: that is, the authors incorporated seven of Alciato's emblems in an innovative way, by enriching them in both visual and thematic terms. The comparison with the editions of Alciato's book shows that De Dene used Barthélemy Aneau's French translation or, more precisely, one of the three editions, with illustrations by Pierre Eskrich (Lyon 1549, 1550, or 1564).²¹⁶ The conciseness of Alciato's epigrams, which Aneau aimed to preserve, was transformed into a more vivid narrative of De Deene's animal stories and completed with the explanation following the fabulist example. Eskrich's relatively simple woodcuts were replaced by superb etchings, in which Gheeraerts significantly expanded his lapidary narrativity with a fine ear for the dynamism and dramatic suspense of the story. These illustrations clearly demonstrate the influence of contemporaneous natural science and zoological illustration: all animals are depicted with compelling verism, characteristic of sixteenth-century animal illustrators, whereas for exotic animals like the chameleon, the direct model was either the woodcut in the book *De aquatilibus* by Pierre Belon (1553) or the woodcut in the second volume of Gessner's *Historiae animalium* (1554), representing a faithful copy of Belon's illustration. In Alciato's early editions, the chameleon was rendered schematically and far from its actual appearance. The image in Alciato's book only became obsolete in the 1584 edition and replaced with

a new, much more realistic depiction of the chameleon (see the images on p. 59). Gheeraerts, clearly not satisfied with the established practice of depicting the chameleon, consulted the contemporaneous natural history literature and illustrated the reptile in accordance with the latest zoological knowledge of his day.²¹⁷



Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, *Chameleon*,
Eduard de Dene, *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*,
Bruges 1567, 72.

Apart from being a valuable document of the convergence of the above-mentioned traditions, *The Truthful Fables of the Animals* is also of interest in relation to the cultural milieu of Carniola's first academicians. Valvasor is known to have had Sadeler's revised edition of the book, titled *Theatrum morum*, in his library. For this book, Sadeler copied the etchings of Marcus Gheeraerts and, probably through the French translation *Esbatement moral des animaux*, translated the text himself (Smith, 2003, 163). He also added fifteen fables and accompanied them with original illustrations. The added fables feature primarily exotic animals: the rhinoceros, water buffalo, camel, tiger, leopard, ostrich, African civet, small-spotted catshark, crocodile, and whale, alongside two large ungulates from the Old Continent that were less well known to Europeans: the moose and European bison. Let us recall that Aegidius Sadeler was one of the

215 Aegidius Sadeler, *Theatrum morum. Artliche Gespräch der Thier mit wahren Historien den Menschen zur Lehr* (Prague 1608). Sadeler based his etchings for *Theatrum morum* on Marcus Gheeraerts's etchings, only as their mirrored versions. He added fifteen fables and equipped them with original illustrations. On *Theatrum morum*, see: Smith 2004, 161–185.

216 See: Geirnaert and Smith, 1999, 30.

217 For a more detailed analysis of the illustration of the chameleon in *The Truthful Fables of the Animals* and earlier emblem books, see: Ashworth, 1984, 134–138.

court artists of Emperor Rudolf II, to whom the book was dedicated.²¹⁸ The addendum with exotic wildlife should not come as a surprise; Sadeler intentionally assigned them a more prominent place in the first part of the volume to inform the reader that his book offered captivating new information from the animal realm. The direct sources for all Sadeler's images of exotic animals have not been identified. He very likely produced at least a few originals from nature, either sketching animals at the emperor's menagerie or taxidermized specimens in his collection of wonders. *Theatrum morum* is—like De Dene's book of fables—a monument of hybrid nature, splendidly encapsulating the fusion of traditions. The only difference is that it shows a much greater interest in exotic animals and hence more directly mirrors the aristocratic fashion of menageries and cabinets of curiosities. Given the circumstances of its production, this is more than understandable: the book was compiled in Rudolfinian Prague, where art and science flourished in close harmony under the patronage of the erudite emperor. Mentioning Sadeler's book, let us also recall that Valvasor held two copies of *Theatrum morum* in his library (BV, 31 and 2328), which further testifies to his fascination with animals, animal stories, their allegorical meanings, and their role in emblematics. The intellectual legacy of Valvasor's interests and work also marked the cultural circle of the Dismas Society, as demonstrated by their memorial book, in which animals play a very significant role. The *Academici Uniti* placed them on the stage of their *Theatrum Memoriae* in the title miniature Apotheosis of Ljubljana. Moreover, animal protagonists, acting as the bearers of symbolic meanings, were also the most frequently used motif in individual emblems.

2.1.3 Animals in Heraldry and Emblem Books

At this point there is no need to waste a lot of words on the prominent role of animals in European heraldry. Suffice to say that, since the earliest stages of the development of heraldic imagery, animals figured as the most common bearers of symbolic meanings on the armorial bearings of noble families, principalities and kingdoms,

²¹⁸ Like his friend Joris Hoefnagel, Sadeler II was in the service of the Bavarian duke Wilhelm V in Munich during the 1590s. From 1597 onward, he lived in Prague, where he assumed the position of the court engraver.

cities and city-states, as well as in the heraldic symbols of various associations. The reason for this is the significance that animals had been granted since Antiquity in European civilization or, rather, in European cultural awareness, art, religion, and daily life. Rich animal iconography, characterizing different fields of European culture, also left an indelible imprint on the development of heraldry. It is no coincidence that the emergence of noble coats of arms in the twelfth century and their rapid spread in the thirteenth century aligned perfectly with the greatest flourishing of bestiaries, which also impacted the occurrence of animals in heraldry. The popularity of heraldic animals is further attested to by another interesting fact: animals often even featured in the imaginary or so-called literary coats of arms that belonged to the protagonists of medieval romances, allegorical novels, and other literary genres. As the fashion of literary coats of arms steadily made its way into the Early Modern Period, the prevalence of animals also marked heraldic symbols that were not directly linked to the nobility, more specifically, the armorial bearings of institutions, such as universities, academies, as well as of a multitude of different literary and scientific associations. The tradition of academic emblems, which often assumed a heraldic function, had already become well-established in the seventeenth century, and it was also a well-trodden path for the Carniolan academicians.

It is significant that the number of noble titles granted in the Early Modern Period increased rapidly. Many successful entrepreneurs, merchants, and even well-off men of peasant background who either prospered and accumulated wealth or distinguished themselves in the service to their country and sovereign were granted a noble title and the right to a coat of arms. The Slovenian provinces were no exception, which probably led Valvasor to compile *The Great Armorial* (*Opus insignium armorumque* or *Das grosse Wappenbuch*), showcasing the coats of arms of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia.²¹⁹ This development

²¹⁹ This unique book, compiled between 1687 and 1688, contains 2041 hand-painted coats of arms, crafted by the miniaturist Bartholomeus Ramschissl. Like most of the books from Valvasor's estate, it is now kept in the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb (Cod. MR 160). In 1993, the facsimile edition was published: *Johann Weichard Valvasor Bartholomeus Ramschissl, Opus insignium armorumque 1687–1688*, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana; in 2020, a new annotated edition followed, prepared by Johann Weiss (*Založba deželna Kranjska, Ljubljana*).

was directly reflected in the *Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*, through the noticeable increase of noble titles in the membership entries. Some academicians who anticipated receiving a noble title chose to hold off the creation of their entry page until they were inscribed as nobility. Given the role and occurrence of coats of arms in the *Dismas Chronicle*, when referring to Valvasor's *Great Armorial* we cannot overlook the fact that master Bartholomeus Ramschissl, who painted the coats of arms for the book, was also one of the leading miniaturists of the Ljubljana *Album*. The artistic, compositional, and substantive connection between the coats of arms and emblems characteristic of the entry folios in the *Theater of Memory* is not new. Although the tradition of linking the emblematic image and coat of arms dates to the earliest period of Renaissance emblematics, its very original form can also be found in Alciato's *incunabulum*. Alciato began his book dedicated to Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan, with an emblem incorporating the duke's heraldic symbol—a serpent with a tiny human figure in its mouth (Alc. 1531, A2v). In the epigram, he provided a flattering interpretation of the heraldic motif, associating it with the legendary birth of Alexander the Great. According to legend, Alexander was the son of Zeus, who approached Queen Olympias in the form of a serpent.²²⁰ Birth from a serpent creates a symbolic parallel between the Macedonian hero and the Duke of Milan. Alciato enhanced the impression of excellence and credibility by adding that he saw such an image on the coins of the Macedonian king.²²¹

However, as the development of early modern emblematics revealed, Alciato's original approach was more an exception than the rule, considering that the interaction of heraldry and emblematics more often followed simpler patterns. In terms of design, the emblematic image and the coat of arms were generally separate elements in printed emblem books, which also applies to the entry pages in the *Dismas Chronicle* based on Thalnitscher's concept. The inclusion of coats of arms in the emblem image, as in the case of

open emblems in the Ljubljana memorial book, was more uncommon. Nonetheless, such compositional solutions can also be found in both manuscripts and printed books. One particularly interesting example is the book by Nicolaus Taurellus, *Emblemata Physico-Ethica* (Nuremberg 1602), in which the emblematic paintings incorporate coats of arms and in some cases also blank escutcheons to be filled at a later date.²²² Combinations of printed emblem books and hand-painted coats of arms appeared in various forms: the most famous among such hybrids was undoubtedly the *Köthener Gesellschaftbuch*, created by the German academic association *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, in which the membership entry combined a manuscript folio with a coat of arms and a printed page with an emblem.

When considering the design and content, as well as the artistic expression and technique, the combinations of coats of arms and emblematic images in the miniatures of the *Dismas Chronicle* found their closest approximations in the hand-painted pages of some *alba amicorum*. Apart from the most common variant, in which the emblematic image and the coat of arms are painted side by side or on separate pages, there are also variants that are of particular interest to this study, in which the coat of arms is inserted into the open-type emblem characteristic of many of Grachower's miniatures in *Theatrum Memoriae*. Such cases are found in a variety of *alba amicorum*, the most directly comparable being the selected pages of the memorial books of Philipp Hainhofer or Paul and Joseph Jenisch (see pp. 39–40). In addition, as noted, there are hand-painted emblem books, such as the memorial book of Perugia's academicians, in which the coat of arms and the *pictura* form parts of the same composition. Adding to the relevance of the Perugia album is the fact that it is an academic emblem book. Combining both elements—the emblem and the coat of arms—is thus equally characteristic of *alba amicorum* and academic emblem books, the two key genres that inspired the Carniolan academicians. Having devised the typology of the entry pages in the *Theater of Memory*, Thalnitscher derived the structure of an entry folio from academic emblem books, but with a greater emphasis on the member's coat of arms. Consequently, heraldry in the miniatures in the *Album* plays a more

220 The legend was first mentioned by Plutarch (Alexander the Great, 4).

221 By that, Alciato simultaneously defined one of the most important sources of inspiration for Renaissance emblematics.

222 It is worthy of note that Valvasor, too, kept a copy of the 1602 edition in his library (BV, 2308).

Mihi sunt mea munera fraudi.

Ad Henricum Bachofen.



Hic me conculcans, cui munera largior, hospes
Obruit, ingrata dilaceratq; manu.
Commoda saepe malis hac est occasio rebus:
Donaq; saepe manus quando capefcit, obest.
Forte quis acceptum si dat tibi munus, offert:
Ingratus ne sis accipiendo cave.

F 3

Media

Emblem of Henric Bachofen, Nicolaus Taurellus,
Emblemata Physico-Ethica,
Nuremberg 1602, 119.

prominent role than in most emblem books. This is understandable because, as emphasized in the title, it is a memorial book representing the members of a noble scholarly association.

Considering animal iconography in the Carniolan academicians' emblems, heraldic animals are paramount to their understanding for a simple reason: each entry folio contains a member's coat of arms, which is assigned an important place in the visual design of the illuminated page, while heraldic animals are painted with great precision and positioned prominently in the composition. Because the symbolic value of heraldic animals is undisputed and their meanings are generally known, they help us understand the animals that appear in the emblem. As it quickly turns out,

Spinisq; tegentibus extant.

Ad Georg: Paulum Nützelium Noriberg.



Cernis ut erumpunt inter dumeta, vepresq;:
Lataq; fragrant lilia flore vigent.
Gallia nonne vides ter denos quanta per annos
Bella ducum effuso tincta crurore ferat?
Navarr. eq; vides inter tot praelia regem,
Victo exultantes ut gerit hoste manus?
Quem ne tantilla dignata est Gallia parte:
Terras hic omnes ecce, virosq; tenet.

D 3

Ex

Emblem of Georg Paul Nützelium, Nicolaus
Taurellus, *Emblemata Physico-Ethica*,
Nuremberg 1602, 165.

the academician's heraldic animal is most often also integrated into his emblem as the essential bearer of his emblematic message. Furthermore, iconographic analysis reveals that the symbolism of animals in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle* tends to be much more complex than their heraldic meaning. In terms of basic content, the heraldic animals enter a new context, defined by the academician's membership nickname, motto, and additional iconographic motifs co-shaping the emblem. In the *Dismas Chronicle*, this is especially relevant because Thalnitscher's original concept of the emblematic images, presented in his *Concept Book*, did not foresee that the member's heraldic animal would play a significant role. Unlike the *Accademici Insensati* in Perugia, who chose the crane,

the United Academicians opted for a stylized heart as their symbol (and emblem). In accordance with the resolution that the noble association passed at its April session in 1689, the members were to create their emblems based on the common academic symbol, the heart, which was to serve as the central bearer of each member's emblematic message (PR, fol. 6v). The same stipulation is provided in further detail in the association's statute, published in the prospectus *Disma-Philologia* in 1708. Thalnitscher's sketches in his *Concept Book* consistently adhere to this principle. Barring a few exceptions, it is also mirrored in the emblems created in the first period of entries and until Thalnitscher's death. Following the academic rule, heraldic animals began to be incorporated into emblems from the very start and soon acquired an equal role as common academic symbols or even became the central bearers of an allegorical message. In such cases the heraldic animal in the emblematic image usually symbolizes the member, while the heart symbolizing the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas either describes the member as a representative of the academic association or is otherwise integrated into the emblematic content.

A fine example of such a solution is the already mentioned emblem of Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch with the emblematic image featuring a small flock of cranes in the middle of a landscape (TM, fol. 73r). The *pictura* is based on Thalnitscher's sketch, in which the most prominent role is assigned to the symbol of the United Academicians, the large heart containing small hearts. The academician and the painter decided to omit the large heart and retain only the stylized heart on the chest of the largest crane holding a stone with its raised foot. The crane with a pebble in its claws—Floriantchitsch's heraldic animal—was thus turned into the central figure, with the heart on its chest identifying it as a member of the Dismas Society. Similar examples were not uncommon, and the role of heraldic animals in the emblems created after Thalnitscher's death in 1719 was further enhanced. This clearly testifies to the importance that the members of the noble society ascribed to the symbolic meaning of heraldic animals, which provided an excellent basis for creating an emblem.

When considering the mutual relationships between emblems and heraldic symbols, it is not only heraldry

that marked the occurrence of animals in emblematics, but the reverse is also true. Popular emblem books often influenced the design of the coats of arms for the new aristocracy, institutions, and associations. The process, which was present right across Europe, also took place on the territory of the present-day Slovenia, where many meritorious and successful individuals were elevated to the nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The emperor was particularly magnanimous in awarding noble titles in Carniola, which witnessed a mass exodus of Protestant families during the Counter-Reformation, leaving a significant gap to be filled (Preinfalk, 2014, 5). A title secured the new nobility the right to a family coat of arms, for which they could propose their own design in line with the established practice and adhering to the noble hierarchy and heraldic rules. The incorporation of symbolically rich emblematic animals from the field of emblematics into the coats of arms of the new nobility in the Ljubljana *Album* is not surprising, given that they were merely following the long-standing tradition. This was most evident with animals that rarely appeared in medieval and early Renaissance heraldry and became much more common towards the end of the sixteenth and especially in the seventeenth century.

The example of the crane is highly illustrative. Before emblematics began to flourish, its rare occurrence in heraldry was usually associated with a family name or estate which was in a way related to cranes. Such families preserved in their name the root of the word 'crane' in Latin or a national language (Lat. *grus*, It. *grua*, Fr. *grue*, Ger. *Kranich*): for example, the Swiss Counts of Gruyère, the renowned Sicilian noble family of La Grua, or the Cranston clan in Scotland). It was only through the evolution of the crane's symbolic meaning in sixteenth-century emblem books that heraldry fully welcomed the bird. Renaissance emblematics largely focused on developing meanings that highlighted education, academic pursuits, erudition, and lofty intellect that soared as high as flying cranes. Although Joannes Sambucus and Hadrianus Junius are ascribed the greatest credit for the popularity of the crane in scholarly circles, Andrea Alciato was also an initiator of the new iconography.²²³ Joannes Sambucus had every reason

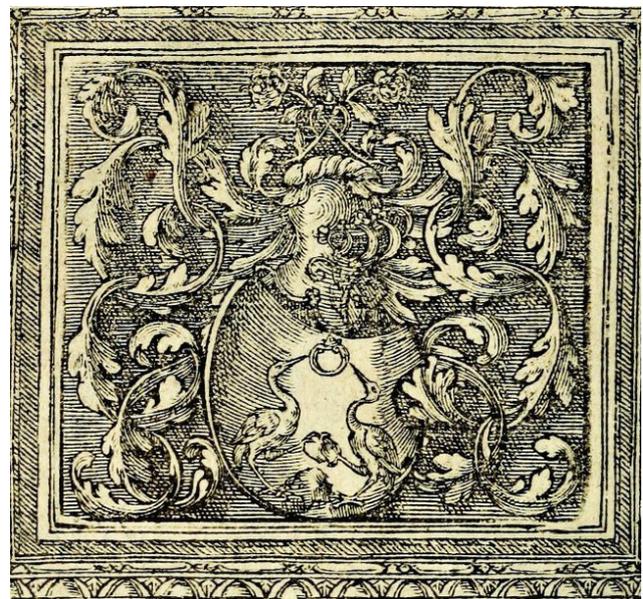
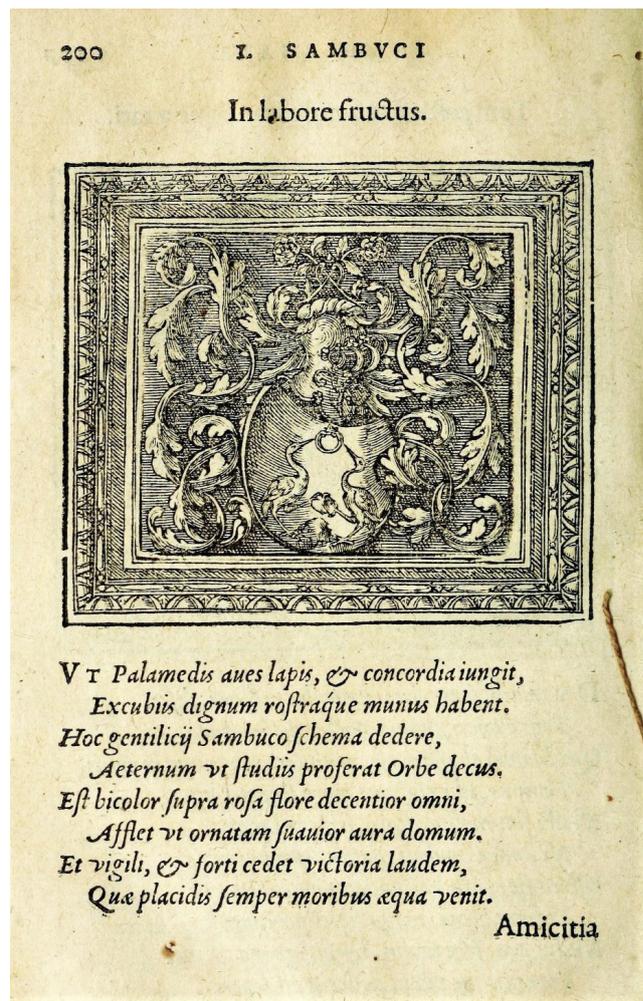
²²³ The emblem with cranes as the representations of wisdom and reason first appeared in Alciato's Venetian edition from 1546 (*Emblematum libellus*, fol. 29r).

to devote particular attention to the symbolism of the crane. When he studied at the University of Paris as an eighteen-year-old youth of Hungarian descent (still under the non-Latinized name Jánoš Zsámboke),²²⁴ his father's attainments earned the family the rank of nobility. In 1549, Péter Zsámboke, a prosperous merchant in the city of Trnava (present-day Slovakia) and twice its mayor, received a noble title and the right to a coat of arms from Ferdinand I, King of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia and later Holy Roman Emperor. While he opted for the crane as his heraldic animal, his educated son probably had the final say in both selecting the animal and designing the coat of arms (Visser, 2005, 5–6). This seems even more likely because the family coat of arms featuring two cranes holding a stone between their claws and a gold ring with their beaks is accompanied by the motto *In labore fructus* (*Labor brings fruit*). In his book of emblems (*Emblemata*, Antwerp 1564), Sambucus later completed his family coat of arms with an epigram praising the characteristics of cranes, which he learnedly referred to as Palamedes' birds.²²⁵ By doing so, he transformed the coat of arms into an emblem that would, thanks to the popularity of his book, have a very far-reaching influence.²²⁶ In the epigram, Sambucus highlighted the motif of laboring through the night and of the reward for the effort that public acclaim brings to a scholar: "*Et vigili, & forti*

224 Before reaching the age of twelve years, young Jánoš began to study Latin and Greek in Vienna and continued his education in Leipzig under the distinguished professor Joachim Camerarius the Elder and at the University of Wittenberg under Philipp Melancthon. He later studied philosophy, philology, and history in Paris, and medicine in Padua. He was appointed the court physician of Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, and passed into history as one of the most versatile humanists of his day. He is especially known to a broad circle of European scholars as the author of the above-mentioned emblem book. On Sambucus and his role in the development of emblematics, see: Visser, 2005.

225 Palamedes, the mythical hero who took part in the Trojan war, was one of the greatest sages of the ancient world and the inventor of the Greek alphabet. According to Philostratus and other authors, he formed several letters imitating cranes' chevron-shaped flight formation (*On Heroes*, 33, 10–11). Palamedes' lasting recognition among future generations was owed especially to Plato, who wrote about him with both respect and affection (*Apology*, 41b; *Republic*, 522d; *Phaedros*, 261b–d).

226 In 1566, Sambucus also published the revised edition of *Emblemata* with Plantin in Antwerp, which saw four reprints before the end of the century and was translated into Dutch and French. See: Visser, 2005, XXIX–XXX.



Emblem of Joannes Sambucus, Joannes Sambucus, Emblemata, Antwerp 1564, 200, whole and cutout.

cedet victoria laudem” (*Emblemata*, 1564, 200). Only a year later, his friend Hadrianus Junius published in a book with the same title an emblem with an identical image and the motto *Eruditionis decor concordia, merces gloria* (*The charm of learning is harmony, its reward is glory*), dedicating it to Sambucus (*Emblemata*, Antwerp 1565, 27). In his comprehensive commentary, Junius further explained and expanded the meaning of the emblem, deeming the crane a suitable symbol for a scholar, because it, too, remains vigilant at night to complete its tasks with diligence while soaring high like the mind of a sage.²²⁷

This detail is especially interesting if we consider the genesis of the emblems used by the first Carniolan academicians, who ranked the crane as the second most favored heraldic bird after the eagle. It was chosen by members of the emerging nobility composed of erudite individuals who were not noblemen at the time of their entry into the Dismas Society and were free to choose their academic coat of arms. The most famous Carniolan intellectual whose coat of arms featured the vigilant crane was Johann Stephan Florianschitsch, one of the first members of the Academy of the United and later an active member of the *Academia operosorum*. His father, Adam Florianschitsch, was a jurist and solicitor of the Carniolan provincial court, elevated to nobility in 1664. His patent of nobility has not been preserved, and the archival records are so limited that we do not have precise knowledge of what his coat of arms looked like (Preinfalk, 67–68). Fortunately, it is presented in Valvasor’s *Great Armorial*, which confirms that its original shape was essentially identical to the arms painted on Florianschitsch’s entry page. An interesting novelty at the intersection of animal iconography and emblematics is that the rings in the cranes’ beaks in the original variant of the coat of arms are simple and stylized, while the gold rings in the *Theater of Memory* are designed more elaborately, each further adorned by a large prism-cut ruby. This shape of rings, very common in emblematics, also appears in the emblem of Joannes

227 “*Multiplex hic cognitio animum simul praestringit: nam uti Grues altivolae sunt, nubila volatu tranantes; ita doctissimus quisque non humo assidet, sed mente caelestes etiam sedes adit, impenetrat; neque id solum, verum etiam gloria aeternitatis affectatrice, sidera pulsat, & nubibus caput inserit. Eaedem etiam vigiles, quod noctu lapidem pede sustinent, ut oppressas somno, laxatis nervis, strepitus cadentis lapidis expergeficiat, diligentiae summae indicium faciunt*” (*Emblemata*, 99–100).

Sambucus. Whether Florianschitsch redesigned the rings to make his heraldic bird more closely resemble Sambucus’ remains to be seen. It is highly likely that he had read Sambucus’ extremely popular book.²²⁸ In every regard, he must have been well acquainted with the Renaissance symbolism of “Palamedes’ birds,” given that he clearly highlighted the role of the crane on his entry page: three cranes adorn his coat of arms, two are incorporated into the decorative cartouche encasing the coat of arms, and the elegant birds are also the main motif of the emblematic image. As astonishing as it may seem, Florianschitsch’s entry page boasts eleven cranes!²²⁹

The impact of emblems on the United Academicians’ selection of heraldic animals is most evident in the designs of coats of arms for the recently ennobled erudite individuals of humble origin who, on entering the association, obtained the right to choose their academic coat of arms. The design of such armorial bearings was akin to the classical noble coats of arms, only that its iconographic basis was usually provided by the member’s selected emblem. The eagle very often featured in academic coats of arms as the heraldic animal of Carniola (and as the two-headed imperial eagle symbolizing the Habsburg Monarchy). For obvious reasons, it was also the bird most commonly featured on the coats of arms of the noble as well as non-noble members of the Dismas Society.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the only factor in selecting the eagle was the connection with the Carniolan heraldic bird. Of equal importance in designing academic coats of arms was the complex symbolism of the royal bird, which surpassed imperial iconography, emphasizing numerous aspects associated with it: nobleness, the spirit of excellence, reason and wisdom, insight and discernment, as well as magnanimity and justice. And we should also not overlook the Christological and eschatological iconography of the eagle, which share the ideas of strong faith, following the teachings of Christ, spiritual rebirth, redemption, and everlasting life. The crane, as noted, was the second most popular heraldic bird after the eagle, reflecting the desire of the Ljubljana academicians to stress

228 In European scholarly circles, Sambucus was acknowledged as a polymath and a man of great distinction, also due to his position at the court of Emperor Maximilian II. He owned one of the largest private libraries in Europe.

229 See the iconographic interpretation on pp. 109–112.

the idea of intellectual work, education, and reason. The prevalence of the crane—it appears eight times in the academicians’ emblems and coats of arms²³⁰—is no coincidence and has a logical explanation. The symbolic meanings of the crane, developed by Renaissance emblematics, were certainly known to the members of the St. Dismas Society, as they were meticulously presented in their most-often consulted source: Picinelli’s encyclopedia of emblems.²³¹ The emblem books of Sambucus and Junius were also widely accessible and documented (among many other emblem books) in Valvasor’s library (BV, 2058 and 1204).

By embracing the crane, the Ljubljana academicians joined the European community of intellectuals in expressing their affiliation with the Italian cultural milieu. The crane was incorporated into the emblems of Italian academic associations at a very early stage: the *Insensati* from Perugia, for example, chose it as their central academic symbol. The emblem of their academy features seven cranes flying high above the sea, each holding a stone in its claws.²³² In the witty tradition of scholarly puns, the motto *Vel cum pondere* builds on the ancient belief that, before embarking on their migration, cranes weighed themselves down with stones not to be blown off course by the winds while traversing the sea. The phrase that the cranes fly weighed (*cum pondere*) has a double meaning: in Latin it signifies weight as well as importance and prudence (*pondero*, Lat. *ponder*, weigh, deliberate, consider). Palamedes’ pebble-carrying birds thus fly towards their destination with deliberation, consideration. The allegorical content bears yet another message:

the *Insensati* identify themselves as cranes, burdened by the heavy load of the stones, and yet these very stones also help them continue relentlessly towards their destination. The dean of the academy, Ottaviano Aureli, writes in his explanation of the emblem that the stones represent the weight of the senses, which pull us towards everything earthly and transient. The spirit wants to soar high above the material world and reach for the heavenly heights. However, the senses are not only a hindrance: for a prudent man, they may also serve as useful tools (*instromenti*) of cognition that guide his path towards wisdom and help his spirit ascend above the sphere of sensory perception (Aureli, *Discorso intorno al nome, et impresa communi degli Accademici Insensati*, Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, Ms 1717, c. 4r).²³³



Emblem of the Perugia Academy of the Insensati, ca. 1575–1593, University of Perugia Historical Archives, Perugia, Ms P III, fol. 1.

230 The crane appears on the entry pages of Johann Paul Quailza (TM, fol. 45r), Georg Andreas Gladich (TM, fol. 67r), Johann Stephan Florianschitsch (TM, fol. 73r), Lorenz Wollwitz (TM, fol. 113r), Anton Leopold Casimir (TM, fol. 122r), Lorenz Daniel Wollwitz (TM, fol. 223r), Anton Gothard Erberg (TM, fol. 261r), and Maria Ignaz Engelshaus (TM, fol. 375r). The owl, symbolizing wisdom, was another emblematic bird commonly featured on the academic coats of arms, although slightly less frequently than the crane.

231 Picinelli described eighteen emblems with the crane holding a stone in its claws: 399–401, 403, 404, 408, 409–414, 422, 424, 428, 429–431 (Pic., I, 4, 301–305).

232 The chosen emblem is substantively identical to Alciato’s, which was first published in *Emblematum libellus* (Venice 1546, fol. 29r), but the image imitates the one in Alciato’s emblem which first appeared in the Lyon edition by Macé Bonhomme in 1548 (*Emblemata*, 20).

233 For an additional interpretation, see: Teza, 2018, 22–27 and 125.

The tendency to emphasize the intellectual note and erudition through animal symbolism is shown distinctly in one of the earliest academic coats of arms in the *Dismas Chronicle*, chosen by the theologian and from 1689 onward the canon of the Ljubljana Cathedral, Georg Andreas Gladich (TM, fol. 67r). The coat of arms features a crane with a phoenix next to it. Apart from the established symbolic meanings, such as the rebirth of the soul, resurrection, and eternal life, during the Renaissance period the phoenix—like the crane—also assumed connotations associated with the value of the spirit, erudition, and intellectual work. The humanist accent in the symbolism of the phoenix is expressed through the belief that a man lives eternally in his works, spiritual legacy, teachings, books, and so forth. In accordance with the ancient tradition of depicting the phoenix on funerary stelae, during the Renaissance period the mythical bird first appeared on humanist memorials and epitaphs. In such an iconographic context, the phoenix also graces the tombstone of the famous Venetian humanist Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico, which is further evidenced by the Greek motto *Ek tou thanatou eis ton bion* (*From death to life*) on the banner above the open-winged phoenix in flames and by the Latin inscription on the base of the Renaissance aedicula, affirming the transience of man's life and the grandeur of his intellectual labor (Antonio Lombardo, ca. 1506, Museo



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Georg Andreas Gladich, detail of the coat of arms, 1690, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 67r.

Correr, Venice).²³⁴ The popularity of the humanist note in the iconography of the phoenix is further evidenced by the printer's signets, which are similar to impresas in both purpose and appearance. A particularly well-known phoenix is associated with Gabriele Giolito, who opened the bookshop Libreria della Fenice in Venice with his father in 1523 and subsequently his own printing press. The phoenix rising from the flames engulfing the earthly sphere is accompanied by the mottos *Semper eadem* (*Always the same*) and *Della mia morte eterna vita i(o) vivo* (*In my death I live eternal life*).²³⁵ Gladich's decision to add the phoenix to the crane in his coat of arms is even more understandable, considering his broad education and writings. In Gladich's unfinished curriculum vitae, preserved in his *Concept Book*, Thalnitscher specifically highlights: "[H]is unwavering dedication to his studies also earned him the election as President of the Academy of the Industrious" (*Spaminska knjiga I*, 250).

Just as illustrative is the academic coat of arms of physician Mark Gerbez (TM, fol. 35r) with a stag holding a green branch in its mouth. At first glance, it is hard to associate this animal, prominently placed at the top of the academic coat of arms, with the idea of learnedness, reason, intellectual pursuits, or Gerbez's profession. However, the example aptly illustrates the cosmopolitanism of the Carniolan academicians in the world of emblematics and animal symbolism. The stag was carefully selected to allude to the commissioning member's profession, because in emblematics, it represents the stag's prudence and ability to find a cure for its wounds.²³⁶ Ancient authors wrote that the stag (as well as the ibex or wild goat) possesses a unique ability to find the medicinal herb—*diktamnus* (a type of wild marjoram)—to heal the wounds caused by a hunter's arrow.²³⁷ The motif became canonized by Pliny, who compiled earlier records in his *Natural History* (XXV, 52), and endured as a recurring theme in medieval and early modern iconography of the stag, as well as by

234 *Quem non res hominum non omnis caeperat aetas/ scribentem capit haec Coccion urna brevis.*

235 On Giolito, see: Nuovo and Coppens, 2005.

236 It is found, for example, in Picinelli's collection of emblems, which was an often-used source for the United Academicians (Pic., I, 5, embl. 216, 368).

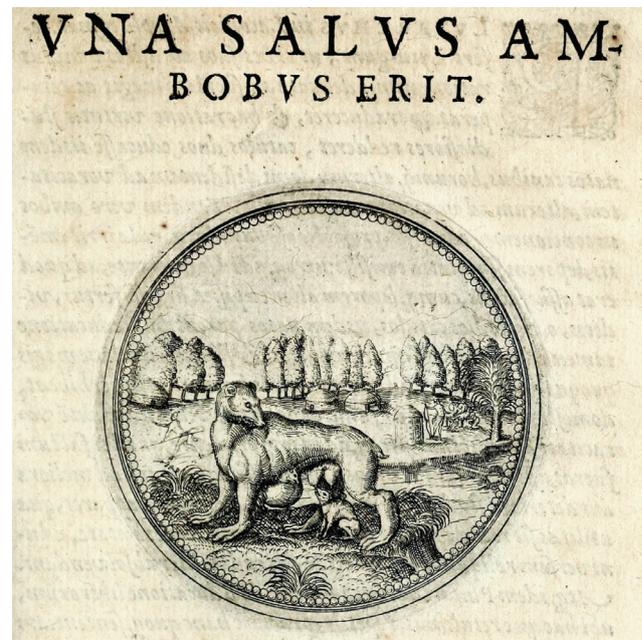
237 See the interpretation of the emblem of Anton Thadäus Taufferer on pp. 199–202.

regularly appearing in Renaissance natural history.²³⁸ The fact that Gerbez adopted the motif from emblematics is indicated by the shape of the medicinal herb in the stag's mouth: wild marjoram is depicted as a tree branch rather than an herb at least remotely resembling the Mediterranean aromatic plant. In emblem books, the *diktamnos* is often rendered as a leafy tree branch or a miniature tree.²³⁹ A small, stylized tree also occupies the center of the physician's escutcheon, completing the iconography of the stag healing itself with *diktamnos*, which further confirms the thesis that Gerbez adopted the motif from emblematics.

Despite inevitable simplifications, a brief outline of Renaissance natural history, Aesopic fables, and heraldry in terms of their impact on animal iconography in emblematics points to their close interconnection and similarity in content, which are crucial for understanding the emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*. The transfer of animal motifs between different fields, as well as their interactions and mutual influences are multifaceted, making it difficult to identify their direct source, except where the models are distinct enough and/or their textual contexts leave no room for ambiguity. Research is intricate because of the confluence and overlapping of different fields (each further subjected to a variety of influences), but also because animals entered emblematics as autonomous bearers of symbolic meanings, simultaneously traversing several fields. Animal symbolism developed during a long process of supplementing, adapting, and transforming meanings that different cultural environments attached to a specific animal. By the Renaissance era, when the first emblem books emerged, every animal symbolically significant in European civilization had walked a long path, accumulating a variable load of symbolic meanings that made it appealing to the creators of emblems. The beginnings of this path were most often in Antiquity, Greco-Roman mythology, ancient natural history, and literary tradition. Building on this historical basis, Christian animal iconography developed many new allegorical connotations, primarily through biblical exegesis and

moral-didactic literature. With the *Physiologus*, in the first centuries of Christianity, the fusion of the two traditions laid a solid foundation for the development of medieval animal iconography, which attained one of its most vivid manifestations in bestiaries. The Renaissance readily embraced the rich heritage and abundantly expanded it, as is shown also in emblematics. Through emblems, interest in the symbolic realm of animals experienced a striking revival, causing the proliferation of emblem books throughout Europe.

Early modern emblematics recontextualized the symbolic meanings of animals, offering inventive executions and creating original content. The authors of emblem books showed particular ingenuity with respect to non-native animal species that were unknown in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Such animals entered the European world like newcomers without the “baggage” of symbolic representation. However, through being incorporated into emblem books and imaginatively crafted emblems, they soon became the bearers of allegorical messages, prompting the development of new symbolic content. Thus even the American opossum—a not particularly appealing marsupial, slightly bigger than a rat—attracted the attention of certain creators of emblems. Camerarius, who compiled the most extensive collection of animal



Opossum (Simivulpa), Joachim Camerarius, Symbolorum et emblematum II, Nuremberg 1595, emblem 58.

238 Unlike most ancient writers, Pliny associated the motif of the healing wild marjoram with the stag. Although Renaissance naturalists maintained that it was the Cretan goat, they also invoked the motif when discussing the stag. See: Gessner, *Historiae animalium*, Lib. I, 1551, 322.

239 See, for example, the emblem collection of Gabriele Symeoni (*Le imprese heroiche et morali*, Lyon 1559, 34).

DE SIMIVULPA. SIC ENIM FINGO
 NOMEN, NE SIT ANONYMOS HAEC BESTIA:
 cuius imaginem addidi, qualis in tabulis Geographi-
 cis depingi solet.



I qui nostra memoria Payram regionem lustrarunt, bestiam dicunt se uidisse quadrupedem, ex anteriore parte uulpem, ex posteriore simiam: præterquàm quòd humanis pedibus sit, & noctuæ auribus; & subter communem uentrem, instar matris alium uentrem

Opossum (Simivulpa), Conrad Gessner, Historiae animalium, Zurich 1554, Lib. I, 981.

emblems, presented the opossum, which he had never seen, under the then known name *Simivulpa* or “monkey fox” (Cam. II, 1595, embl. 58). He borrowed the zoological information and illustration from Gessner (1551, 981–982) but stated in the accompanying interpretation that he saw the animal depicted on Vincent Pinzón’s geographical map.²⁴⁰

He expanded Gessner’s summary by adding allegorical content with a motto and epigram. However, the motto *Custodia tuta* (*Perfectly safe*) was not original but adopted from the Italian author of impresas, Luca Contile (*Ragionamenti*, Pavia 1574, 56).²⁴¹ The only two

original elements were the epigram “*O tutos satis hos cives, populumque beatum/ Queis velut in patrio fas habitare sinu*” and the allegorical explanation of the moral teaching that people under a good ruler are as safe and content as young opossums in their mother’s pouch. The same principle, according to Camerarius, also held for the nurturing provided by parents and everyone concerned with our wellbeing, for which we should be grateful.²⁴²

reads: “Haste, my dear father, (’tis no time to wait,)/ And load my shoulders with a willing freight./ What e’er befalls, your life shall be my care./ One death, or one deliv’rance, we will share (II, lines 962–5). The epigram and accompanying text of the emblem remain unchanged.

240 For a comprehensive explanation of how Camerarius’ emblem with the opossum developed, see: Enenkel, 2017, 132–139.

241 The motto is found in Camerarius’ manuscript; however, in the printed editions of the book, it is replaced by the motto “*Una salus ambobus erit*” (*We shall share one common salvation*). The new motto is taken from *Aeneid*: “...quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum, una salus ambobus erit” (II, 710), and it refers to the episode, in which Aeneas rescues his father and son from burning Troy. In John Dryden’s translation, it

242 Luca Contile, who used the opossum for the impresa of Marco Corregiari, a member of the *Accademia degli Affidati* in Pavia (*Ragionamenti*, 56–57), designed the allegorical content starting from the same premise: the fact that the opossum carries its young in a pouch. Because the impresa was crafted for the canon of Pavia, theologian and philosopher, Contile converted the allegory into an image of spiritual care: just like the opossum takes care of its young, so does a prudent man care for the gifts of spirit and virtue, not merely for his own benefit, but in order to share them with others.

Despite the introduction of newly discovered non-European fauna, emblem books continued to be dominated by the animals of the Old World. This was due to the simple fact that animals with well-established symbolic meanings proved to be more useful for the creators of emblems, as well as more familiar and emotionally significant to readers. The same may be said of the emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*, in which exotic New World animals do not appear and European animals with an age-long tradition of symbolic meanings predominate. Of the more exotic species only those are included that had already become part of the European animal iconography in ancient times and assumed a prominent place in it. However, even these are surprisingly rare except for the lion: the only animals to be found alongside the elephant and panther are the mythical phoenix, unicorn, basilisk, and dragon. Considering that *Theatrum Memoriae* was compiled during an era when the overall knowledge of animals from the recently discovered parts of the world rapidly expanded, when the first academies and associations in the field of natural science were founded,²⁴³ and specimens of exotic fauna inhabited the literature, visual arts, and emblematics, the Carniolan academicians' insistence on the "ironclad assortment" of animals may seem somewhat conservative. However, such an assumption is misleading. The newly discovered wildlife also rarely figured in most emblem books created during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, the decision to use animals with established symbolism in the emblems of the Ljubljana *Album*, where heraldry and heraldic animals play a significant role, becomes even more understandable.

2.2 The Occurrence, Role, and Meaning of Animals in the United Academicians' Emblems

In the illuminations of the Ljubljana *Album*, animals most often figure as the bearers of symbolic meanings and are, one way or another, made part of the emblematic message. The analysis delivers anticipated results:

243 About 1645, an association of scientists started its operations in London, which led to the establishment of the esteemed Royal Society of London in 1662, with the founding charter granted by King Charles II. Valvasor also became its member. Ten years before that (1652), the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* was founded in Schweinfurt, Bavaria, the *Académie royale des sciences* in Paris in 1666, the *Collegium curiosorum* in Uppsala in 1710, etc.

while this is an established tradition in early modern emblematics, the idea of animals as the bearers of allegorical messages is at the very core of the concept of the Ljubljana memorial book. In declarative terms, it is expressed in the preface to the *Dismas Chronicle*, in which Thalnitscher informs the reader that the images in the book are symbolic, "as the members' virtues are presented with visual representations in the same way as the Ancient Egyptians did it."²⁴⁴ The first secretary of the academic society fully embraced the Renaissance theory of symbolic images, championing the idea of Egyptian hieroglyphs as symbolic images, the deeper meaning of which was only known to the initiated. Thalnitscher illustrated his position in practice by explaining the symbolic meaning of animals featured in the introductory miniature Apotheosis of Ljubljana. The undeniable allegorical value of animals is also demonstrated by his emblem drafts in the *Concept Book* and the accompanying notes. Consequently, it can also be inferred from the emblems of the Carniolan academicians and from the thoughtfully crafted design of their entry pages. In the same vein, it is apparent that the members of the Dismas Society drew inspiration from the established tradition of emblem books and other literary or artistic models showcasing animals imbued with allegorical meanings.

Due to the multitude of animals in the miniatures of the Ljubljana *Album* and their diverse roles, caution is required when conducting iconographic analysis. Despite their predominantly symbolic value, some animals do not possess—nor should they be assigned—a deeper meaning. Alternatively, their symbolic value may be much more complex than one would expect. When determining the potential symbolic significance of animals in the *Dismas Chronicle*, consideration ought to be given to their position in the illumination, the interaction with other iconographic elements, and the broader context in which each entry page was designed. The need for caution is further emphasized because interpreting the deeper meanings of animals has proved a task that may quickly lead to inaccurate conclusions.

244 "Eß haben die Egyptier auf denen aufgethürmeten Säulen unnd Stainen jenes, so sye in einen Begrüff endtwerffen wollen, durch sünreiche Ebenbilder unnd Figurn vorgestellt. Disem Exemph zu volge suchet mann heuth zu Tage daß, so mann in einem vorgegebenen Werkh oder Tractat zu handeln gesünet, in dem ersten Plath oder Frontispicio das völlige Vorhaben, gleich in einem engen Vorbildt anzuführen" (TM, fol. 4v).

It is not uncommon for errors to be made before even embarking on iconographic interpretation. Because art historians are not zoologists, one can easily misidentify an animal species. Building on a flawed premise means that any further interpretation of symbolic meanings will simply yield a series of erroneous assumptions and conclusions. Although emblematic animals in the Ljubljana *Album* are often minuscule, the painters clearly sought to depict them as precisely as possible and with an emphasized verism for the readers to readily recognize them. This very concern points to the role that animal figures play in emblems and to the awareness of illuminators (as well as commissioning academicians) that identifying animals correctly was paramount for understanding the emblematic message.

In a few cases where the depiction of an animal is not precise enough to identify the species with certainty, we can benefit from the “iconographic clues” that developed in animal symbolism and were well known to the creators of emblems in the Ljubljana memorial book. To exemplify, let us consider the emblematic image of Lorenz Wollwiz (TM, fol. 113r), featuring a bird with long legs, neck, and beak that cannot be reliably identified based on its appearance. It could belong to the family of herons, showing the closest resemblance to the purple heron (*Ardea purpurea*). On the other hand, its depiction is clearly quite a creative one, and we can only guess what type of bird the illuminator had in mind. Yet from an art historical perspective, speculation is unnecessary because the bird is shown standing on one leg and holding a stone in the other foot, allowing us to instantly identify it as a crane. In European iconographic tradition (and more narrowly, in emblematics), a bird standing in this way provides a reliable iconographic clue that leaves no doubt.²⁴⁵

Sometimes the identification of an animal may be more complex and require thorough knowledge of animal symbolism and emblematics, which makes iconographic misreadings understandable. It is noteworthy that blunders may also occur in unexpected contexts and to the most seasoned experts. Such cases include making premature associations with related or ostensibly similar motifs substantively corresponding to the emblematic motto and academic nickname,



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Johann Paul von Qualiza, a detail of the emblematic image with the member's motto and academic name, 1689, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 45r.

with which they form a meaningful whole. Because the message initially appears unambiguous, one may disregard details that should warrant attention and further scrutiny of the emblem. A fine example is the interpretation of Qualiza's emblematic image (TM, fol. 45r) in Kastelic's iconographic catalogue (2001, 132). The *pictura* shows a fierce confrontation between armed soldiers and large birds, accompanied by the academician's motto *Vigilantia victrix* (*Vigilance is victorious*) and the membership name *Der Munttere* (*The Vigilant One*). The emphasized motif of vigilance led the great scholar of Antiquity to think that it was a well-known story about the vigilant Capitoline geese, which saved Rome from the Celtic troops. However, if we take a closer look at the image, we note that the birds have long sharp beaks and slim legs, which are not characteristic of geese. Another striking detail is the size ratio, as the belligerent birds are of equal size to the soldiers or even larger than them. The birds therefore cannot represent geese. What is more, the association with the episode from the history of Rome is also misguided because, as the legend goes, the geese did not attack the enemy but, once they heard the approaching Celtic troops at night, merely alerted the Roman sentinels with loud honking.²⁴⁶ The battle

²⁴⁵ See the interpretation of Lorenz Wollwiz's emblem on pp. 113–115.

²⁴⁶ The incident was chronicled by Titus Livius (*History of Rome*, V, 47), Plutarch (*On the Fortune of the Romans*, *Moralia*, IV, 23), Aelianus (*On the Characteristics of Animals*, XII, 33), and Pliny (*Natural History*, XXIX, 57), and it was also mentioned by Vergil (*Aeneid*, VIII, 655).

that took place in an open field and in broad daylight, as depicted on Qualiza's emblem, therefore calls for a different interpretation. The birds' long legs and pointed beaks suggest that they are cranes, while the fierce confrontation and unusual size ratios provide a reliable basis for recognizing the motif: the well-known episode of Pygmies fighting cranes mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*.²⁴⁷

Through iconographic analysis, animals featured in the illuminations of the Ljubljana *Album* may be divided into three broad categories. The **first group** includes animals that are not the bearers of symbolic content and play no part in forming emblematic messages. The miniaturists demonstrate this by placing them in the background and painting them so small that sometimes they are hardly noticeable. Such an approach can be observed in early illuminations: for example, the tiny birds flying in the emblematic images of Johann Gothard Lukantschitsch (TM, fol. 107r) and Baron Jobst Joseph Kuschlan (TM, fol. 183r). Other animals occasionally appear, for example, a puppy on the beach in the emblematic image of Bishop Franz Christoph Wagathey (TM, fol. 318r) or a dog chasing a wolf with the hunter in the emblem of Count Franz Carl Joseph Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 302r).²⁴⁸ When animals without symbolic meaning appear in open emblems, the composition makes it more difficult to interpret their role with any certainty. However, analyzing the illuminations in the *Dismas Chronicle*, it becomes clear that a well-versed master, such as Grachower, adeptly guides us through the interpretation process. The dog standing on the riverbank in Baron Carl Leopold Rosetti's emblem (TM, fol. 357r) merely serves to enrich the landscape in the background, while the allegorical message is formed by the central motif of the miniature (two young Turkish women and a black maid surrounded by dew-covered greenery), the motto (*Dew is the greatest power of the earth and moisture from above*) and the academic nickname (*The One Waiting for Redemption*).

Sometimes—especially in open emblems—an animal may be more pronouncedly included in the visual and thematic design of the entry page, which increases the

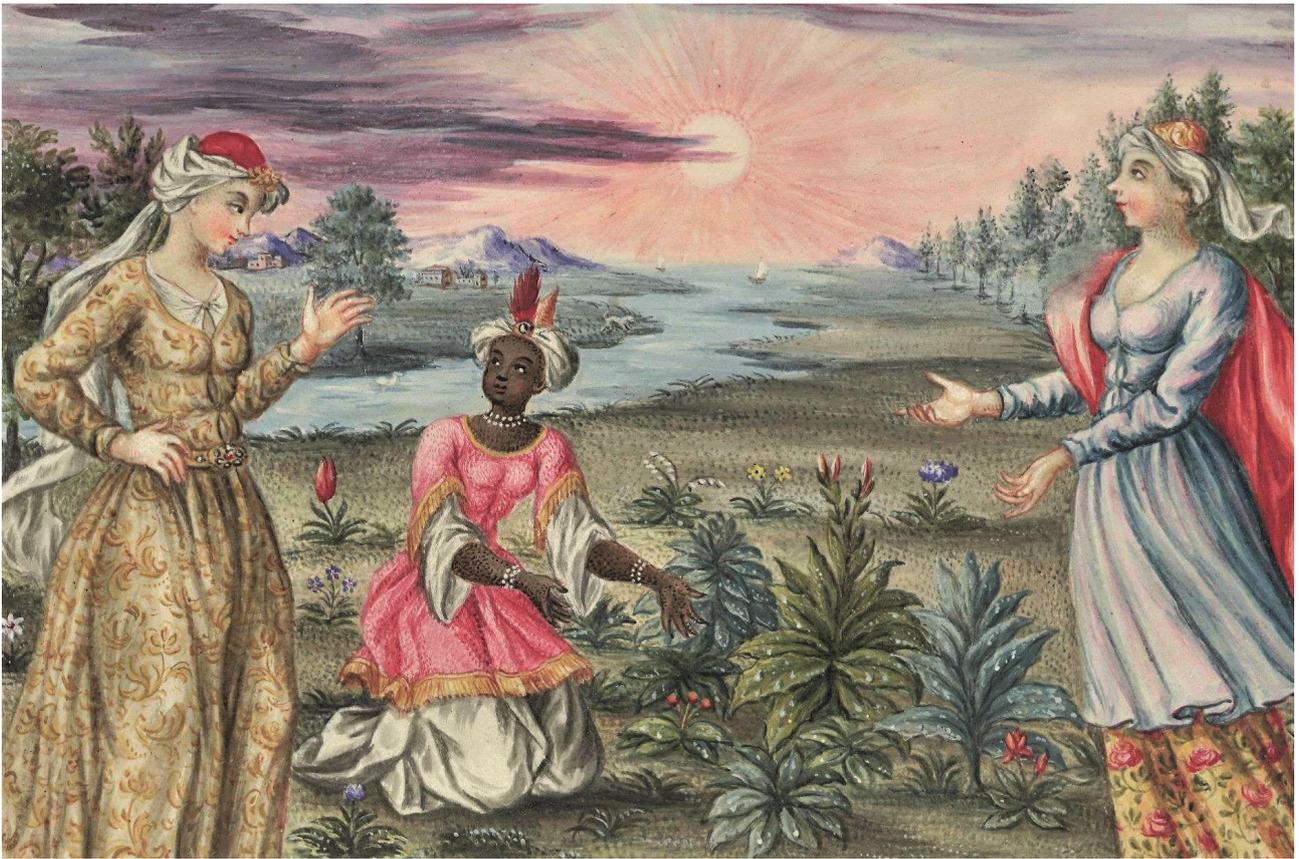
probability of its symbolic significance. The emblem of Baron Mark Anton Billichgrätz opens a view of a Baroque park with a stone fountain on the left and a large Rococo cartouche placed in a fantasy architectural frame occupying the foreground of the painting (TM, fol. 320r). Chronos, holding a downward-pointing scythe, is leaning elegantly against the fountain. Behind him, on the far left, a stag is drinking water from the fountain and a winged boy is standing beside it with stylized flames on his bare chest. Among the trees behind the fountain, we notice a bear that has wandered into the park. Its size catches our eye, even more so because an archer depicted in vibrant Turkish attire is taking aim at it. However, the selected academic name *Der Erwartende* (*The Awaiting One*) and the motto *Expectans expectavi Dominum et intendit mihi* (I waited patiently for the Lord; and he inclined unto me)²⁴⁹ have no substantive connection to the bear in the park, signaling that the left half of the composition with Chronos, the winged boy, and the stag are key to understanding the emblematic message. The psalm from which the motto is taken strongly emphasizes the motif of time and anticipation, most directly at the very end: "Thou art my help and my deliverer;/ make no tarrying, O my God! (Ps 40,17). The idea is embodied in Chronos as the personification of time, pointing to the transience of life spent in anticipation, while the desire for God's closeness and redemption is represented by the stag drinking from the fountain as an established metaphor in Christian iconography for the soul's yearning for the Lord. The traditional symbolism of the stag at the fountain in the baron's emblem is confirmed by the inscription in the Rococo frame: "*Sicut cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea,*" which is a slightly abbreviated transcription from Psalm 42.²⁵⁰ The core content of the emblem is further underscored by the personification of the yearning for God, depicted as the winged boy standing next to the stag. With his left hand, he is touching the coat of arms of the Barons Billichgrätz and with his right he is pointing to his

247 See the interpretation of the emblem on p. 99–101.

248 Kastelic (2001, 220) misidentifies the animals as three hunting dogs.

249 This is part of a line from Psalm 40, which reads: "*I waited patiently for the Lord;/ and he inclined unto me and heard my cry.*" (Ps 40,2).

250 According to the King James Version: "*As the hart panteth after the water brooks,/ so panteth my soul after thee, O God.*" (Ps 42,2).



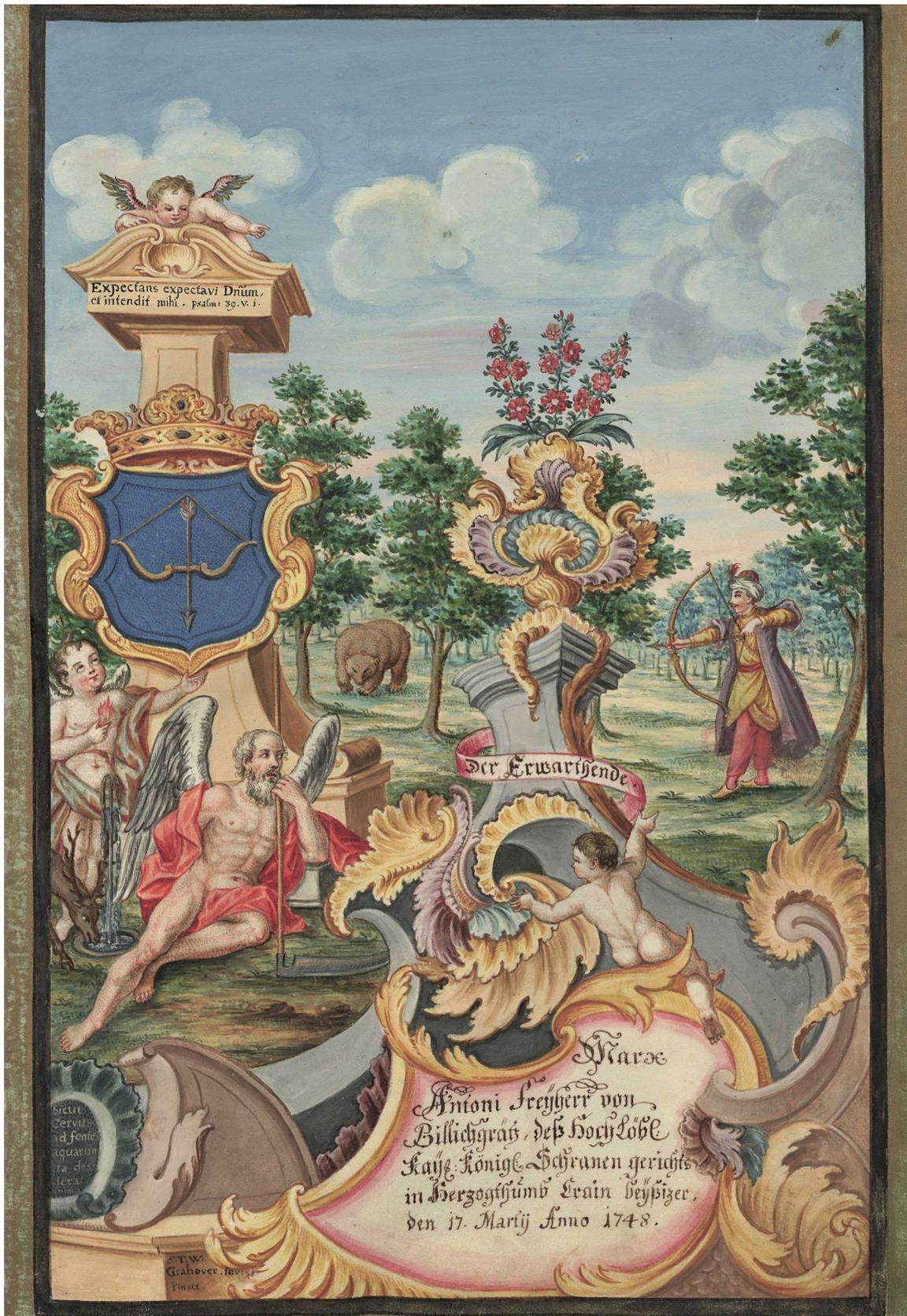
Simon Thaddeus Grachower, *Entry page of Baron Carl Leopold Rosetti, a cutout with a landscape and a dog on the riverbank, 1758, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 357r.*

bare chest, with flames flickering on his chest.²⁵¹ The scene in the foreground and the text effectively complete the emblematic message, while leaving aside the exotic motif of the archer in lavish Ottoman costume. Calmly wandering through the park, the bear takes no notice of the danger that the unusual hunter is posing. Its carefreeness confirms that it is merely part of a playful addition to what can be understood as an expression of contemporary fascination with vibrant Oriental motifs, quite a few of which also feature in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle*.²⁵²

251 The personification suggests that the author of the emblem may have been familiar with Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, in which *Desire for God* (*Desiderio verso iddio*) is presented in the same way, in the company of a stag drinking water from a spring (Ripa, 1606, 102). The correct identification is confirmed by the identical figure on Thalnitscher's entry page (TM, fol. 279r), this time completed with the title that leaves no doubt: *Desiderium Dei*.

252 See, for example, the entry page of Count Wolf Engelbert Ignaz Auersperg (TM, fol. 306r) and its iconographic interpretation.

Because there are exceptions to every rule, the illuminations of entry pages occasionally reveal that even the tiniest animal, set far in the background and ostensibly irrelevant to the central motif, may hold symbolic significance. In the emblematic image of Count Paul Alois Auersperg (TM, fol. 347r), the main motif is a bull attacked by three dogs. Combined with the motto *Vulnerare nequeunt* (*They cannot wound*), the academic nickname *Der unerschrocken Standhafte* (*The Fearlessly Steadfast One*), as well as the women personifications of courage, faith, hope, and love, the emblem conveys a clear message. Nonetheless, it will not escape a careful viewer's notice that the bull and the dogs are not the only animals on the painting. On the far right of the miniature, where mountains soar in the distance, we can see an ibex standing on a high mountaintop (see the image on p. 218). Albeit very small, given the distance according to the rules of perspective painting, it is still much too large and prominent to leave any doubt: the miniaturist deliberately placed it on top of



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Mark Anton Billichgrätz, 1748, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 320r.

the mountain and assigned it a special significance. It is possible that the artist merely wished to draw attention to the beauty of the Alpine landscape and the ibex as its representative. However, this does not exclude the potential symbolic content that may be more closely associated with Count Auersperg's emblematic message. At least three indicators point in this direction:

- despite its miniature dimensions (ca. 4 mm in height), the ibex is clearly identifiable and standing on the mountaintop in heraldic posture;
- the ibex holds a wealth of symbolic meanings, and the same is true of its representations depicted on top of Alpine peaks in the *Dismas Chronicle* (e.g., the emblem of Leopold Ludwig Hohenwart, TM, fol. 298r; it is noteworthy that both emblems were painted by Grachower);
- in the upper right corner of the miniature, above the rocky landscape featuring the ibex, a genius in the sky holds the banner with a quote from the psalmist: *Multa flagella peccatoris, sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit* ("Many are the sorrows of the sinner, but mercy shall surround him that hopeth in the Lord;" Ps 32,10).²⁵³

Considering that in European iconography, an ibex standing on a mountaintop signifies prudence and trust in God (especially in trying times referred to in the line quoted from Psalm 32), it may easily be linked to the main emblematic message, which speaks of Count Auersperg's bravery, steadfast faith, and confidence even in the face of peril. Contrary to the dominant interpretation of animals similarly positioned in the miniature, the ibex, albeit tiny and far in the distance, therefore acts as the bearer of symbolic meaning and forms part of the emblematic message.

The **second group** comprises animals that form part of the emblematic message but are not endowed with specific symbolism that would significantly contribute to its content. Or animals that, firmly anchored in the established iconographic motif, already have a precisely defined and well-known symbolic meaning that does not need to be analyzed separately.

²⁵³ In the King James Version, the line reads: "Many sorrows shall be to the wicked, but he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about."

For the sake of clarity, we can divide animals with such a role into three subgroups:

- animals without individual symbolic meaning that usually appear in groups as the bearers of a collective symbolic message, defined by the context of the emblem;
- animals as the attributes of personifications and ancient gods, without additional symbolic traits;
- animals that are part of established iconographic motifs, in which they have a precisely defined and unmistakable symbolic meaning.

The first subgroup is well illustrated by the emblems of Count Richard Auersperg (TM, fol. 351r, see the image on p. 26) and Baron Carl Bernhard Rauber (TM, fol. 275r). Auersperg's entry page features a fine-suited young man walking lost in thought along a trail with a rifle in his hand and a hunting dog at his side. While the dog eagerly sniffs a tree, its master is oblivious to the world around him. The motto *Love conquers all*, borrowed from Vergil's *Eclogues* (X, 69), explains the image: the man, most probably representing the academician who commissioned the emblem, shows no interest in hunting and remains indifferent to the rain, as his thoughts are consumed by love. The dog, albeit featured in the emblematic message, does not hold any distinct symbolic value, and it would be misleading to theorize any possible allegorical implications.²⁵⁴ Rauber's emblematic image depicts a stag grazing in a field of wheat and a wild boar ravaging a vineyard. On the left side, below the tree, lies a stylized red heart. The motto *Alas, no effort, no gain!*, paired with the academic nickname *The Careless One*, suggests that an idle man will not reap his harvest, as it will be devoured by wild animals, represented by the stag and the wild boar as *pars pro toto* and without specific symbolic connotations.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ The same is true of the dog in the emblem of Count Joseph Wilhelm Barbo (TM, fol. 361r): a young man has discovered the joy of hunting in the devoted company of his hound.

²⁵⁵ The herd of cattle on the emblematic image of Johann Anton Wolkenberg (TM, fol. 312r) also serves as a collective symbol: while the cows graze contentedly, the elderly shepherd sits on a rock, unconcerned by the storm clouds because the sun is already shining on the other side. In the same vein, the draft horses in the emblem of Joseph Gabriel Busset (TM, fol. 339r) are merely presented as beasts of burden and do not possess any distinct symbolic meanings.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Carl Bernhard Rauber, a detail of the emblematic image with the member's motto and academic name, 1739, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 275r.

The following subgroup comprises animals accompanying various allegorical figures and ancient deities. The role of an attribute is thus, for example, attached to a white greyhound symbolizing loyalty on Baron Posarelli's entry page (TM, fol. 213r), a crane next to Divine Providence in the emblem of Baron Erberg (TM, fol. 261r), a stag drinking water from a spring next to the personified longing for God in Thalnitscher's emblem (TM, fol. 279r), a white lamb in the arms of Innocence on the entry page of Count Lamberg (TM, fol. 283r), and so on. Among the ancient deities, Diana, the goddess of the hunt, or her Greek equivalent Artemis, appears on the illuminated pages of the *Dismas Chronicle* accompanied by hunting dogs, stags, or does as her attributes. Variations of the motif appear on the entry pages of Count Juritsch (TM, fol. 205r), Baron Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 229r), Baron Gallenfels (TM, fol. 255r), and Andreas Sigmund Gandini (TM, fol. 324r). Apart from Diana, we also encounter Athena with an owl in Posarelli's miniature (TM, fol. 213r) and Jupiter with an eagle in the emblem of Count Anton Joseph Auersperg (TM, fol. 259r).²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ It is worth noting that Jupiter in the emblem may also be viewed as the personification of the intellect with flames flickering on his crown. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the young man with an eagle, royal scepter, and blazing crown is the personification of the intellect (Ripa, 1603, 238). Such an interpretation is also supported by the context—all figures in

The last subgroup comprises animals with a well-defined symbolic meaning that is either autonomous or included in the established iconographic context, as well as usually being unambiguous and straightforward in terms of iconographic analysis. This is particularly true of traditional Christian motifs, such as the dove of the Holy Spirit in the creation of Adam on the entry page of Count Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 367r), Agnus Dei holding a banner with a cross in Count Lamberg's emblem (TM, fol. 283r), and the dove with an olive branch in the motif of Noah's Ark, featured in the emblems of Baron Webersberg (TM, fol. 69v), Count Thurn-Valsassina (TM, fol. 155r), and Count Cobenzl (TM, fol. 189r). While animal symbolism is most often straightforward in such motifs, a distinctive aspect may be expressed to reflect the academicians' requests. Webersberg's emblematic image of Noah's Ark stranded on Mount Ararat, for example, specifically highlights the idea of peace. A white dove holding an olive branch in its beak is depicted flying towards the ark and a rainbow spanning the sky. In combination with the rainbow signaling the end of the Deluge, the traditional symbol of peace has a very specific implication: it signifies God's grace, forgiveness, and reconciliation.²⁵⁷ The red heart gracing the ark ties the underlying theme to the St. Dismas Society. The iconography of the dove with an olive branch, announcing that the waters have begun to subside, was formed in early Christianity and did not change significantly over the subsequent centuries. In the emblem of Zacharias Gottfried Webersberg, the olive wreath in place of the usual cartouche frame further

Auersperg's emblem (except the angel) are the embodiments of virtues. In every regard, the figure of Jupiter is ambivalent, and the association of this ancient deity with the idea of a personified virtue is more than obvious. Ripa intentionally attached the personification of the intellect to Jupiter, precisely because Jupiter, or Greek Zeus, was also the god of wisdom, prudence, and reason. Grachower, on the other hand, attributed the earthly sphere to Jupiter/personified intellect to particularly highlight his position as king of the gods.

²⁵⁷ The iconography rests on the connection of two Biblical events related to the themes of salvation, the grace of God, and reconciliation: the dove returning to Noah with an olive branch, announcing that the flood has fully abated (Gn 8,11), and the rainbow representing the grace of God and the covenant that God makes with mankind (Gn 9,11–17).

underscores the symbolism of peace,²⁵⁸ which is also directly conveyed in the academican's membership name *Der Friedliebende* (*The Peace-Loving One*) and motto *Pax Dei* (*God's peace*).

The same holds for the emblem of Johann Ludwig Qualiza (TM, fol. 221r), featuring two white doves perched on the edge of a font. The jet of water rising from its center alludes to the fountain of life, appearing in many variants from the third century onwards.²⁵⁹ The doves embody Christian souls drinking from the spring of faith and redemption. This is the variation of a motif that was already common in early Christian art and has since the beginning been associated with the symbolism of baptism, purification, rebirth, and eternal life. The emblem of Johann Qualiza introduces an iconographic novelty by adding a stylized heart that assumes the role of the central section of the fountain discharging two jets of water, directly alluding to his membership in the Dismas Society. Qualiza's emblem particularly highlights the role of faith and the importance of redemption. The religious aspect of the emblematic image is further accentuated by the motif of God's hand reaching over the heart from the right with a blessing gesture. The absence of a motto on the banner and the omission of the membership name



Unknown master, Entry page of Baron Zacharias Gotfried Webersperg, 1691, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 69v.

²⁵⁸ In the iconographic catalogue, the wreath is incorrectly described as a laurel wreath (Kastelic, 2001, 139). The shape of the leaves makes it clear that Trost, distinguished for his precise execution of plant details, painted olive leaves. An illustrative comparison is made with a wreath that the same artist painted as the border of the emblematic image for Franz Jacob Erberg (TM, fol. 13r), which, indeed, is a laurel wreath. The distinction is evident from the shape of the leaves and the texture of the wreath, which is sturdier and more compact. The distinction also has an iconographic *raison d'être*: the olive tree is a symbol of peace and reconciliation, thus logically completing the iconography of Noah's Ark and corresponding to Webersperg's academic nickname and motto, while laurel is the symbol of triumph and eternal life, which plays an important role in celebration ceremonies and funeral rituals. This aligns with the context, considering that Erberg was the first deceased member of the association, as is indicated with the inscription *Aus allen der Erste* (*The First of All*) and the emblematic motif. The image shows a hand in a laurel wreath, reaching down from the sky and extinguishing the flames of the red heart, leaving only a trail of rising smoke.

²⁵⁹ Christianity adopted the motif of doves drinking from a bowl from Antiquity. In certain contexts, it was already in Greek and Roman art that this motif had an allegorical connotation associated with the idea of afterlife. See: Macchioro, 1909, 73–75; Tammsito, 1997, 291–293.

reduce the emblem into a fragment with an incomplete textual segment.

The **third group** comprises animals that, with their elaborate symbolism, either independently or in interaction with other figures, help shape the essence of the emblematic message or are its main bearers. To fully understand their role and symbolic implications, an in-depth study is necessary of both animal iconography and the background of the academican who commissioned the emblem. The special status of animal protagonists on the entry pages of the *Dismas Chronicle* is primarily showcased by their prominent place in the composition, size, and active role within the context of the visual narrative. While the thematic congruence between the thus-designed emblematic image on the one hand and the academican's motto and membership nickname on the other confirms the significance of animals, the fusion of all three communication elements rounds out the content of the emblem or at least offers the key for

correct iconographic interpretation. To illustrate, let us take the example of the white swan in the emblem of Johann Anton Vermatti (TM, fol. 246r). In European animal iconography, since Antiquity the swan has symbolized purity and immaculacy, virtues further accentuated by Vermatti's academic nickname *The Immaculate One* and his chosen motto *Without the slightest stain*.²⁶⁰ As for emblems that feature more than one animal, let us mention the lion fighting a panther in the emblematic cartouche of Count Andreas Daniel Barbo (TM, fol. 145r) or the patient owl attacked by a flock of smaller birds in the miniature of Johann Thomas Garzarolli (TM, fol. 355r).

This category of animals also includes exceptions or, rather, individual atypical examples that are more complex in terms of iconographic interpretation. A fine example is the emblem of Johann Joseph Schluderbach (TM, fol. 240r), in which a pristine stream cascades over rocks and feeds a large pool beneath it. Various domestic and wild animals—a horse, an ox, a goat, sheep, and a stag—have come to drink from the pool where two swans float on the water. The young shepherd featured on the right has scooped water into his bowl and is also quenching his thirst. The animals are set in the foreground, accentuated in size, and have all the characteristics of protagonists in the emblematic message. Their symbolic value could simply be ascertained based on the traditionally designed and framed emblematic image, in which their prominent position and size almost without exception points to their iconographic significance. However, a problem arises when we try to establish a connection between the image and the textual part of the emblem because the commissioning member's motto (*Unyielding benevolence*) and academic nickname (*The Benevolent One*) offer no clue regarding the specific symbolic meanings of the animals. Whereas the academic name and motto can be understood in association with the motif of water as an inexhaustible source of goodness (and life) for both humans and animals, they do not explain what each animal may represent. Nor is any clarity provided by Schluderbach's coat of arms, which features a soaring mythical griffin. In contrast to the common emblematic practice of rendering animals visually more prominent, they do not possess specific symbolic meanings and are embedded in the

emblematic message as a group of recipients of "unyielding benevolence," gratefully drinking water from a pool. Apart from that, the reader will search in vain through the entry page to obtain more information or an additional hint.

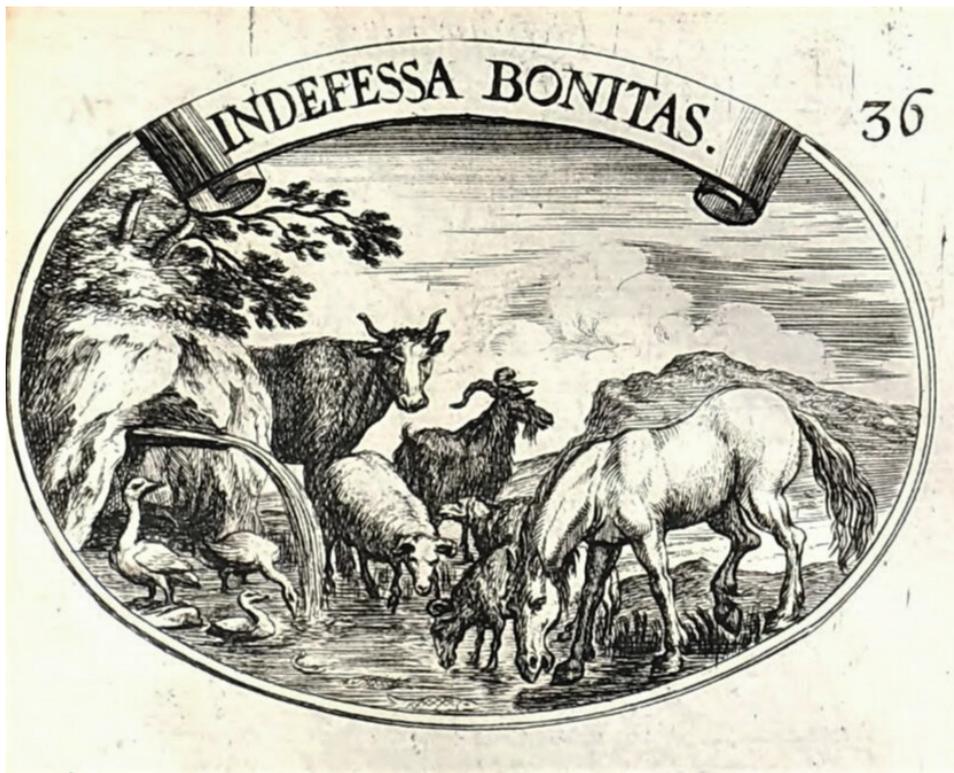
Fortunately, it is one of the emblems that Grachower took from Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg's book *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*, which contains an emblem with an identical motto and a very similar copperplate engraving (fol. 36r). Although the engraving, crafted by master Georg Christoph Eimmart, does not include the shepherd or the stag, and features a spring instead of the stream flowing over the rocks in Grachower's variant, these distinctions are iconographically less consequential. Key to understanding Schluderbach's entry folio is the fact that the emblem in Hohberg's book contains an epigram that explains the meaning of the image and motto. The author explains the pristine spring water and the animals drinking from it as the Christian allegory of life and God's love: the inexhaustible source, from which different kinds of animals can drink as much as they want and which never runs dry, is a metaphor for the infinite abundance of God's goodness. The epigram with animals representing a congregation or the entire humanity clearly explains their role while also confirming that they have no specific (i.e., individual) symbolic meanings, as one would expect in view of their prominent position in the image.

Schluderbach's emblem illustrates rare examples where animal iconography in the miniatures of the *Dismas Chronicle* is less complex than the prevailing principles of emblematic image design might suggest. Quite the opposite is true for most emblems in the third group: beyond the expected and predictable symbolic representations, further layers of meanings and allusions are revealed, which can only be deciphered through an in-depth analysis of their genesis and the context in which they were formed. Because animal emblems belonging to the third group are iconographically the most engaging, the central section of this volume is devoted to them.

260 See the interpretation of the emblem on p. 166–168.



*Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Johann Joseph von Schluderbach, a detail of the emblematic image with the member's motto and name, 1727, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 240r.*



*Emblem with animals at a spring, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hobberg, *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*, Regensburg 1675, fol. 36r.*

3 Iconographic Analysis of Animal Motifs in *The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*

3.1 Entry Page of Johann Paul von Qualiza (TM, fol. 45r)

The first membership entry with an emblematic image in which animals feature as the main bearers of the message belongs to Johann Paul von Qualiza, Vice-Dean of the Dismas Society. The *pictura*, encased in an oval cartouche, depicts a fierce battle between soldiers and huge birds. The motto on the banner above it reads

birds have lifted a fellow soldier into the air, one knocking his shield from his hands and the other pecking at the helpless victim's face. At the same time, the flock of long-legged birds on the ground charge forward to attack the terrified soldiers. The long-legged birds with slim necks and long, sharp beaks resemble cranes. Given the minuscule dimensions and slight stylization, it may theoretically be any related bird species. However, from the perspective of animal iconography, there is



Entry page of Johann Paul von Qualiza, detail of the emblematic image with the member's motto and academic name.

Vigilantia victrix (*Vigilance is victorious*) and is accompanied by the member's academic nickname *Der Munttere* (*The Vigilant One*). The author of the illustration, Andreas Trost, places the group of soldiers on the right and depicts them in antiquated battle gear with raised swords and halberds. They have closed ranks to fend off the ferocious attackers, which are no smaller than themselves. The eyes of most of the soldiers are directed at an alarming spectacle: in their savage onslaught, two

no doubt that Trost depicted cranes. What is more, the image presents a very specific and well-known scene of the battle between the Pygmies and the cranes, which has its roots in the iconographic treasury of classical themes and a place in both visual arts and literature.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ Kastelic identifies the birds as geese, believing that the image shows a scene from the history of Rome, when the Capitoline geese supposedly saved the Romans from the Celtic army's attack: "A cluster of soldiers armed with halberds attacks agitated



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Johann Paul von Qualiza, 1689,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 45r.

The oldest known written source that mentions the battles between the Pygmies and the cranes is Homer's *Iliad*. In his attempt to describe the ferocity of the Trojans' attack on the Greek army in poetic language, Homer makes use of the following vivid simile:

*Now when they were marshalled, the several companies with their captains,
the Trojans came on with clamour and with a cry like birds,
even as the clamour of cranes ariseth before the face of heaven,
when they flee from wintry storms and measureless rain,
and with clamour fly towards the streams of Ocean,
bearing slaughter and death to Pigmy men...*

(*Iliad*, III, 1–6, transl. A.T. Murray)

A reference to the battle between the Pygmies and the cranes (known in Greek as *geranomachia*) can also be found in Aesop's fable *The Farmer and the Cranes* (Perry, 297)²⁶² and Aristotle's *History of Animals* (VIII, 12). In his vivid description of the confrontation, Pliny writes that the Pygmies, armed with spears and arrows, and riding on the backs of goats and rams, raid crane nests to steal their eggs or chicks (*Natural History*, VII, 26). The earliest known examples of *geranomachia* in visual art date to the sixth century BC. The base of the François Vase (Greek krater vase, ca. 570 BC, Archaeological Museum, Florence), for example, arranges the scene as a frieze of dark figures against a bright background. In a similar vein, the battle is depicted on the contemporaneous Nearchos Oil Flask (Greek aryballos, ca. 570 BC, Metropolitan

Museum, New York), except that, in this case, the frieze runs along the upper edge of the vessel. The same motif can later be found on other visual art media, with particularly vivid scenes of fierce battles on Roman mosaics and frescoes. Among the most beautifully preserved examples are the floor mosaics that were discovered in 1974 in a Roman villa, known as Villa Selene, east of the Libyan city of Leptis Magna.



The battle between the Pygmies and the cranes, detail of the Roman mosaic, 2nd century AD, Villa Selene (near Homs), Libya.

The story of the Pygmies also gained in popularity through the writings of Christian authors: it is included in the treatises of the Church Fathers, and especially in the encyclopedic literature of the Middle Ages, exotic travelogues, and bestiaries.²⁶³ Medieval visual representations are quite rare but characteristic: the Pygmies are depicted as soldiers in contemporary knightly gear, engaging in (or preparing for) a battle with the large birds. The miniature in Jacob van Maerlant's encyclopedic work *The Flower of Nature* from about 1350 (Royal Library, The Hague, KB KA 16, fol. 42v) illustrates a medieval interpretation of the ancient motif in great detail.²⁶⁴ In the Early Modern Period, the episode became very popular and widespread

geese from the right. Some geese cackle on the ground, some fly at the soldiers, while the rest protect their heads with a shield." The author adds: "Allusion to the geese of the Capitol Hill during the Gaulish invasion of Rome in 378 BC." (2001, 132). The fact that the furious birds are the same size as men contradicts Kastelic's interpretation, making it difficult to imagine that geese engaged in the fight with Gaulish troops. Let us also recall that Juno's sacred birds did not engage with the Gaulish attackers but alerted the sentries with loud cackling to make sure that they picked up arms just in time.

262 Aesop's or Aesopic fables are listed after the critical edition: Ben Edwin Perry, *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears His Name*, Vol. I: *Greek and Latin Texts*, University of Illinois Press, Baltimore 1952. (The so-called Perry index is the standard index of Aesop's fables or fables credited to Aesop, employed by most humanities disciplines. The shortened reference follows the internationally established format.)

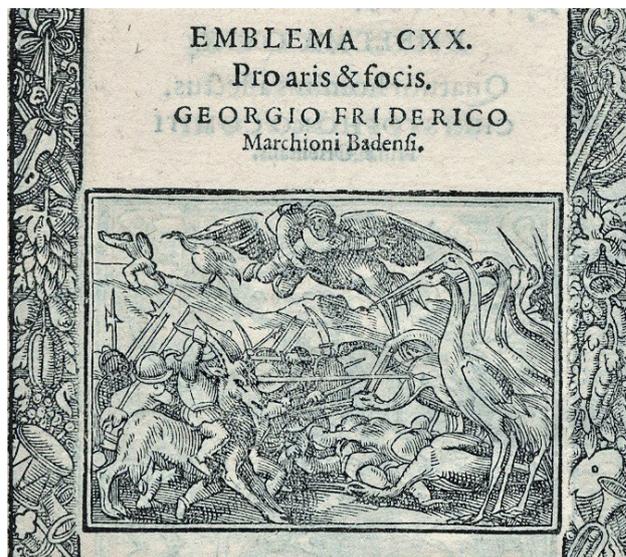
263 On the motif of the Pygmies in the works of classical and medieval authors, see: Gusinde, 1962; Janni, 1978, 49–63.

264 The original of *Der Naturen Bloeme*, the Flemish adaptation of Thomas of Cantimpré's popular encyclopedia *Liber de natura rerum*, is lost, and one of the most famous transcripts is the above-mentioned illuminated manuscript kept in the Royal Library in The Hague. The Pygmies are presented in the chapter on exotic peoples, in which the author mentions the battle with the cranes as their distinctive characteristic.

especially owing to Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle* (Nuremberg 1493, fol. 12r), in which the account on the Pygmies is accompanied by a woodcut of a dwarf fighting cranes. Equally important for the popularization of the motif was Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel 1544), where the Pygmy people are mentioned in the description of India.²⁶⁵ In addition, the story is referred to by many naturalists, especially the two greatest Renaissance zoologists Conrad Gessner (*Historiae animalium*, Zurich 1559, 514–515) and Ulisse Aldrovandi (*Ornithologiae tomus tertius ac postremus*, Bologna 1603, 342–344).²⁶⁶ The motif was well known among early modern scholars, and another point worth noting is that, at the end of the seventeenth century, English physician Edward Tyson published a special study on the Pygmy people as they were described by classical and medieval authors, in which he specifically mentioned the battle against the cranes.²⁶⁷

In Renaissance and Baroque emblematics, the motif of the Pygmies clashing with the cranes is quite rare. Visual depictions are rather standardized, and the battle is mostly presented in one of two ways: either the Pygmies and cranes face each other like legionary armies just before battle, or the Pygmies are depicted charging at the cranes while mounted on goats. In terms of picturesqueness and dramatic suspense, they cannot compare to the miniature masterpiece crafted by Andreas Trost. One of the very few exceptions is the woodcut emblem of Tobias Stimmer in Nicolaus Reusner's book *Aureola Emblemata* (Strasbourg 1587, embl. 120), which may be likened to the miniature on Qualiza's entry page with respect to its composition and dramatic effect.²⁶⁸ Given that Thalnitscher's *Con-*

cept Book contains no draft for this motif,²⁶⁹ the painter and the academician may have come up with the design themselves or drew inspiration from *Aureola Emblemata*. In any regard, Qualiza's emblem is an original variant of the motif that, unlike Reusner's, retains the basic idea of vigilance and protection of what we hold dearest, while the author of *Aureola Emblemata* metaphorically expands the meaning by specifically highlighting the defense of the homeland.²⁷⁰



The clash between the Pygmies and the cranes, Nicolaus Reusner, Aureola emblemata, Strasbourg 1587, emblem 120.

265 The Basel edition of *Cosmographia* from 1550 contains a woodcut on page 1081, which presents the clash between the Pygmies and cranes in accordance with Pliny's description: the dwarf Pygmies are depicted riding goats and rams.

266 In contrast to the widely held belief that the Pygmies live in India or Ethiopia, Olaf Mansson places their homeland in the far north of Europe, more precisely, in Greenland. He describes them as remarkably strong and courageous dwarfs who can tackle foes much larger than themselves, and he also mentions the fight with the cranes (*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus II*, 11, Rome 1555, 70–71). For more on the subject concerning the Pygmies in early modern writings, see: Toggweiler, 2017, 12–19.

267 Edward Tyson, *A Philological Essey Concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients...*, London 1699.

268 The motif of fierce confrontation, in which a crane grabs a Pygmy and lifts him into the air, is also found in the woodcut gracing

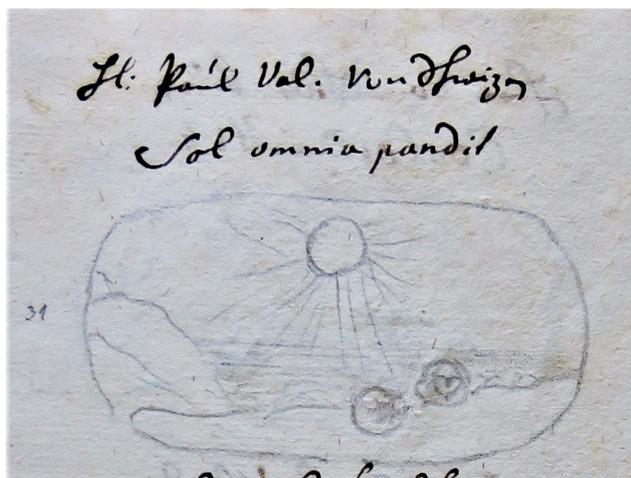
the German translation of Boccaccio's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* [*Von der Artzney Bayder Glück des guten und widerwertigen*], Augsburg 1532, vol. II, fol. 3r., but the composition of the battle scene is completely different. The most vivid realization of the motif from the Early Modern Period has been preserved in the engraving by Adriaen Collaert's (ca. 1596, based on Jan van der Straet's drawing), who designed the fight as a veritable panoramic battle. (The graphic print is part of the series *Venationes, ferarum, arium, piscium*, and the sheet featuring the battle between the Pygmies and cranes is now held in Baillieu Library Print Collection, University of Melbourne.)

269 Thalnitscher left the emblematic cartouche for Qualiza blank in the *Concept Book* (sketch 18).

270 In Reusner's emblem, the image is complemented by the motto *Pro aris et focus* and epigram: "*Sanguine Pygmaeo grus rapta ulciscitur ova./ Pro patriis fas est belligerare focus.*" The German version of the motto, which completes the Latin one, focuses on the protection of offspring: "*Kränich kriegen Zwerg von Eyrraub's wegn/ Feindschwalt sich gbürt wol zwidderlegen*" (*Aureola Emblemata*, 1587, embl. 120).

3.2 Entry page of Paul Valerius von Schwizen (TM, fol. 71r)

The emblematic image of Paul Valerius von Schwizen depicts a sandy beach with rocks towering over it on the left. The bright sky above the emerald sea is dotted with a few clouds that have parted in the middle, allowing the sun to shine through. On the sand lies an open pearl shell containing a small red heart instead of a pearl. Trost's miniature is based on the sketch in Thalnitscher's *Concept Book* (sketch 31); however, its composition is more elaborate and its execution artistically perfected: the sunlit coastal scene is artfully crafted, showcasing the master's skillful handling of light. Above the cartouche is the banner with the motto that reads: *Sol omnia pandit* (*The sun exposes everything*) and beneath it is Schwizen's academic name *Der Erkannte* (*The Recognized One*).



Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Emblem draft for Paul Valerius von Schwizen, *Concept Book*, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 31.

The motif of an open pearl shell is very common in emblematics. In his chapter on pearls, Filippo Piccinelli describes as many as thirty-seven emblems featuring a pearl in a shell (Pic., I, 12, embls. 212–249; 705–709) and thirty-two depicting a pearl shell in his chapter on shells (Pic., I, 6, embls. 62–93; 442–446). A fine example of an emblem with an image compositionally very akin to Trost's artistic realization can be found in Joachim Camerarius' book *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumptorum centuria quarta* (Cam. IV, 1604, embl. 59): it features the sun rising behind the mountains and illuminating

the landscape with its first morning rays, while the pearl shell on the seashore has just begun to open, revealing its tiny pearls. However, unlike the engraving in Camerarius' book, the *pictura* in the *Dismas Chronicle* shows the sun high on the horizon and, instead of pearls, a scarlet heart glimmers in the lower valve of the shell, while the upper valve rests next to it in the sand. Due to the close association of the emblematic image with the academician's motto and membership name (as well as the established iconographic tradition of the pearl shell in European emblematics), its meaning is easily inferred. Under the soothing sun, Schwizen, *The Revealed One*, presents himself as a man who safeguards his love for his academic companions just like a shell protects its pearl. The interpretation is unequivocally confirmed by the stylized heart of the Dismas Society, which replaces the pearl.



Emblem with a pearl shell, Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum IV*, Nuremberg 1595, emblem 59.

Since Antiquity, the pearl has been firmly anchored in European cultural tradition as a symbol of love and beauty. Classical mythology associates it with the legend of Venus being born from sea foam. In artistic realizations of the motif, the goddess of love is often depicted as lying elegantly in a large open shell as a substitute for a sparkling pearl. In Classical and later Christian



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Paul Valerius von Schwizen, 1692,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 71r.

culture, the pearl shell was a symbol of remarkable, especially spiritual beauty, embodying purity and virtue. The symbolic connotations stem from accounts about how a pearl shell forms a pearl by rising to the surface of the sea in the morning, where it opens to swallow a droplet of heavenly dew and the first beams of sunlight. Even Pliny himself wrote about it, without expressing any reservations regarding such an unlikely explanation for the formation of a pearl (*Natural History*, IX, 107). According to the Christian interpretation of the legend, dew symbolizes the Holy Spirit, the shell represents Mary, and the pearl symbolizes Jesus, whom the Virgin has conceived through the Holy Spirit. The Christological interpretation of the pearl rests on the Bible, in which the pearl symbolizes spiritual excellence, purity, the preciousness of faith, and even Christ himself.²⁷¹ The same interpretation is provided by Clement of Alexandria in his moral-didactic work *Paedagogus* (II, 13, 163–164), discussing the spiritual significance of pearls. In the *Physiologus* (I, 44), the basic symbolism is expanded with the allegorical interpretation of pearl gathering. Thus, the sea represents the world, the pearl divers personify the Biblical prophets, the two valves of the shell stand for the Old and the New Testament, the dew symbolizes the Holy Spirit, and the pearl is Christ. Ephrem the Syrian, a foremost figure in the School of Edessa and one of the greatest Christian poets from the Patristic Era, is especially recognized for his contribution to the development of pearl iconography in the early Christian tradition. In his hymns, he often used the motif of the pearl, metaphorically interpreting it as the image of Christ, spiritual wealth and excellence, the beauty of true faith, the purity of the soul, rebirth, eternal life, etc.²⁷² These symbolic meanings shaped the medieval pearl iconography and continued to have an impact in the Early Modern Period. One of the most thorough explorations of pearl symbolism, citing ancient and medieval authors who

discussed this subject is presented by Ulisse Aldrovandi in his chapter concerning pearls and pearl shells (*De reliquis animalibus exanguibus*, Bologna 1606, 417–445).²⁷³

In emblematics, the pearl shell has various meanings: it most often symbolizes the acceptance of God's grace, the purity of the soul and heart, the beauty of faith, and spirituality, as well as humility, modesty,



Entry page of Paul Valerius von Schwizzen, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

and gratitude. The emblematic image from the concise curriculum vitae that Thalnitscher wrote after Schwizzen's death also clearly reveals the symbolic connotation related to his personality traits. Praising his devoutness, Thalnitscher also described him as a reclusive man who preferred to "keep completely to himself" (TM, fol. 72v) and was therefore a man walled off like a shell that only rarely opens. The longing for solitude, a secluded life, and reflection on spiritual matters are also themes that relate to the pearl shell in emblematics. It is probably no coincidence that Picinelli's book, a source frequently consulted by the members of the Dismas Society, features an emblem in which the pearl shell embodies the contemplative soul (*anima contemplativa*) turning away from the clamor of daily life (Pic., I, 12, embl. 216; 705).

271 Such symbolism is primarily based on exegetic interpretations of segments from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 7:6 and 13:45–46) and the description of Heavenly Jerusalem (Rv 21:21). It should nonetheless be stressed that the pearl in the Bible (as well as among early exegetes) often holds a negative and distinctly moralistic connotation. Thus, a pearl may signify the fleeting riches of this world, vanity, corruption, and (especially as women's jewelry) immorality, conceitedness, and impurity. On pearl iconography in late Antiquity and early Christianity, see: Fredrikson, 2003, 283–317.

272 On pearl symbolism in Ephrem the Syrian, see: Graffin, 1967, 129–149.

273 On pearl symbolism in the Early Modern Period, see especially: Seemesters, 2017, 454–472.

3.3 Entry Page of Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch von Grienfeld (TM, fol. 73r)

The only deviations from the life-like representation are two details noted on the bird positioned in the foreground to the left: it stands on one leg, while clutching a pebble in the claws of the other,



Entry page of Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch von Grienfeld, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

The *pictura* on the entry page of Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch features an open landscape with a flock of birds standing on a plain in the foreground and the slopes of far-off hills behind them. Evening dusk illuminates the horizon, and a crescent moon appears in the slowly darkening sky, along with the first twinkling stars. The scene is painted with a keen sense for the serenity of late evening descending on earth. The silhouettes of the birds (especially the one in the foreground, rendered with the greatest precision) are realistic enough to be identified as cranes, marked by their upright posture, the characteristic shape of their heads with the red patch on the top, along with the size and shape of their beaks.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Kastelic identifies the depicted birds as herons and writes: "In the foggy expanses of the Ljubljansko Barje marsh, next to a pile of stones in the foreground, a couple of herons with four chicks stand. The bird to the left features a red heart on its breast and clutches a round stone in the claws of its left

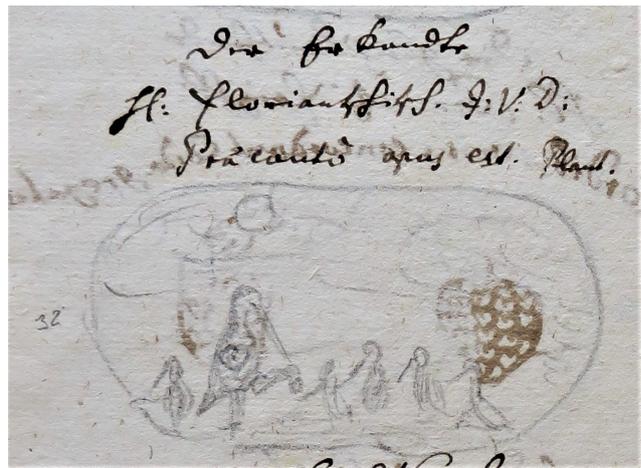
leg" (2001, 140). He adds that the heron with the stone is an allegory of vigilance. In his opinion, such an interpretation corresponds to the motto *Precaution is called for* and Floriantschitsch's membership name *The Watchful One*, but he is mistaken: the heron in European cultural context does not symbolize vigilance, nor is it ever depicted with one leg raised and clutching a stone. In Christian iconography, the heron is primarily a symbol of impurity, already described as unclean in the Bible (Lv 11:19 and Dt 14:18). Because herons can fly very high, they also represent arrogance and conceit. Due to the expanded blood vessels during the mating season, the male's eyes appear red, which in the sixteenth century led to the emergence of a new metaphorical meaning: the heron representing lust (Marino Ferro, 1996, 180–181). In emblematics, the heron can also symbolize intelligence, as it rises above the clouds during a summer storm and thus evades danger (Cam., III, embl. 42). Kastelic's interpretation of the emblematic image is also rather subjective: it is not true that the miniaturist depicted a couple of adult birds with chicks; all birds are fully grown, but four are set deeper in the background and depicted somewhat smaller. There is likewise no fog in the landscape, but a crescent moon shining in the sky, with early stars and glowing horizon indicating that the miniaturist aimed to convey the moment when night descends on earth and a flock of birds prepares to rest.



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Johann Stephan Florianschitsch von Griinfeld, 1693, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 73r.

and it has a stylized red heart drawn on its chest. From the iconographic point of view, the raised leg with a pebble confirms the validity of the identification: in European iconographic tradition, this distinct posture defines the crane as the symbol of watchfulness or vigilance (*vigilantia*), caution (*cautela*), and prudence (*prudencia*). The motif of the heart creates a connection between the bird and the noble association of St. Dismas: care for one's fellow members, loyalty and fidelity were the fundamental tenets of the selected society of Carniolan intellectuals, and the vigilant sentry undoubtedly represents Floriantschitsch. This is also confirmed by his motto *Praecaupo opus est* (*Precaution is called for*)²⁷⁵ and the chosen membership name *Der Wachsame* (*The Watchful One*).

The symbolic character of Trost's miniature is confirmed by the sketch that Thalnitscher prepared for Floriantschitsch's emblem (CB, sketch 32). Although the number of birds is identical, the composition of the drawing is slightly different. The crane standing guard is positioned further to the front and depicted as larger than the rest. The key difference, however, is a large heart filled with small ones, placed on the far right of the sketch. Thalnitscher wanted to highlight the stylized heart with many small ones drawn within it as the common symbol of the United Academicians, but his idea proved artistically unappealing. Trost found Thalnitscher's concept of a large heart next to a flock of birds so inept that he replaced it with a small tree. While a larger symbol of the Dismas Society might further accentuate the message of the emblem, it would also mar the compositional basis of the landscape. The painter (undoubtedly with the owner's consent) opted for a subtler solution by omitting the large heart next to the flock of birds and only preserving the heart on the chest of the watchful crane. In this way, the intended symbolic message remained intact while



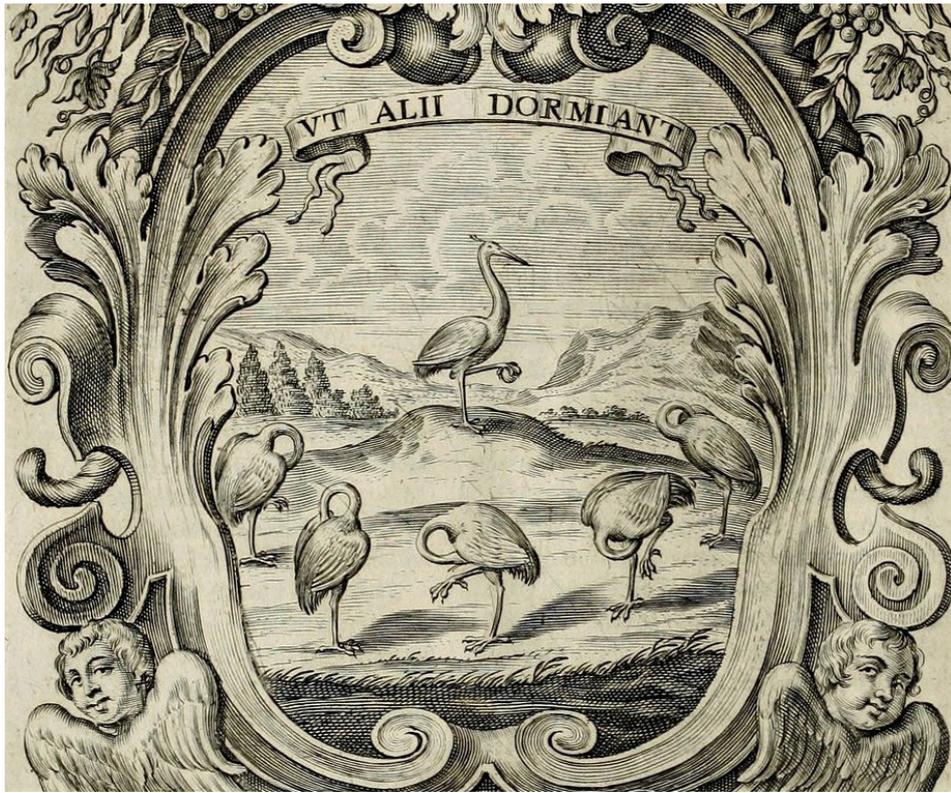
Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Draft sketch of emblem for Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch von Grienfeld, Concept Book, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 32.

being skillfully embedded in the painterly concept of the miniature. The motif of the crane standing on one leg and clutching a stone in the claws of the other is very popular in European art. Its iconography largely rests on the writings of Pliny, who described cranes in his *Natural History* (X, 30) as distinctly prudent and vigilant birds, because at night, when most of the flock is sleeping, a few birds always stand guard. For the sentries not to fall asleep, they need to stand on one leg and hold a stone in the other. If they happen to fall asleep, they will drop the stone and be woken by the noise.²⁷⁶ The figure of the crane standing on one leg and clutching a pebble in the claws of the other became firmly anchored in medieval and early modern iconography. This is the most common way of depicting cranes in bestiaries, where the birds are sometimes so stylized that they are almost unrecognizable were it not for the raised leg as their identifying feature. Leonardo da Vinci mentions the crane in his "bestiary," somewhat expanding the basic meaning by stating that the crane also symbolizes loyalty and devotion.²⁷⁷ In his *Iconologia*, Cesare Ripa describes the personification of vigilance (*vigilanza*) as a woman

275 According to Kastelic, the motto is taken from Plautus (2001, 140). However, considering the context in which Plautus uses these words in his comedy *The Merchant* (Act II, end of scene 2, Demipho's last sentence, calling for precaution in his attempt to win over a beautiful slave girl that his son has fallen in love with), this is unlikely. More probably, the connection with Plautus is indirect and the motto taken from a dictionary handbook (e.g., *Dictionariolum latino gallicum* by Robert Stephan, published in Paris in 1602), citing Plautus' words to illustrate the meaning of the word *praecaustus*, without mentioning the broader context of the play.

276 Aelian (*On the Nature of Animals*, III, 13) and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies*, XII, 7, 15). Via Isidore of Seville, the motif was adopted by many subsequent authors.

277 Leonardo da Vinci, Cod. H 9r (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci, Ms 2179), published in: J. P. Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1880, XX, 1228.



Emblem featuring cranes, Filippo Picinelli, *Mundus Symbolicus*, Augsburg 1687, I, 4, 304.

with a crane by her side.²⁷⁸ In Baroque emblematics and heraldry, too, the crane traditionally symbolizes vigilance, watchfulness, prudence, and reason. Most emblems in which it appears showcase adaptations of the basic theme with a variety of accompanying mottos and lines of verse, with different emphases in terms of content.²⁷⁹ The emblematic images are rather straightforward, most often featuring a single crane in a stylized environment. Compositionally more dynamic examples featuring a flock of birds are rare, and one of the most beautiful ones can be found in Picinelli's book (Pic., I, 4, embl. 422). The author of the illustration, Johann Heinrich Löffler the Younger,

depicted a group of sleeping cranes with their heads tucked under their wings. Only the sentry in the middle of the flock remains alert with a stone, and its role is further emphasized with its positioning on a small elevation in the center of the composition. Löffler's cranes stand in a carefully drawn landscape with rolling hills visible in the background. By setting the motif in a dynamic landscape, the master imitated the example of the miniature landscape with a flock of birds, designed in a very similar way as Trost's illustration. It is impossible to ascertain whether Trost (also) drew inspiration from Löffler's engraving and artistically improved his composition, or whether he built on Thalnitscher's painting alone. Thalnitscher's draft in the *Concept Book* is undoubtedly crucial, as it includes iconographic elements that the emblem in Picinelli's encyclopedia does not. Through its close association with the Dismas Society and Florianschitsch's role in it, the established emblem featuring the vigilant crane safeguarding its companions obtains new significance with a distinctly individual dimension characteristic of the emblems in the *Ljubljana Album*.

278 Ripa's *Iconologia* (*Iconologia ovvero Descrizione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi*) was first published in Rome in 1593 without illustrations. Many reprints and translations into European languages attest to its popularity and wide distribution. The illustrated edition, published in Padua in 1618, features a crane as the personification of vigilance on page 561. Ripa also used the crane holding a stone in its claws as the personification of vigilance and watchfulness (*Guardia*) and service (*Servitù*).

279 Picinelli describes as many as eighteen emblems with the motif of a crane clutching a stone in its claws: 399–401, 403, 404, 408, 409–414, 422, 424, 428, 429–431 (Pic., I, 4, 301–305).

3.4 Entry Page of Lorenz Wollwiz von Wallersberg (TM, fol. 113r)

The emblematic image of Lorenz Wollwiz is quite simple in both artistic and iconographic terms: in the middle of an expansive landscape, a long-legged bird stands in the foreground on its left leg and clutches a stone in the other. Frankly, the bird bears no resemblance to a crane: its head is too round and lacks the distinctive red patch on the top, and besides, its beak is too thin and orange.

While it may be unnecessary to speculate why the master deviated from a more realistic rendition, there is no doubt that the bird represents a crane with its established symbolism of watchfulness and vigilance. Apart from the fact that the iconography of depicting the bird with a raised leg and holding a stone in its claws is distinctive enough, the crane is also featured in the academician's coat of arms. Interestingly, a similar bird is depicted on the knight's helmet above the crown of Wollwiz's coat of arms, while the two cranes on his escutcheon are rendered more realistically with the distinctive silhouette that also appears in other emblems of the *Album*.

Although Wollwiz's membership name, *Der Wohlmeindende* (*The Benevolent One*), does not correspond as directly to the image of the crane as Floriantschitsch's, it does relate to the concept of an attentive and loyal member who "benevolently" watches over the wellbeing of his fellows. The motto *Stetit ad finem longa, tenaxque fides* (*Long and lasting fidelity endured until the end*)²⁸⁰ supports such an interpretation by specifically emphasizing the significance of loyalty, which gained in popularity precisely during the Early Modern Period. Leonardo da Vinci illustrated the concept of loyalty in his bestiary using the example of cranes: "The cranes are so faithful and loyal to their king, that at night, when he is sleeping, some of them go round the field to keep watch at a distance; others remain near, each holding a stone in his foot, so that if sleep should overcome them, this stone would fall and make so much noise that they would wake up again."²⁸¹

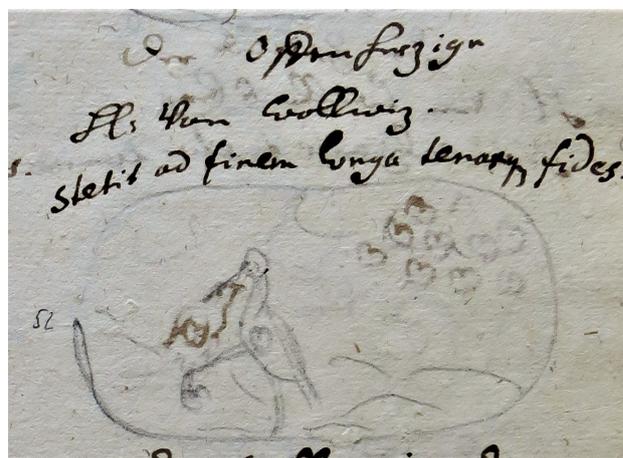
280 The motto is taken from Ovid: "*Plena fuit vobis omni concordia vita, / et stetit ad finem longa tenaxque fides*" (*Amores*, II, 6: 13–14).

281 Leonardo da Vinci, Cod. H 9r (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci, Ms 2179). See: Richter, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1880, XX, 1228.



Entry page of Lorenz Wollwiz von Wallersberg, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

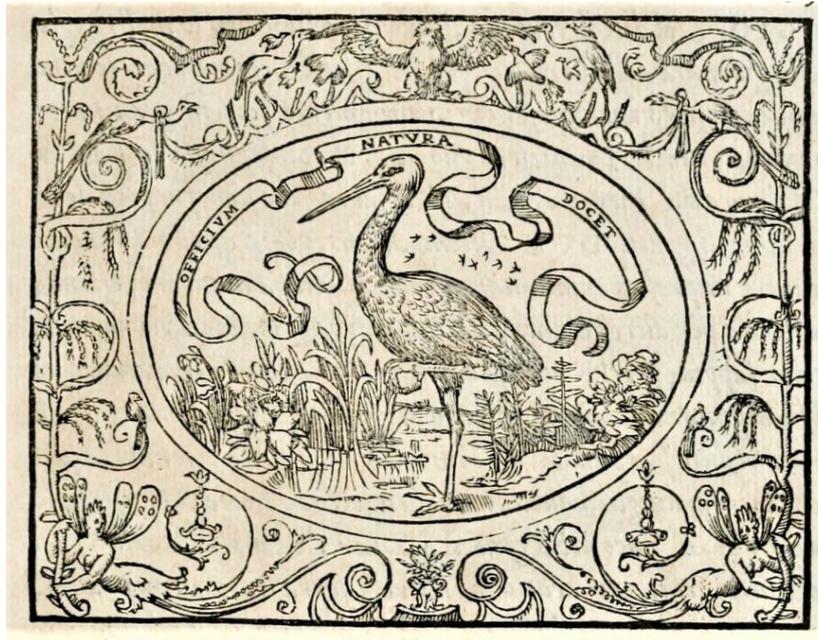
The allegorical connection between the loyal feathered sentry and Wollwiz's role in the Society of St. Dismas is distinctly highlighted in Thalnitscher's draft: not only does the academic symbol of the heart appear on the crane's chest, but even the pebble that the bird holds in its claws has the shape of a heart (CB, sketch 52). Moreover, the motif of the sentry is completed by a "flock of hearts" rising into the sky. Just as in other sketches by Thalnitscher, the often-highlighted symbol stresses the member's affiliation with the



Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Emblem draft for Lorenz Wollwiz von Wallersberg, Concept Book, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 52.



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Lorenz Wollwiz von Wallersberg, 1700, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 113r.



*Emblem featuring a vigilant crane, Paolo Giovio,
Dialogo dell'impresse militari et amoroze, Rome 1559, 93.*

scholarly association. This time, however, the first secretary of the academy overdid it by crowding the sketch with too many hearts of various sizes. Perhaps this led the painter and the owner of the emblem, who clearly preferred a simpler composition without the excessive abundance of symbols, to opt for a radical deviation from the original design. In his artistic execution, Trost completely omitted the symbol of the heart and only retained the crane clutching a pebble in its claw. With his succinct composition, the master followed numerous examples of Renaissance and Baroque emblematics, where the crane was predominantly depicted as an independent motif, featured in the earliest books of emblems.

On the other hand, this decision should probably be considered within the context of the historical moment that was pivotal to the owner of the emblem. On joining the academic association in 1700, Lorenz Wollwiz, who was not a member of the nobility, was hopeful that his request for a noble title would be granted. His wish came true and in 1701 he was ennobled and chose the crane as his heraldic animal. The refinement of the emblematic image may be understood from a purely pragmatic point of view: a crane with a pebble in its claws as the central motif can easily be incorporated into a coat of arms, and the symbolic message is more universal. Given that he already signed as a nobleman in the cartouche dated 1700, he clearly delayed the commissioning of the illustration, which was common practice among the members of the Dismas Society.

3.5 Entry Page of Johann Joseph von Wallensperg (TM, fol. 119r)

The *pictura* of Johann Joseph von Wallensperg shows a mighty eagle in a sunlit landscape: the bird, depicted with outspread wings and in a heraldic posture, looks straight at the sun rising above the hills on the left. The distinctive aspect of this depiction is that we can also see the sun setting on the right, making it the only illumination in the *Dismas Chronicle* with the sun featured twice in the same scene. Above the frame of the painting is a longer banner with the motto “*Non caligante tuetur lumine*” (*Gazing into the light without being blinded*)²⁸² and beneath it is a shorter banner with the academic nickname *Der Scharfsichtige* (*The Keen-Sighted One*). The motto was most likely taken from the lines of the French poet Laurent le Brun concerning an eagle looking at the sun without being blinded by its light.²⁸³

Wallensperg’s emblem is an original take on the popular motif of the eagle and the sun, which is ubiquitous in European iconography, as well as the most common motif on the entry pages of the Ljubljana *Theater of Memory*.²⁸⁴ Its roots reach back to Antiquity or even as far as Ancient Egypt. The Egyptians (as well as the Classical Greeks and later Romans) believed that the eagle (or the falcon) could gaze directly at the sun without blinking or looking away.²⁸⁵ The ability of the eagle to look at the

sun without being blinded by its light was mentioned by Aristotle (*History of Animals*, IX, 34) and adopted by numerous ancient authors. Allegorical interpretations in Antiquity were generally associated with the image of the eagle as the sacred bird of Zeus or Jupiter, the king of all birds, highlighting its magnificence, uniqueness, strength, nobility, and sense of justice.²⁸⁶ In Christian tradition, the motif of the eagle and the sun obtained new, distinctly Christological connotations, presenting the sun, almost without exception, as the symbol of Christ—the Sun of Righteousness (*Christus sol iustitiae*), in which the spirit of the faithful is renewed and strengthened.²⁸⁷ Rebirth and spiritual renewal are the central topic in the *Physiologus*, which had a far-reaching influence on the development of the Christian iconography of the eagle. According to an anonymous writer, an old eagle can restore its youth by flying towards the sun, where its old feathers are burned away, and then by immersing itself three times in spring water (*Phys.* I, 6).²⁸⁸ The motif of the eagle’s rejuvenation originates in the Bible and its often-cited words: “... so that your youth is renewed like the eagle’s” (Ps 103:5), which were also invoked by the writer of the *Physiologus*. The king of birds is also associated with the symbolism of resurrection in the writings of early Christian authors, such as Pseudo-Ambrosius, who explicitly linked it to Christ in one of his sermons (*Sermo 46: De Salomone*, PL 17, 694–695). In his interpretation of the psalms, St. Augustin also viewed the

282 In the catalogue (Kastelic, 2001, 152), the motto is translated as: “*Watching in the light that never goes out.*” Gantar’s translation is not the most appropriate one, because it does not correspond to the iconography of the emblem.

283 “*Explorat Phoebum et non caligante tuetur lumine...*” (Laurentius Le Brun, *Virgilius Christianus, I. Liber Pastorum, sive Hexaemeron...*, Paris 1661, 433). The lines are also cited in the popular and repeatedly reprinted compilation of Giovanni Battista Ganducci’s *Descriptiones poeticae ex probatoribus poetis excerptae...*, Venice 1676, 114.

284 See the emblems of F. M. Erberg (TM, fol. 161r), F. A. Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 229r), M. J. Wallensperg (TM, fol. 234r), G. L. Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 238r), J. B. Erberg (TM, fol. 264r), M. F. Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 287r), C. J. Valvasor (TM, fol. 294r), W. E. I. Auersperg (TM, fol. 306r), and F. R. Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 369r). On the iconography of the eagle and sun in the *Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas*, see: Germ, 2020, 181–210.

285 The belief that an eagle can look straight at the sun is not far-fetched: some species of eagles (and many other animals) have an additional nictitating membrane (*membrana nictitans*), which covers the eyeball like a thin eyelid; it moistens, cleans, and protects it while also ensuring good vision.

This membrane allows eagles and certain other birds to look straight into sunlight.

286 According to Homer, Zeus favored the eagle above all other birds (*Iliad*, XVIII, 245–252; XXIV, 315–321). Pindar also referred to it as the bird of Zeus and the king of all birds (*Pythian Odes*, I, 6; *Isthmian Odes*, VI, 50; *Olympian Odes*, XIII, 21), while Horace explicitly mentioned that Jupiter granted the eagle sovereignty over all birds (*Odes*, IV, 4). The eagle appears as the king of the birds in Aesop’s fables *The Eagle and the Crow* and *The Eagle and the Beetle* (Perry, 3 and 434). The motif of the eagle as Jupiter’s sacred bird and its association with the idea of rulership reached the peak of their popularity in Ancient Rome, where the eagle became an imperial symbol. The imperial eagle iconography continued well into the Modern Period, further enriched in individual aspects. On eagle iconography in Ancient Rome, see: Gradel, 2002.

287 When the eye of God is drawn into the sun, the sun can symbolize God the Father. In relation to the motif of the eagle’s rebirth, however, the Christological symbolism of the sun generally also prevails in this case. The exception is interpretations that explicitly define the eagle as the representation of Christ.

288 See: Zucker, 2005, 78–82.



Andreas Trost, Entry page of Johann Joseph von Wallensperg, 1700,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 119r.



Entry page of Johann Joseph von Wallensperg, detail of the emblematic image.

eagle as a metaphor for the resurrection of all believers (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 102, 9, PL 37, 1323). The motif of looking straight at the sun became particularly popular in medieval allegorical interpretation, where the eagle was used as a metaphor for a spiritual Christian gazing into the divine light without being blinded by it. In the Early Modern Period, the theme of the eagle and sun maintained its relevance in various fields. It was, among other authors, mentioned by Conrad Gessner in his *Historiae animalium* and Ulisse Aldrovandi in his monumental survey of birds *Ornithologiae, hoc est de avibus historiae*.²⁸⁹ In emblematics, the eagle looking at the sun or soaring towards it is a very common motif. Filippo Picinelli described no fewer than twenty-eight emblems that included this motif (Pic., I, 4, embls. 98108, 120, 122, 123, 157, 161, 165, 169, 171, 172, 175177, 184, 191, 200, 210, 211; 262–276). The interpretation most often points to the desire and strength of the spirit to accept the pure light of Christ’s teachings on contemplation, devotion to faith, virtue, and fortitude. The association with John the Baptist, based on exegetical iconography, is often highlighted: the eagle, which can easily soar to the celestial heights and look directly at the sun, symbolizes the keen and lofty spirit flowing from the words of the youngest among the Evangelists. The eagle’s sharp

vision and ability to gaze into sunlight thus represent not only the strength of the eyes but also, and above all, the virtue of the spirit. Along these lines, it is also possible to interpret Wallensperg’s emblem with his membership name *The Keen-Sighted One* and motto *Gazing into the light without being blinded*. The ability of the spirit to gaze steadfastly at the sun is symbolically illustrated with a seemingly anachronistic occurrence: the sun simultaneously rising and setting in the sky. In this way, the author of the emblematic image introduces the dimension of time and emphasizes the fact that the eagle can gaze straight at the sun from dawn till dusk. This gives the emblem an original iconographic twist, which intensifies the spiritual significance of gazing at the all-illuminating light of the sun, while the double sun further cautions the reader that the scene ought to be understood in an allegorical sense. Based on witty puns and allusions, often featured in the emblems of the Ljubljana academicians, it is safe to assume that Wallensperg’s emblem further contains a clue regarding his Christian name: in Baroque emblematics the sun-gazing eagle was, as already noted, also associated with John the Baptist. Its connection with the academician is clearly highlighted through the selection of the emblematic animal: a black eagle with outspread wings is the heraldic bird of the Wallensperg family, and its depiction in the emblem is completely identical to the one seen on the escutcheon and heraldic crown. The miniaturist was so consistent that he painted the eagle in the emblematic image with the same golden crown that it wears on the Wallensperg’s coat of arms.

²⁸⁹ Aldrovandi is particularly meticulous: in the chapter “De aquilis in genere” (*Ornithologiae, hoc est De avibus historiae, libri XII ...*, Bologna 1599, vol. I, 17–107), he complements natural scientific facts with a veritable treasure trove of iconographic content, divided into thematic subchapters, of which one is entirely devoted to emblems, 72–75.

3.6 Entry Page of Johann Georg von Werthenthal (TM, fol. 123r)

The emblematic cartouche on the entry page of Johann Georg von Werthenthal features a landscape scene with two lions. One is positioned in the foreground, lying on the ground with its head raised and stretching its front paws towards the other, which stands further afield, facing it.²⁹⁰ Between them is a stylized winged heart, one of the variants of the

symbol of the St. Dismas Noble Society. The motto on the banner reads: *Lusus sunt corda leoni* (*Fortitude is the lion's pastime*). The lion's posture aligns perfectly with the motto: it is depicted like a cat rolling on its back, its head and upper body slightly raised, and its paws stretched out, poised for a playful tussle.

Among the many symbolic meanings of the lion in the iconographic tradition of European (as well as non-European) art, courage is one of the most



Entry page of Johann Georg von Werthenthal, detail of the emblematic image.

²⁹⁰ Kastelic identifies the lion in the foreground as a monkey. “A landscape scattered with various trees. A horrific monkey lying on the ground stretches its paws in vain after the winged heart rising between the monkey and lion towards the sky” (2001, 153). Although the animal in the foreground may indeed have a somewhat awkwardly modelled head, the shape of its body, its strong paws with pronounced claws, rich mane, and characteristic tail clearly indicate that it is a lion. This is further confirmed by the prominently depicted teeth in the mouth of the magnificent beast and even more so by the comparison with the sketch in the *Concept Book*, which leaves no doubt that Thalnitscher chose the lion, Werthenthal's heraldic animal, to represent him in his emblem (CB, sketch 58, mistakenly numbered 57). It seems almost unnecessary to add that Kastelic's interpretation is further ruled

prominent. Valor is the fundamental trait of a lion's nature—according to the author of the emblematic motto, the lion derives immense pleasure from demonstrating its courage. The winged heart connects the two animals both compositionally and in terms of content, while also highlighting the allegorical association with the Society of St. Dismas. Clearly, this is a

out by an overview of emblem books, in which the lion and monkey appear together in the motif of a sick lion devouring a monkey to regain its health, and certainly not in a way as described by the author of the iconographic catalogue.

well-intentioned test of courage, symbolically reflecting the character of the academician, who, just like the lion, finds “amusement in valor” and invites his fellow to join the game. Such an interpretation is also confirmed by Thalnitscher’s description of Werthenthal’s personality, stating that he was a courageous soldier, whose acts of bravery earned him the rank of lieutenant. Emperor Leopold I conferred a noble title on him for his merits and distinctions, consulted him as his confidant on several occasions, and appointed him an imperial counselor (TM, fol. 124r).²⁹¹ The choice of the motif draws (as usual) on the academician’s coat of arms featuring a crowned lion, and the lion in the emblematic image most probably represents Johann Georg Werthenthal himself.

It is somewhat more challenging to connect the academic nickname *Der Zielende* (*The Aiming One*) to the iconography of the emblematic image and motto, primarily because there seems to be no direct link between them. Fortunately, we can rest on Thalnitscher’s interpretation in the concluding part of Werthenthal’s curriculum vitae: “Even at such an advanced age, he showed in life and death that he rightfully earned the name *The Aiming One*: in his life, he cared for his family, and in his passing, he sought to attain eternal bliss” (TM, fol. 124r; *Spominska knjiga I*, 115). His chosen membership name thus reflects his thoughtfulness and affection for his loved ones. Both align well with the iconography of the lion and, along with wisdom, prudence, benevolence and magnanimity, represent the fundamental symbolic traits of the king of animals. The emphasis on the academician’s strengths and adherence to his goals also facilitates the interpretation of both personifications, Faith and Hope, holding his coat of arms. Steadfast faith and hope were his guiding principles in life; they helped him “aim” well and wholeheartedly. Between the two personifications, a Cupid is depicted supporting the lower edge of the coat of arms with his left hand and holding an arrow in his right hand. In keeping with the iconographic tradition, Cupid is blindfolded; however, this time, his blindfold is slightly askew, enabling him to see from beneath it and aim his arrow well.

The emblem is original and, as the research conducted so far suggests, it does not have a direct precedent

in European emblematics. Its content comes close to the emblem showing a lion playing with lion cubs in Picinelli’s collection (Pic., I, 5, embl. 469; 398). In his interpretation, Picinelli compares the lion to a prince, distinguished by his amicability, kindness, and openness. Even though the content of the emblem in the *Mundus Symbolicus* largely corresponds to the message of Werthenthal’s entry page, it would be difficult to demonstrate a possible direct connection between the emblems.

291 Cf. *Spominska knjiga I*, 110–111.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Johann Georg von Werthenthal, 1700, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 123r.

3.7 Entry Page of Count Andreas Daniel Barbo (TM, fol. 145r)

The *pictura* of Andreas Daniel Barbo constitutes one of the greatest iconographic challenges due to its unusual composition featuring a confrontation between a lion and panther or leopard. In the foreground, Trost depicts the lion springing forward from the right hand side of the landscape scene, as if charging towards the red heart on a small hill. To the left of the heart, a hand reaches down from the clouds, holding a bow and shooting arrows at the lion. Slightly higher in the sky, in the upper segment of the cartouche, is a triangle representing God's eye.²⁹² Lightning flashes from it towards the lion. On the ground, nearer the center of the landscape scene, the panther charges fiercely towards the lion in an apparent attempt to protect the heart. The banner above the cartouche features the motto *Et super ardua* (*Even over great difficulty*)²⁹³ and beneath it the count's academic nickname *Der Unverzagte* (*The Steadfast One*).

In Christian iconography, the lion and panther (or leopard)²⁹⁴ are animals bearing diametrically opposed symbolic meanings which, depending on the context, may be interpreted as *ad bonam* or *ad malam parte*, even though positive connotations prevail for both animals. In emblematics, the lion as the king of animals tends to

possess a distinctly positive symbolic meaning, merging the notions of royal dignity, strength, courage, virtue, justice, wisdom, generosity, nobility, and so on. In Christian iconography the lion is an established symbol of Christ as well as of various strengths and virtues, even though the Christologically tinted iconography of the lion in emblematics is rarer than one would expect. Conversely, the most prominent negative traits of the magnificent feline include its ferocious belligerence, ruthlessness, tyrannical nature and arrogance, in addition to which it can even embody hellish evil and the Devil himself.²⁹⁵ A similar polarization of symbolic connotations is characteristic for the panther, which represents virtue, nobility, a fighting spirit, the steadfastness of Christian faith, Christ's love, an ardent preacher or a good Christian who leads by example, finding redemption in faith, and so on. On the other hand, due to its predatory nature, the panther can also symbolize cruelty and ferociousness, as well as corruption, gluttony, and malevolence.²⁹⁶ In the fierce confrontation between the two beasts, the interpretative field is vast and replete with symbolism, only allowing the correct connotation to be inferred from the context. In the case of Count Barbo's emblematic image, the panther can clearly be ascribed a positive meaning. The lion targeted by God's lighting obviously represents an attacker and an enemy. The bow with the arrow that the hand of the invisible heavenly archer aims at the wild beast also confirms such an interpretation. The lion is charging at the heart, the symbol of the St. Dismas Society, and the panther is defending it. Given that in Christian iconography and Baroque emblematics

292 The motif of the eye of God in a triangle, usually surrounded by a halo, is quite common in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle*. While Barbo's emblem does not feature God's eye, its fundamental symbolic meaning remains unchanged.

293 The motto's allegorical meaning alludes to perseverance: one must maintain one's resolve, even though the path is steep, and keep on fighting even in the face of great difficulty. In the original, the metaphorical meaning is more pronounced, as the Latin adjective *arduus* signifies both steep and arduous or difficult.

294 In animal iconography, the panther is often equated with the leopard, as both big cats bear similar or identical symbolic meanings. Medieval writers generally did not distinguish between the two, and the same holds for most authors of emblem books. Even today, the term 'panther' is often misleading in both professional and popular literature, because it does not refer to a distinct species of big cats. Rather, it serves as a synonym for the leopard (*pantbera pardus*), especially when it serves as an alternative name for the less common, black-furred type (black panther). When the panther and leopard are discussed separately in medieval works on animals and later emblem books, a large part of symbolic content overlaps: However, the panther traditionally has more positive connotations: due to the impact of the *Physiologus*, in which it is equated with Christ, it represents Christ's love, salvation by faith, as well as nobility and the excellence of the spirit.

295 These symbolic meanings originate in the Bible, in which the lion figures as a wild beast devouring sheep, i.e., an image of evil. When directly associating the lion with the Devil, exegetes most often invoke the First Epistle of Peter: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour" (1Pt 5:8).

296 Picinelli is one of the few authors of emblem books who devotes separate chapters to the panther and the leopard. In the chapter concerning the panther, he presents eight emblems (Pic., I, 5, embls. 594–601; 416–417), of which four highlight positive symbolic connotations. The leopard is presented in four emblems (Pic., I, 5, embls. 506–509; 404), of which two have positive and two negative connotations. In a similarly designed encyclopedic overview of emblems, *Apelles symbolicus*, which Johann Michael von der Ketten wrote following Picinelli's example (Amsterdam/Danzig, 1699), the entries 'leopard' and 'panther' are also separate. All three emblems with the leopard (682–683) possess negative connotations, while seven out of eight emblems featuring the panther convey positive symbolic meanings (694–695).



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Count Andreas Daniel Barbo, 1704, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 145r.



Entry page of Count Andreas Daniel Barbo, detail of the emblematic image.

the panther also represents a just and virtuous man, distinguished by his steadfast faith, courage, and relentlessness,²⁹⁷ the spotted cat in Barbo's emblem can also be directly associated with the emblem in Picinelli's book, in which the leopard represents a just and devout man willing to stand up against the mightiest tyrants, because he trusts in God, who "elevates his heart" (Pic., I, 5, embl. 509; 404). In his interpretation, the author invokes the elated words, written by St. Augustin in his exposition on Psalm 90: "Lift up your heart, lift up your thoughts, lift up your love, lift up your hope, lest it go bad on earth" (*Sursum cor, sursum cogitationem, sursum amorem, sursum spem; ne putrescat in terra, Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 90, II, 13, PL 37, 1170).

Referencing Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 90 makes the emblem in Picinelli's book particularly interesting for understanding Barbo's emblematic image. It is in this very psalm that the lion possesses a distinctly negative connotation and symbolizes evil. At the same time, we also find the motif of the groom's alluringly fragrant oil from the *Song of Solomon* (*Song* 1:3–4), which the author compares to Christ. This is one of the key Biblical texts on which the Christological iconography

of the panther is based, as developed by the *Physiologus*.²⁹⁸ In this light, the message of the emblem commissioned by Andreas Daniel Barbo is clarified: as the panther heroically defends the heart from a mighty attacker with help from Heaven, so does the count, who has chosen the name *The Steadfast One*, stand up for the values of the Dismas Society with steadfast faith and willingness to fight for them even in the face of adversity, which calls for great courage.

²⁹⁸ The Christological symbolism of the panther is most accurately presented in the Latin *Physiologus* of redaction B: "Sic et dominus noster Iesus Christus, uerus panther, omne humanum genus... per incarnationem ad se trahens... Et sicut de ore pantherae odor suauitatis egreditur, et omnes qui prope sunt et qui longe... audientes uocem eius, repleti et recreati suauissimo odore mandatorum eius, sequuntur eum, clamantes cum propheta et dicentes: Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, domine, super mel et fauum ori meo. De his odoribus mandatorum eius dicit David: Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te deus in aeternum. Et Salomon in Canticis Canticorum dicit de eo: Odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Unguenta enim Christi quae alia esse possunt, nisi mandata eius, quae sunt super omnia aromata. Sicut enim praesens aromatum species reddit odorem suauitatis, sic et uerba domini, quae de ore eius exeunt, laetificant corda hominum, qui eum audiunt et sequuntur. Unguentum exinanitum nomen tuum, propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te; et: Attraxerunt te post se; et in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus; Oportet nos quam citius sicut adolescentulas, id est renouatas in baptismo animas, post unguenta mandatorum Christi currere, de terrenis ad caelestia transmigrare, ut nos introducat rex in palatium suum, id est in Hierusalem ciuitatem dei et in montem omnium sanctorum..." (*Physiologus* B, Panthera, Ch. XXIII, 10–55; cited from: Carmody, 1939).

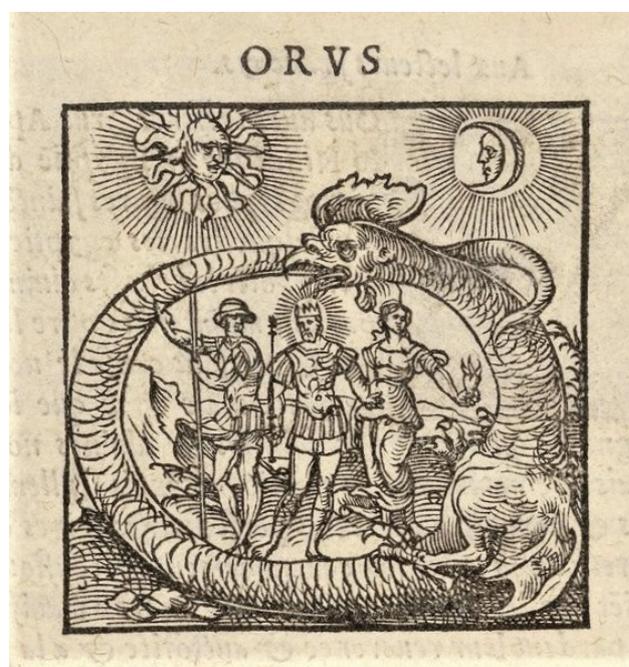
²⁹⁷ Such symbolic content originates in the *Physiologus* (I, 16) and bestiaries. The motif of the strength of character and steadfastness is based primarily on the symbolic interpretation of the spots on its fur, which do not change and cannot be erased. See: Zucker, 2005, 128–131; Heck in Cordonnier, 2012, 458–461.

3.8 Entry Page of Baron Hans Erasmus Engelshaus (TM, fol. 147r)

The emblematic image of Hans Erasmus Engelshaus is simple: in the middle of an open landscape, a burning heart is depicted in the foreground, encircled by a snake biting its own tail, forming a regular-shaped ring. The motif of the snake with its tail in its mouth was a very popular representation of eternity, the time-course with no beginning or end, as well as a symbol of rebirth and eternal life. In art history and other humanities, it became known as ouroboros (Gr. *ourobóros*). However, within the context of the historical evolution of the motif, it is important to keep in mind that the term did not establish itself until the second half of the twentieth century, and one would look in vain for it in emblem books and encyclopedic compendiums of emblems. According to the known sources, the term itself in relation to the theme of a snake eating its own tail first appeared in the sixth century in an alchemical treatise credited to the Greek Neoplatonist Olympiodorus of Alexandria.²⁹⁹

The image of a snake devouring its tail has a long history, which can be traced back to the Ancient Egyptian civilization, while in European culture and art, it gained more prominence during the Renaissance period. The enthusiasm of Renaissance humanists for the motif largely rested on its age-old lore and time-honored origin: with the discovery and swift popularization of Horapollon's treatise *Hieroglyphica*³⁰⁰ presenting the "hieroglyph" of the snake eating its tail, it became a widely held belief that it was the ancient symbol of Egyptian sages, who used it to express the integrity

of the cosmos.³⁰¹ Horapollon, who had a tremendous influence on emblematics, commented on already by Alciato, began his survey of "hieroglyphs" with a pictogram for eternity, featuring the sacred serpent (*ureus*) with its tail hidden from view, and a pictogram for the world (more correctly: the cosmos), depicting a snake biting its tail. Neglecting the distinction relatively quickly, Renaissance humanists associated Horapollon's depiction of eternity with the ouroboros, as is already evident from the first illustrations in the *Hieroglyphica*, where both concepts are visually represented by a snake eating its tail (*Orus Apollo de Aegypte...*, 1543, fols. A2v and A34). The blending of



Ouroboros, a hieroglyph for the eternal cycle of time, Orus Apollo de Aegypte De la signification des notes hieroglyphiques des Aegyptiens (French translation of Haropollon's Hieroglyphica), Paris 1543, fol. A2v.

²⁹⁹ The author of the text is still unknown and tentatively referred to as Olympiodorus the Alchemist. According to the anonymous author, the divine serpent Agathodaimon can represent the cosmos; for this reason, Egyptian priests expressed the notion of the cosmos by using the image of a snake biting its own tail. When describing the motif, the word 'ouroboros' was used as an adjective rather than a noun: *drátholēa egthoiápēoszēl ourobórol* (Reemes, 2015, 283).

³⁰⁰ The manuscript of *Hieroglyphica* was discovered in 1419 by Cristoforo Buondelmonti on the island of Andros and made its way to Florence in 1422. The volume was first printed in 1505 (Aldus Manutius, Venice), and a Latin translation followed in 1515. The first illustrated edition was the French translation, published by Jacques Kerver (*Orus Apollo de Aegypte De la signification des notes hieroglyphiques des Aegyptiens*, Paris 1543).

both images is understandable. The association of the ouroboros with the idea of cyclical time had already established itself in Late Antiquity, when Greek and Latin writers discussed what the image represented in Ancient Egypt as its place of origin. The oldest known

³⁰¹ In the Ancient Egyptian civilization, the image held numerous meanings: in addition to the above-mentioned, it appears as an apotropaic symbol in various contexts, from cosmogonic, religious, and political to rituals associated with the cult of the ruler and the afterlife. On the ouroboros iconography, see: Reemes, 2015.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Baron Hans Erasmus Engelshaus, 1704, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 147r.

such account is Servius' annotation on the *Aeneid*, in which he states that, before they invented writing, the Ancient Egyptians illustrated the annual cycle using the image of a snake biting its tail to represent the year returning to its beginning.³⁰² Renaissance scholars also knew the motif from Marciano Capella's *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, in which the author describes Saturn (Greek Chronos) at the wedding. The elderly god holds in his hand a "fire-spitting snake devouring its own tail," which, according to the writer, represents the days of the year (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, I, 4, 70).³⁰³ An important role in bringing the two concepts together was played by Marsilio Ficino. In his annotation on the famous segment in the *Enneads* where Plotinus explains the Ancient Egyptians' symbolic expression through visual imagery (*Enneads*, V, 8, 6), he illustrates this by adding that the Ancient Egyptians conveyed the concept of eternity by using the image of a snake biting its own tail, and that a similar image was also described by Horus (Horuspollo; author's note).³⁰⁴

302 "...annus enim secundum Aegyptios indicabatur ante inventas litteras picto dracone caudam suam mordente, quia in se recurrit" (*Ad Vergilii Aeneidos*, V, 85). Servius' interpretation is also cited by Isidor of Seville (*Etymologies*, V, 36, 1–2) and summarized after him by Bede the Venerable, Rabanus Maurus, and other medieval encyclopedists.

303 Capella's allegorical text was also widely distributed in the Middle Ages and annotated by erudite scholars of the Carolingian age, such as John Duns Scotus (*Annotationes in Marcianum*, I, 33, 8) and Remigius of Auxerre (*Commentum in Marcianum*, I, 13, 8). Two highly popular works were of pivotal importance for passing the medieval tradition into the Early Modern Period: *Computus* by Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1235), concerned with the correct calculation of the calendar year, and the liturgical treatise *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by Guillaume Durand (ca. 1285–1291), explaining the allegorical meanings hidden in the liturgical practices of the Holy Mass. Describing the order of the cosmos and the surrounding zodiacal circle, Sacrobosco stressed that the ancients illustrated the cosmos with the image of a serpent devouring its tail. Sacrobosco's work was widely distributed and first printed in 1531. The editions proliferated especially after 1550, when Philip Melanchthon recommended the work as required reading for German universities (Reems, 2015, 286). In a fragment concerned with the connection between liturgy and the calendar year, Guillaume Durand cited the same piece of information as Sacrobosco. His liturgical treatise was probably even more consequential for the transfer of the motif, testifying to which are a great number of preserved manuscripts and the fact that it was among the earliest books to be printed in Europe; its first printed edition was published as early as 1459 (Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer, Mainz), followed by numerous reprints.

304 "Totam vero discursionem ejusmodi una quadam firmaque figura comprehendit Aegyptius alatum serpentes pingens, caudam

The ouroboros symbolizing the eternal cyclic renewal of time definitively took root in Renaissance culture and art through widely disseminated handbooks, such as Cartari's *The Images of the Gods of the Ancients*³⁰⁵ and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. In keeping with the ancient tradition, Cartari included it in his description of Saturn or various types of this deity, so that the characteristic snake appears in most depictions of Saturn in the book. What is more, Cartari's ouroboros accompanies the two-faced Janus, who was also associated with the notion of the annual cycle in Antiquity by closing the door of the old year and opening the door of the new one. Cesare Ripa meaningfully defined the snake eating its tail as the personification of eternity (*Eternità*, Ripa, Padua 1618, 171). Included in Alciato's very first edition in 1531 (embl. C1v), the ouroboros appeared in emblematics twenty-five years before Cartari published his volume on ancient gods and more than forty years before the first edition of Ripa's iconographic handbook. The emblem with the motto *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri* speaks of the eternal glory that scholarship and intellectual work bring to man. The message is illustrated with the image of Triton (the herald of glory), encased in a circle formed by the ouroboros (eternity). In the first Augsburg editions, containing woodcuts commissioned by the publisher Heinrich Steyner, the illustrator did not follow the emblem's wording and depicted Triton without the ouroboros. On the other hand, the ancient sea deity was depicted forming a circle and sticking his tail in his mouth. The error was eliminated in the Paris edition of 1534 (Chrestien Wechel, *Emblematum Libellus*, embl. C74; 45). In the Latin edition of Macé Bonhomme (*Emblemata*, Lyon 1548, 108) as well as the French and Spanish editions by the same publisher (*Emblemes*, Lyon 1549, 163; *Los Emblemas*, Lyon 1549, 163), the snake biting its tail was depicted forming a circle, which became the rule for later editions as well as the standard type of the ouroboros in emblematics and more broadly in early modern art.

ore prenantem caeteraque figuris similibus, quas describit Horus" (Marsilio Ficino, *Plotini Enneades cum Marsilii Ficini interpretatione castigata*, Paris 1855, 354). See also: Reems, 2015, 286–287. Ficino translated *Enneads* in 1484–1486, and the work was first printed in Florence in 1492.

305 The first edition of *Imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi* (Venice 1556) is not illustrated. Only the second, revised edition features woodcuts created by Bolognino Zaltieri (*Le Imagini di i Dei de gli Antichi*, Venice 1571).



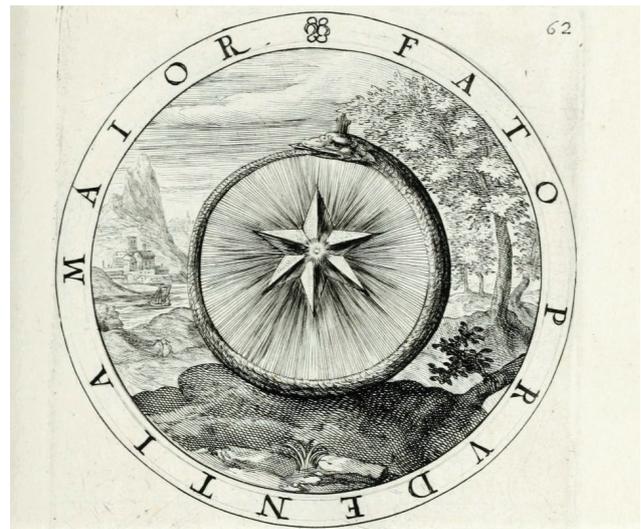
Emblem with the ouroboros, Andrea Alciato, Emblemata, Lyon 1548, 108.

Alciato's numerous editions and translations, along with his influence on other authors of emblem books, enabled the ouroboros to obtain a prestigious place in emblematics as the symbol of eternity. Alciato also established the structure of the emblematic image in which the circle formed by the snake includes another symbolic motif that the ouroboros completes or intensifies. During the mid-sixteenth century, a similar form developed, in which the emblematic message was designed in an antithetical manner: by juxtaposing two opposite symbolic meanings which, combined, generated new content. Such a type is encountered for the first time in Barthélemy Aneau's collection *Picta Poesis* (Paris 1552, 9). Aneau merged the image of the snake with the rose in his emblem and explained in the epigram that the delicate rose represented the transience of human life, while the snake, symbolizing eternity, embodied the immortal soul.

Thus, the emblem illustrates the classic principle of the duality of human nature: the mortality of the physical body and the immortality of the spirit. Emblems with the ouroboros were designed in a similar way by Gabriel Rollenhagen and by many subsequent authors who included both basic types in their collections. Emblems in which the snake devouring its tail appears as an independent symbol are relatively rare in emblematics, and they first emerged no earlier than

the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁰⁶

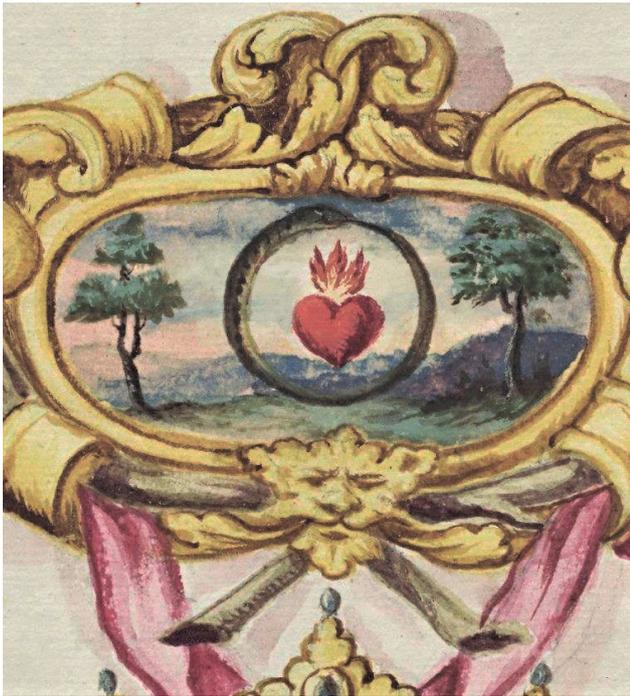
Baron Engelshaus's emblematic image belongs to the type of ouroboric emblems, in which the snake, symbolizing eternity, enhances the significance of the selected motif it encircles in line with the principle of the antithetic structure. The composition is formally most akin to Rollenhagen's ouroboric emblems, which can be explained by the fact that his emblems were extremely popular and already documented in Carniola from the late seventeenth century onward: his *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum* had its place in Valvasor's library at Bogenšperk (BV, 2003). The emblem in the Ljubljana *Theatrum Memoriae*, of course, drew directly on Thalnitscher's draft (CB, sketch 69), which the miniaturist converted into a painting, while leaving the composition mostly intact.



Emblem with the ouroboros and a star, Gabriel Rollenhagen, Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum, Cologne 1611, no. 62

Thalnitscher also wrote Engelshaus's motto next to the sketch: *Post fata perenno* (*After death I shall live forever*) and the academic nickname *Der Ewige* (*The Eternal One*). The motto and membership name confirm that the ouroboros symbolizes the immortal life of the soul in contrast to the transience of man's earthly life. The flaming heart, a variant of the symbol of the United Academicians, identifies Engelshaus as a member of the academy in line with the established practice of emblem design in the *Dismas Chronicle*.

³⁰⁶ For example, Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales*, Prague 1581, embl. 29; 30.



Entry page of Baron Hans Erasmus Engelshaus, detail of the emblematic image with the ouroboros.

On the baron's entry page, it is also possible to discern an additional message that is very common in such emblems and was first introduced by Alciato in the above-mentioned emblem *Ex litterararum studiis immortalitatem acquiri*. Renaissance scholars, especially members of various academies, firmly believed that intellectual pursuits (research, study, and writing) were the sole assurance of eternal glory and immortality in a man's brief existence. While the Carniolan academicians were no exception, it should also be borne in mind that, in the seventeenth century, Alciato's emblematic message took on new connotations and meanings: apart from learnedness and industriousness, virtue, wisdom, and steadfast trust in God were also highlighted Christian values necessary to attain such a lofty goal.³⁰⁷

307 In his collection of emblems (*Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum*, Arnhem 1611), Rollenhagen presents quite a number of emblems that build on Alciato's fundamental content. Thus, for example, the emblem with the Greek motto *Ek ponou kleos* and the image of the earthly sphere with a spade dug into it at the top, surrounded by a laurel wreath and a circle drawn by the ouroboros (embl. 80) conveys that only through hard work can we attain eternal glory. The church in the background and people entering it complement the basic message by adding the notion of steadfast faith. The emblem featuring the ouroboros and a star, and the motto *Fato prudentia maior* (embl. 62) maintains that prudence triumphs

These symbolic meanings made the motif of the ouroboros even more alluring to the members of the Dismas Society, in which the spiritual and religious aspects played an important role.



Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Draft for the emblem of Baron Hans Erasmus Engelshaus, Concept Book, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 69.

over fate: the star signifies fate and transient human life, affected by the stars. By contrast, the ouroboros represents the eternal life of the soul, which does not fall victim to the capriciousness of fate but can, by living prudently, win eternal joy in Heaven. The emblem, in which a winged sphere, as well as the sword and laurel wreath above it, is surrounded by the ouroboros, conveys the belief, encapsulated in the motto *Victrix Fortunae sapientia* (embl. 97). The winged sphere symbolizes the inconstancy of fate, while the sword and laurel wreath represent virtue and prudence that triumph over Fortuna. The epigram explicitly refers to the Christian aspect, given that the word 'wisdom' is accompanied by the adjective 'sacred.' The image in the background with an angel steering a young man away from danger accentuates the Christian note. The Christian moral-didactical tone, introduced by Rollenhagen, is additionally highlighted in the English adaptation of Rollenhagen's emblems, prepared by George Wither (*A Collection of Emblems*, London 1635). In his book, the motto and distich are complemented by an extensive interpretation of the emblem in prose with predominantly Christian emphases (see: Wither, *A Collection of Emblems*, 74, 92, and 109).

3.9 Entry Page of Friedrich Hofstetter (TM, fol. 157r)

The entry page of the Kostanjevica abbot Friedrich Hofstetter contains an emblem image featuring a stag in front of a fountain feeding clear water into a stone trough beneath it. The stone wall of the fountain discharging the

cause the abbot chose *Der Begierige* (*The Ardent One*) as his membership name, there is no doubt that the stag represents the soul longing for God. The eye of God symbolizes God the Father and the ubiquitous God's grace watching over the faithful—in this case, especially over the members of the Dismas Society. The sketch for the emblematic image was designed by Thalnitzscher

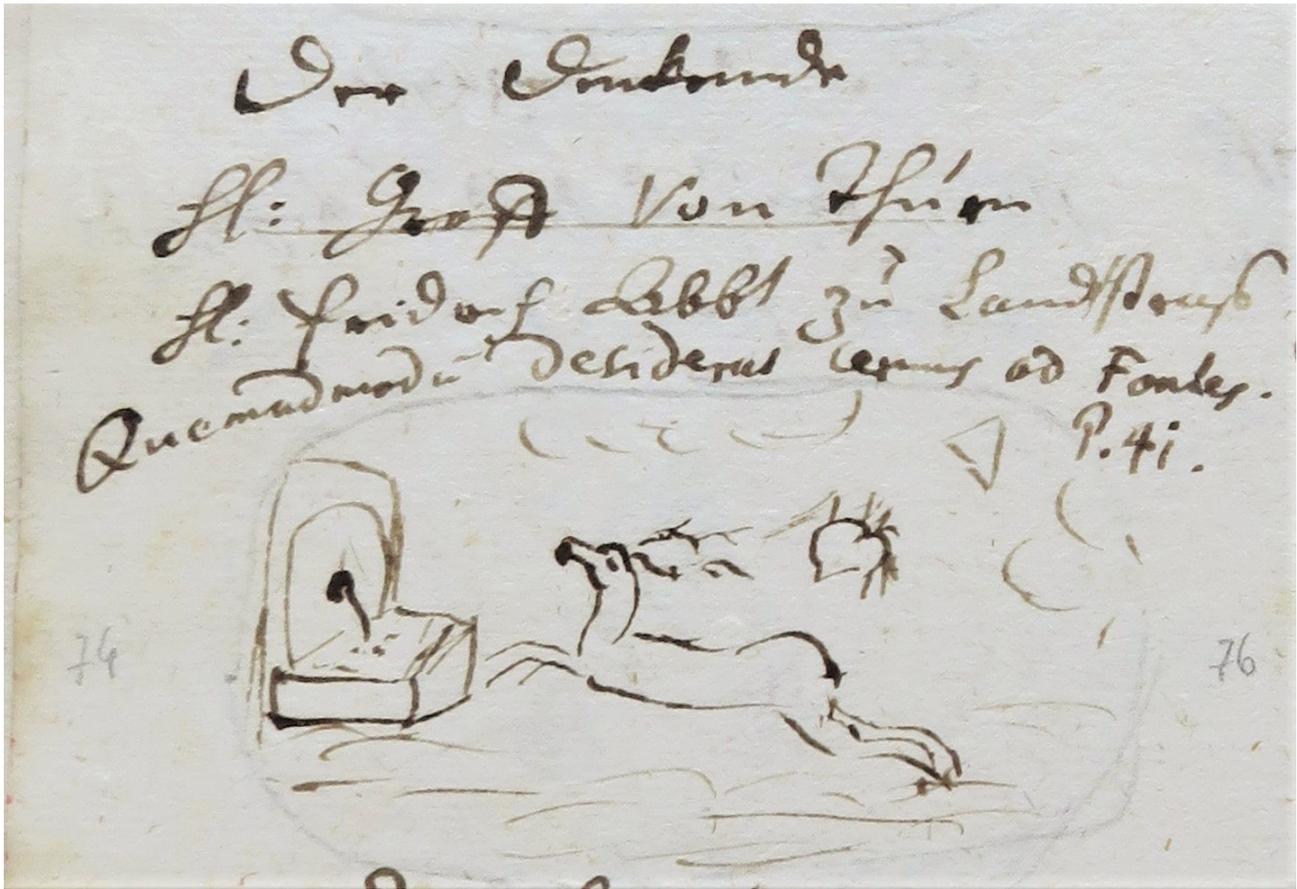


Entry page of Friedrich Hofstetter, detail of the emblematic image.

jet of water bears a depiction of the Virgin Mary, and the stag is looking at it as it springs forward. On the right, a winged heart descends from the sky and behind it is a triangle with God's eye emitting rays of sun, illuminating the sky. The central motif of the emblem alludes to the famous line of Psalm 42, opening with the words that form the abbot's motto: *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes* (*As the hart panteth after the water brooks*).³⁰⁸ Be-

(CB, sketch 74), although the fountain in it is very simple. The decision to replace the natural spring approached by the stag with a more elegant fountain bearing a depiction of the Virgin Mary in the emblem's final version was undoubtedly made by the academician himself. In doing so, Abbot Friedrich Hofstetter directly linked the content of the image to the monastery in Kostanjevica, which stood "next to the fountain of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (Kastelic, 2001, 164).

³⁰⁸ In the King James Version of the Bible, the full line reads: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God" (Ps 42:2).



Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Draft for the emblem of Friedrich Hofstetter, *Concept Book*, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 74.

The motif of a stag next to a spring or fountain is not new in emblematics. In some cases, like the emblem of Cardinal Charles Borromeo published by Girolamo Ruscelli (*Le imprese delle illustri*, Venice 1566, 97), even the basic composition of the painting is akin to that designed by Trost.³⁰⁹ The *pictura* in Hofstetter's emblem clearly rests on Thalnitscher's sketch, and the allusion to the monastery in Kostanjevica also has parallels in the commissions made by other Ljubljana academicians who wished their emblematic images to include their mansions or manors, for example, the emblem of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini featuring his mansion Lisičje near Škofljica (TM, fol. 244r) or the

emblem of Baron Anton Thadäus Johann Nepomuk Taufferer with the mansion Turn near Višnja Gora (TM, fol. 327r). About thirty years after Hofstetter's emblem was created, Jacob Klopper, Prior of the Bistra Charterhouse, unsatisfied with the subtle clue devised by the Kostanjevica abbot, filled the background of his miniature with the depiction of the entire Bistra monastery complex instead (TM, fol. 266r).

309 Borromeo's emblem features additional iconography of the stag, which must, after killing and devouring snakes, drink from a spring of clear water as soon as possible, or else it will die. This stresses the importance of faith, which saves a devout Christian from the greatest of evils. Ruscelli's book was surely known to the United Academicians and is now kept in the Seminary Library in Ljubljana.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Friedrich Hofstetter, 1707,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 157r.

3.10 Entry Page of Franz Michael von Erberg (TM, fol. 161r)

The emblematic cartouche of Franz Michael Erberg features four eagles in a picturesque landscape. In the foreground, a mighty eagle spreads its wings to fly towards the beaming rays in the sky, while high above the horizon, three other eagles already make their way towards the bright light of the sun. A particularly noteworthy iconographic detail is that the role of the sun is largely assumed by the stylized red heart painted just below the sun and enveloped in its bright light, as if radiating light itself. The other bright red heart can be seen clutched in the beak of the eagle preparing to fly. The inscription banner in the cartouche contains the brief motto *Non degenero* (*I will not degenerate*), and the longer one outside the cartouche contains the academic name *Der Ehrbahre* (*The Honorable One*).

Although the motif of the eagle soaring towards the sun is very commonly featured in the *Dismas Chronicle*, each emblem has its own variant and therefore a distinct message or emphasis. The core iconography of the eagle and sun accentuates the strength of the spirit soaring high like an eagle towards the sun, symbolizing rebirth in faith or resurrection in eternal life.³¹⁰ At the same time, the motif highlights the royal character and excellence of the eagle due to its ability to look directly and unflinchingly at the sun. The image of an eagle rising towards the sky alone or with its offspring is one of the most popular depictions in emblematics, while its message varies depending on the accompanying motto and epigram.

The motto of Erberg's emblem reveals that the central theme is that of testing the eagle's offspring. The device is borrowed from the emblem of Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, presented in Picinelli's book (Pic., I, 4,

embl. 97; 262). In addition to the identical motto, the content is very similar, as both emblems build on the established theme of challenges that the eaglets must face for the adult eagle to recognize them as its genuine offspring.³¹¹ According to Aristotle, the eagle forces its chicks to look straight at the sun. If they fail to do so, they are cast out of the nest, their weakness serving as proof that they are not the eagle's true offspring (*History of Animals*, IX, 34). According to the lore, certain smaller birds of prey occasionally lay their eggs in the eagle's nest to ensure the survival of their young in the care of the royal bird. However, since no other bird can gaze at the sun unflinchingly, the eagle puts the young to the test to eliminate the intruders. The young birds' test was also discussed by Pliny (*Natural History*, X, 10), Aelian (*On the Nature of Animals*, II, 26 and IX, 13), Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (*Pharsalia*, IX, 902), Apuleius (*Florida*, I, 2), and other classical authors. Among early medieval writers, Isidore of Seville wrote about it (*Etymologiae*, XII, 7, 11) and was referenced by subsequent encyclopedists. In the Christian spirit, the motif was allegorically explained by St. Ambrosius (more precisely, Pseudo-Ambrosius) in his sermon on Salomon (*Sermo 46: De Salomone*, PL 17, 694–695). The episode was also regularly presented in bestiaries, where the most common allegorical annotation stated that eaglets gazing at the sun represented the faithful who fully embraced God's teachings and thus experienced spiritual rebirth. The chicks unable to do so represented bad Christians, sinners, or unbelievers. The motif was likewise common in emblematics, where the basic theme of the test took on many new symbolic connotations and accents.³¹² If it were not for the motto of Erberg's emblem speaking of the challenge facing the eaglets, the main theme of the emblematic image may have been understood as encouraging the young to fly, as in the emblems of Count Georg Ludwig Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 238r) and Baron Johann Benjamin Erberg (TM, fol. 264r). In fact, the emblem merges the two motifs, with the academician's motto and membership nickname stressing the notion of commendable adherence to the example set by one's forefathers. The original improvement of the core

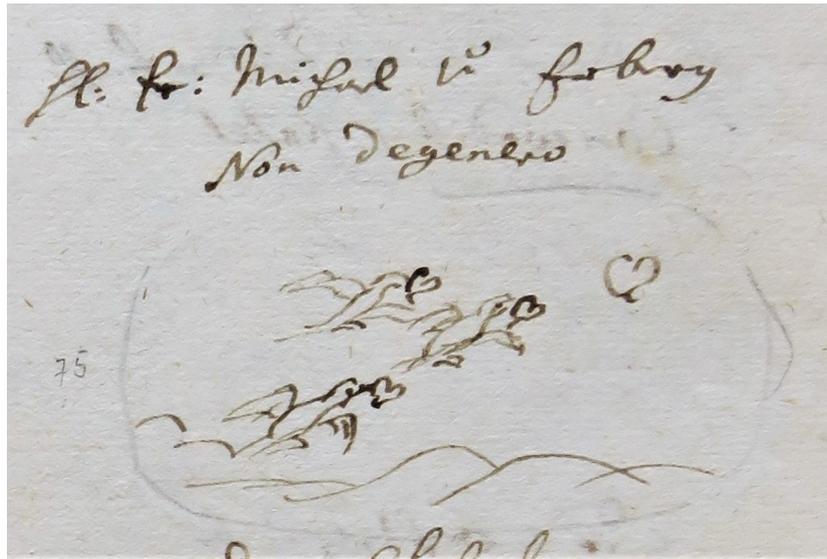
310 The motif of the eagle that can restore its vitality stems from the Bible and is closely linked to the symbolism of resurrection in the *Physiologus* and Biblical exegesis. See the interpretation of the emblem of Johann Joseph Wallensperg (TM, fol. 119r) and compare the interpretations of the emblems of Franz Anton Wolkenberg (TM, fol. 229r), Michael Joseph Wallensperg (TM, fol. 234r), Georg Ludwig Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 238r), Johann Benjamin Erberg (TM, fol. 264r), Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 287r), Carl Joseph Valvasor (TM, fol. 294r), Wolf Engelbert Ignaz Auersperg (TM, fol. 306r), and Franz Rudolf Wolkenberg (TM, fol. 369r).

311 The emblem of Emmanuel I of Savoy distinctly declares that the duke is a worthy son of his father. On the iconography of the Duke of Savoy's emblem, see: Franciscus Reinzer, *Meteorologia philosophico-politica...*, Augsburg 1698, 88–89.

312 Picinelli, for example, presented nine emblems on this topic (Pic., I, 4, embls. 89–97; 261–262).



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Franz Michael von Erberg, 1709,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 161r.



Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, Draft for the emblem of Franz Michael von Erberg, Concept Book, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6, sketch 75.

iconography in Erberg's emblem is demonstrated in associating the stylized heart symbolizing of the United Academicians with the sun, while an identical heart is held by the eagle preparing to take flight. Thus, the idea of the emblem is transformed in the same way as repeatedly encountered in the *Ljubljana Album*: adhering to the principles of the Noble Society of St. Dismas and honoring the shared commitments contribute to its excellence and ennoble all its members. The allusion to resurrection and faith in eternal life is also clear. The eagle with the bright red heart in its beak represents the academician who commissioned the emblem, which is further confirmed by his membership name, chosen motto, and the connection to the Erberg family's heraldic eagle. By including the stylized heart, Franz Michael Erberg, *The Honorable One*, upheld the tradition of his senior peers at the Academy of the United, particularly his uncle Franz Jacob von Erberg, the first vice-dean of the Dismas Society, and his father Johann Daniel, the second dean of the association.

The skill demonstrated by the unknown miniaturist (probably Bartholomeus Ramschissl) in underscoring the emblematic message becomes fully apparent when contrasted to Thalnitscher's sketch, on which three equally sized eagles, each clutching a heart in its beak, fly up towards the heart in the sky (CB, sketch 75). The painter adds a fourth eagle, giving it greater importance in the composition by placing it in the foreground as

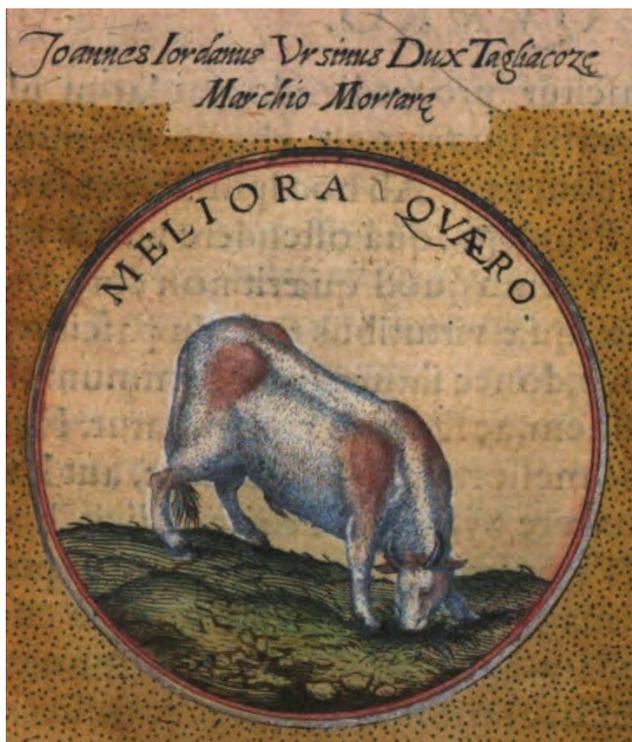
well as by making it more prominent in size and presentation. This is the only eagle carrying a heart, lifting it proudly into the sky. Another change in the emblem image is that the sun is painted behind the heart on the horizon and illuminating it, so that the heart appears to be radiating its own light. Thus, the painter ties the heart directly to the symbolism of the sun. His intervention gives the emblem a new emphasis and demonstrates his active involvement in the iconographic design. This is not the first instance of the artist's collaboration in co-creating the emblematic message: Andreas Trost freely modified Thalnitscher's sketch of the eagle for Watzenberg's emblem and altered at least the draft concepts of the emblems for Johann Stephan Floriantschitsch (TM, fol. 73r) and Lorenz Wollwiz (TM, fol. 113r). The thematic emphasis added by the miniaturist (undoubtedly, with the academician's consent), also explains why the eagle taking off is not depicted as an eaglet. In Erberg's emblem, the basic notion of genuine lineage and dignified passage of legacy from the forebears (which predominates in the case of Emmanuel I of Savoy) combines with the opportunity to join the Noble Society of St. Dismas. With his entry page, the newly admitted academician informs the viewer that he wishes to prove himself deserving of the trust of his fellows who have welcomed him into their fold, and follow the illustrious examples set forth by his father and uncle.

3.11 Entry Page of Count Adam Anton Siegfried Auersperg (TM, fol. 169r)

The emblematic image of Count Adam Anton Siegfried Auersperg features a simple motif: a bull grazing on a green pasture, which can be tied to the heraldic auroch of the Carniolan branch of the Auersperg family. Were it not for the motto and selected membership name that elaborate on the emblematic message, the bull could be interpreted as the heraldic animal transferred from the coat of arms without enriching the basic symbolic meanings. However, the motto *Meliora quaero* (*I seek for something better*) and membership name *Der Bestsuchende* (*The Seeker of the Best*) reveal that the iconography goes beyond the basic meaning of the wild bovid of the Counts of Auersperg. This is made even more evident by the fact that the combination of the image and motto was not the commissioning member's idea but can be found in Picinelli's book as an example of prudence, deliberation, and perseverance in seeking or attaining virtue and spiritual growth. In *Mundus Symbolicus*, the text accompanying the emblem with an identical motto (*Meliora quaero*; Pic., I, 5, embl. 59;

346) invokes Paul's letter to the Philippians: "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended (perfection, a. n.): but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before" (Php 3:13). The emblem with the same motto, this time completed with the image of a grazing bull, was published by Typotius in *Symbola divina et humana* (III, 115). This work is even more significant for understanding Auersperg's emblem, because it provides a more comprehensive interpretation that includes further facets of meaning while depicting the bull quite unambiguously as the representation of an exemplary prince. The author stresses that the search for the best mouthfuls is not about nurturing the physical body but the spiritual one, it is about striving towards nobility of the soul and perfection. The inclusion of the religious aspect is self-evident: the soul's longing for fulfilment is satisfied exclusively in its search for the highest good, which is the final aim of every quest it undertakes.

The emblematic image in the *Dismas Chronicle* shows that the academician who commissioned it and the painter both effectively conveyed the emblematic message through visual representation. The bull notably deviates from the established heraldic variant of the Auerspergs' formidable aurochs, which is depicted as more intimidating and ferocious in the family coat of arms due to its posture and a raised front leg. Some Auersperg coats of arms even feature the heraldic aurochs in a rearing position, closely resembling the heraldic lion rampant. A fine example is the tombstone of Pancrace Auersperg at the Stična monastery (from the end of the fifteenth century but currently built into the eastern bay of the cloister's northern tract, on the exterior southern wall of the church nave). The heraldic auroch of the Auerspergs has yet another characteristic: conspicuously wide nostrils pierced with a large metal ring. The bull is depicted as a belligerent animal fearlessly confronting a lion in the emblem of Count Carl Auersperg, likewise a member of the Dismas Society (TM, fol. 359r). The same holds for the bull in the emblem of Count Paul Alois Auersperg, attacked by a pack of dogs (TM, fol. 347r). From this perspective, the grazing bull, carefully selecting mouthfuls on the emblematic image of Adam Anton Siegfried, acts as the bearer of a well-thought-out message: the search for the best must be understood



Emblem with a bull, Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana*, III, Prague 1601–1603, 115.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Count Adam Anton Siegfried Auersperg, 1710, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 169r.



Entry page of Count Adam Anton Siegfried Auersperg, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

as wisdom of a prince who endeavors to walk the path of virtues and moral integrity.

Directly above the bull, a large, stylized heart is depicted encased in the cartouche, suggesting that the search for the best takes place under the patronage of the symbol of the Society of St. Dismas. Reflecting the mental world characteristic of the early eighteenth-century Carniolan intellectual elite, the emblematic message can be interpreted as the desire of progressive noblemen to place more emphasis on the “search for the best” in upholding the traditional values of the noble ethical code, symbolically embodied in the image of the Christian soldier (*miles christianus*), also in the field of the intellectual virtues of humanism and early enlightenment.

The idea of progress based on knowledge and reason, along with the desire to nurture art and work for the common good, was subsumed in the principles of the Dismas Society as well as the preserved *curricula vitae* of its members. In their maturer form, such ideas were championed by academies established in Carniola during the early eighteenth century, particularly the most important among them—the Academy of the

Operosi.³¹³ The Auerspergs significantly helped to shape various spheres of Carniolan history; regarding their contribution to scientific and cultural development, suffice it to recall their library, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of the most extensive private book collections in this part of Europe. As one of the foremost noble lineages in Carniola, the Auerspergs also wielded great influence through their artistic patronage. It is therefore worth noting that as many as thirteen representatives of the family were members of the Noble Society of St. Dismas.³¹⁴

³¹³ The members’ *curricula vitae* attest even more eloquently to the intellectual note of their activities and endeavors for the advancement of their association than the core mission defined in Thalnitscher’s *Preface* (fols. 4r–6r). On the attitude towards science and art as well as efforts that the members of the Dismas Society and Academy of the *Operosi* applied to this area, see: Simoniti (1988, 79–85), Dolinar (1994, 35–46), Kastelic (2001, 35–40), Lavrič (2003, 27–37), and Vidmar (2013, 23–36, 51–64, 161–173).

³¹⁴ Wolfgang Engelbert Auersperg, Adam Anton Siegfried Auersperg, Anton Joseph Auersperg, Alexander Auersperg, Wolf Engelbert Ignaz Auersperg, Raymund Auersperg, Paul Alois Auersperg, Richard Auersperg, Johann Nepomuk Auersperg, Carl Auersperg, Siegfried Auersperg, Nicholas Auersperg, and Alexander Auersperg. The three younger Auerspergs—Johann Nepomuk, Nicholas, and Alexander—were not inscribed in the *Album*. See: Golec, 2022, 27/2, 87.

3.12 Entry Page of Johann Jacob Schilling (TM, fol. 191r)

The *pictura* on the entry page of Johann Jacob Schilling, secretary to Bishop Sigismund Christoph Herberstein and later vicar-general of Ljubljana, features a landscape with a shepherd and his sheep in what appears to be a pastoral scene. The shepherd lures the sheep with a green branch and they willingly follow him. The red hearts on their and the shepherd's chests testify that the painting has an allegorical character, clearly alluding to the iconographic motif of the Good Shepherd. The metaphor can be understood in the context of Schilling's priestly vocation: through his work as a priest, theologian, canon, and vicar-general of Ljubljana, he actively fulfilled the role of a spiritual

shepherd, and the stylized heart of the Ljubljana noble association directly associates his vocation with the notion of providing pastoral care to his companions, congregated under the patronage of St. Dismas. The motto *Ostendere sufficit* (*To show is enough*) states that his fellows abide by Christian values and do not need any reminding but just a loving beckoning. This is also confirmed by Schilling's membership name *Der Zu-lockende* (*The Inviting One*). By choosing such an academic nickname and motto, he may perhaps also have wished to express his modesty and tact to prevent his position as a pastor from being misunderstood.

Schilling's emblematic image with the chosen motto most likely leaned on the emblem described by Picinelli (Pic., I, 5, embl. 582; 415): the mottos are



Entry page of Johann Jacob Schilling, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.



Emblem with a sheep, Paolo Arese, Delle Sacre Imprese IV, Tortona 1630, 505.

identical, and the brief explanation in *Mundus Symbolicus* also speaks of joyful adherence to God's word, succinctly encapsulated in the following revealing words inserted onto the margin of the page: *vocatio divina*. Picinelli described the emblem in Paolo Arese's book *Delle Sacre Imprese*.³¹⁵ The emblem is accompanied by an image that is much simpler than Schilling's *pictura*, featuring a single sheep in the landscape, and instead of a shepherd, there is only a hand with a green branch beckoning it. Arese dedicated the emblem to Philip the Apostle, and his extensive explanation centers on following the teachings of Christ and Philip's role as an apostle serving as the good shepherd to his flock (Arese, *Delle Sacre*

Imprese IV, 1630, 506–521). The simple illustration in Arese's book of impresas was surely not the only artistic model for Schilling's emblematic image—as in many other examples, a possible source of inspiration was the description of the emblem in Picinelli's book, while the artistic execution is an original creation that enhances narrativity and creates an idyllic vernacular atmosphere. In the spirit of the bucolic pastoral, the motif of a pastor is complemented by two shepherds in contemporary attire, sitting next to the cartouche displaying Schilling's entry information. The lamb holding the banner with the cross in the academician's coat of arms clearly symbolizes Christ, who, together with the dove, sacramental wheat and wine, book, and biretta meaningfully completes the emblematic message of Schilling's entry page.

³¹⁵ *Delle Sacre Imprese di monsignor Paolo Arese vescovo di Tortona. Libro quarto sesto...* Pietro Giovanni Calenzano et Eliseo Viola, Tortona 1630, 505.



Andreas Trost's workshop, Entry page of Johann Jacob Schilling, 1716, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 191r.

3.13 Entry Page of Siegfried Bonaventura von Werthenthal (TM, fol. 208r)

The emblematic cartouche of Siegfried Bonaventura von Werthenthal features a black horse galloping through a landscape aglow in the early morning light. In European culture and hence also in its world of emblems, the horse holds a wealth of symbolism. The depiction of a horse galloping without a bridle and saddle in emblematic images (as well as in art in general) commonly represents the notion of freedom.³¹⁶ In attempting to interpret Werthenthal's emblem, a valuable source of help was again the one most often consulted by members of St. Dismas Society—Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus*. The volume describes an emblem with a horse (Pic., I, 5, embl. 307; 378), accompanied by a motto identical to that chosen by Siegfried Werthenthal: *Aliis inserviando consumor (I burn in the service of others)*. The Carniolan academician further underscores the message with his membership name *Der Diensthafte (The Serving One)*, emphasizing that the galloping horse in his emblematic image represents not freedom but the idea of service.

Whereas modern readers of the *Dismas Chronicle* may find the academic nickname and motto on serving others to be at odds with the notion of freedom, this discrepancy is merely an apparent one. In horse iconography, both emphases of meaning are in fact closely aligned: the willingness of the noble animal, which has since Antiquity symbolized unrestrained freedom, to serve its master voluntarily, out of pure devotion, is one of the central themes in the European iconography of the horse. Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horse, is an iconic example that inspired many myths in Antiquity and in medieval moral allegory figured as Alexander's loyal assistant, also by mirroring the strengths and virtues of its master. According to Pliny, who drew from various sources, once the young Alexander managed to tame Bucephalus, the horse became so profoundly devoted to his master that it refused to let him mount any other horse, even after it sustained injuries during the Battle at Thebes (*Natural History*, VIII, 154).

However, what is the likelihood that the horse in Werthenthal's emblematic image indeed alludes to Bucephalus, which would allow the *pictura* and motto to form a meaningful whole? The answer is revealed by careful examination of Grachower's miniature and by recollecting the story about how the young Alexander tamed Bucephalus. In his biography of Alexander the Great, Plutarch describes Bucephalus as a feral horse that would throw even the most skilled riders. Seeing this, Alexander's father, Philip II of Macedon, refused to purchase the unbroken stallion. The young Alexander asked his father for permission to at least try to mount the beautiful animal. Closely observing the horse, the Macedonian prince noticed that, with the sun shining from behind, the horse was greatly unsettled by seeing its own shadow. He therefore approached Bucephalus while the horse was facing the sun. He mounted the horse with remarkable skill and patience and remained firmly in the saddle. Thereafter, the stallion served him loyally and never allowed himself to be mounted by anyone else (Plutarch, *Parallel Lives, Alexander the Great*, 6).³¹⁷

Bearing in mind the story narrated by Plutarch, the particularly striking detail in Werthenthal's emblem is the horse's highlighted shadow, even more so because animals in Grachower's emblematic images do not cast shadows, or these are barely discernible. It is very unlikely that such a conspicuous shadow would be incidental. On the contrary, given Grachower's active part in helping to create emblematic messages, the detail undoubtedly holds a deeper meaning. Alongside the shadow cast by the horse, its color is another significant iconographic indicator worthy of note. It is the only black horse in the *Dismas Chronicle*. Most authors writing about the illustrious horse of Alexander the Great believed that it was black. And although opinions among the leading ancient authorities and later medieval writers about the color of Alexander's horse differed, the common belief in the Renaissance was that Bucephalus was a noble black stallion. Conrad Gessner, whose work was also well-known to the Ljubljana academicians, had no doubt about it (Gessn. Lib. I., 607).

316 The notion is most succinctly expressed in the emblem with the motto *Libertas inestimabilis res est* (Dutch: *Vryheyd, blyheyd*) in Dirck Pietersz Pers's book *Bellerophon of Lust tot wijsheit*, Amsterdam ca. 1648, fol. B8v.

317 The scene described by Plutarch was repeated by numerous writers (e.g., Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 154; Solinus, *A Collection of Curious Things*, 45, 8; Strabo, *Geography*, XV, 689, etc.) and became part of the standard iconography of Alexander the Great. It is even found in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* (Basel 1564, 1407).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Siegfried Bonaventura von Werthenthal, 1719, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 208r.



Entry page of Siegfried Bonaventura von Werthenthal, 1719, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

The confirmation that the horse in Werthenthal's emblem is indeed Bucephalus can be found in both its iconography in early modern art and emblem books (Germ, 2021, 377–394). Even though Bucephalus is commonly depicted by artists alongside Alexander the Great, particularly in celebrated scenes from the life of the Macedonian hero (the image of the young Alexander taming the wild stallion being especially popular), the horse also appears as an independent motif. These are usually illustrations in a variety of early prints that, in one context or another, mention Alexander's black horse.³¹⁸ Another independent depiction of Bucephalus can be found in the extremely popular and revised *Cosmography* by Sebastian Münster, who devoted an entire chapter to the animal.

³¹⁸ Independent depictions of Bucephalus as a stallion galloping freely, without a bridle and saddle, can already be found in Antiquity, most often on coins from the period of Alexander's descendants, as well as on coins of individual Roman emperors who regarded the great conqueror as an example. On the depictions of Bucephalus on ancient coins, see: Dahmen, 2007.

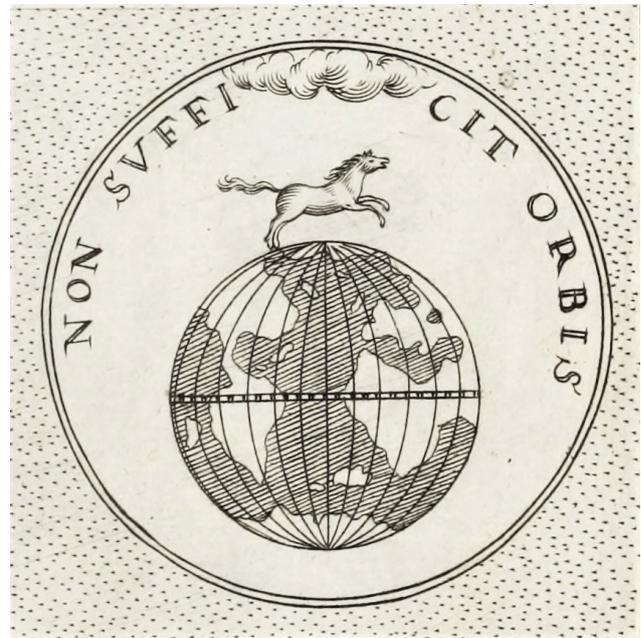
Some editions contain no fewer than three woodcut illustrations of Bucephalus (e.g., Basel, 1552, 1071–1072). It is significant that the first illustration (which is also the largest) features the same motif as seen in Grachower's miniature: a horse without a saddle and bridle galloping freely across the landscape. Grachower surely did not need a template for the image of a horse in a landscape: widely disseminated illustrations can above all be understood as an assurance that the *pictura* followed the established iconographic tradition of depicting Bucephalus as an independent motif. The idea of the shadow as an iconographic signifier in Bucephalus' depictions was not new either: an especially illustrative example is the two-page engraving of Bucephalus in the book on horses, *Tractatio nova et auctior de re equaria*, by Georg Simon Winter von Adlersflügel, which was first published in Nuremberg in 1672.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ See the two-page illustration no. 20. Winter was an internationally renowned expert in raising and rearing horses, an indisputable authority esteemed throughout Europe. The second,



Bucephalus, Georg Simon Winter von Adlersflügel, Tractatio nova et auctior de re equaria, Nuremberg 1672, image no. 20.

Further confirmation that Grachower's stallion can indeed be identified as Bucephalus, along with the explanation of the seemingly unusual painting of a stallion galloping freely with the motto concerning loyal service, can be found in emblematics and related noble devices. The emblem of Philip II of Spain in Jacob Typotius' *Symbola divina et humana* (I, 70) shows a horse galloping on top of the earthly sphere, and the *pictura* is completed by the motto *Non sufficit orbis* (*The world is not enough* or *One world is not enough*).³²⁰ The emblem is a reproduction of the medal that Philip II of Spain commissioned in 1580 to commemorate his marriage to the heiress to the Portuguese throne, Isabella of Portugal. The motto is traditionally credited to Alexander the Great, the triumphant military commander, who apparently



Emblem of Philip II of Spain, Jacobus Typotius, Symbola divina et humana, I, Prague 1601–1603, 70.

revised edition of his book was published in 1687 and the third in 1703. The work was highly acclaimed among the European nobility and in scholarly circles. The fact that it was written in four languages (German, Latin, French, and Italian) further facilitated its wide distribution and accessibility. The book was also fairly known in Carniola; it was documented in the Auerpergers' private library, and Valvasor had as many as three Winter's titles in his book collection (BV, 2543–2545).

320 For his book, Typotius used noble mottos that Octavius de Strada collected for Emperor Rudolf II, complemented them with brief explanations, and thus converted them into emblems (see the chapter on heraldry). The imperial collection undoubtedly also included the medal of Philip II of Spain, given that the drawing is close to an exact reproduction of it.

craved dominion over more than one world. It is cited verbatim from Juvenal's *Satires*, which the author invokes in his interpretation of the emblem,³²¹ liken-

321 "Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis: Aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi" (*Satires* X, 168–169).



Commemorative medal of Philip II of Spain, ca. 1580–1583, *Museo Numismático Português, Lisbon.*

ing Philip II to Alexander the Great.³²² The emblem is significant in the context of finding new possible examples for Werthenthal’s, especially because it was featured in a very popular and widely distributed printed book which went through several editions and was very likely also known in Carniola.

Symbola divina et humana is also illustrative with regard to the iconography of Werthenthal’s entry page as it presents yet another interesting emblem, which is almost identical to Werthenthal’s. The device of the German nobleman Julius, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Prince of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

combines the image of a galloping horse with the same motto as on Werthenthal’s entry page: *Aliis inserviendo consumor*. According to Typotius, the stallion (the heraldic animal of the Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel) represents the prince in his loyal service to God and his people (Typ., II, 140).³²³ Although the allusion to Bucephalus is not expressed as directly as in the emblem of Philip II, the idea was not foreign to German noblemen who (like many representatives of the European high nobility) enjoyed comparing themselves to Alexander the Great. It is unequivocally conveyed on the famous medal of Prince Elector Georg Ludwig of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who commissioned it in 1714, when he became King of Great Britain and Ireland as George I.³²⁴

The heraldic stallion of the Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg featured on it is accompanied by

322 The commemorative medal also served as the direct basis for the emblem of Philip II of Spain in the manuscript emblem book by Francisco Gómez de la Reguera, *Empresas de los reyes de Castilla* (ca. 1695, National Library of Spain, MSS/17481, fol. 170r). The original manuscript, which was supposedly compiled during the 1620s (and completed ca. 1630), has not been preserved. On the other hand, a copy from 1695, kept in the National Library of Spain, has been preserved in its entirety. In his interpretation of the allegorical meaning, Francisco Gómez de la Reguera, too, likens Philip II to Alexander the Great, describing many of his fortitudes as a person and ruler. Interestingly, however, he also leans on the Biblical tradition, and “another world,” craved by the Macedonian prince, thus obtains a new dimension with the Spanish king. The author interprets it as the appearance of God’s glory, borrowing from the last line of Psalm 16: “... *satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*” (Ps 16:15).

323 Julius, one of the most learned princes of his time, was a great patron of the sciences and the arts as well as the founder of the University of Helmstedt (*Academia Julia*). He is also credited for the development and prosperity of his states by introducing numerous economic, legal, and political reforms.

324 Prince Elector Georg Ludwig of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (Hannover) was the founder of the Hannover-based dynasty of British monarchs, which came to an end with the death of Queen Victoria in 1901.



*Emblem of Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg,
Prince of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Jacobus Typotius,
Symbola divina et humana, II,
Prague 1601–1603, 140.*

the motto *Unus non sufficit orbis* and hence symbolically equated to Bucephalus.

Typotius' emblems featuring a galloping horse both shed light in different ways on the iconography of Werthenthal's entry page in the context of European emblematics. There is still no reliable evidence that the Ljubljana academician, who commissioned the emblem, had read *Symbola divina et humana* to draw inspiration from it. However, he was almost certainly (at least indirectly) familiar with both emblems through the popular encyclopedia *Mundus Symbolicus*. Adding to this likelihood is Picinelli's comprehensive interpretation of the two emblems, which must have made them even more appealing to the Carniolan academician. In the emblem of Julius, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Picinelli expands the established themes of loyal service with Biblical examples of devoted service and even the symbolism of Christ the Good Shepherd. He also uses an explicitly Christian perspective to complement the interpretation of Philip II's emblem, advancing the tradition initiated by Francisco Gómez de la Reguera. By invoking the same line of Psalm 16 as De la Reguera, he likens the Spanish king to King David, for whom the kingdom of heaven was more important than the earthly one (Pic., I, 5, embl. 319; 379).

The allegorical message of both emblems in *Mundus Symbolicus* is linked to and enhanced by the third emblem, which refers explicitly to Bucephalus (Pic., I, 5, embl. 76; 348). Picinelli explains the motto *Nec alius* (*No other*) using Plutarch's account that Bucephalus would only carry Alexander the Great and immediately threw anyone else out of the saddle. According to Picinelli, this makes the noble stallion an image of true devotion to service (*servitus vera*). The author of the popular compendium of Renaissance emblems expands the classical theme of loyalty and utmost devotion to the best loved one in the Christian spirit: drawing on St. Augustine, he translates this thought into a call for a committed devotion to God, whom a devout Christian holds dearer than anything else.³²⁵

Only Picinelli's account of Bucephalus, when read in conjunction with both above-mentioned emblems featuring a galloping stallion, finally makes it possible to discern all the layers of meaning of Werthenthal's emblem. Reflecting the principles of the St. Dismas Society, which emphasized the commitment to serve the common good and devotion to God as the central tenets of its membership, Werthenthal's entry page serves as an outstandingly witty allegorical expression of belonging to the noble association with its carefully thought-out allusion to the reinterpretation of Bucephalus' ancient symbolism, as developed by Renaissance emblematics. Moreover, Grachower once again demonstrates his mastery: by artistically highlighting the motif of the horse's shadow, he offers a clue for identifying the galloping black stallion and understanding the emblematic message.

³²⁵ *Praeter Alexandrum, cum dorso insider tenat
Alter, Bucephalus respuit atque fremit.
Nec sua qui sacris devovit claustris,
Excepto nulli serviat ipse Deo* (Pic., I, 5, 348).

Abraham a Sancta Clara, whose works were also widely distributed in Carniola, cited the same lines and provided similar further insights on them in two volumes: *Judas Der Ertz-Schelm, Für ehrliche Leuth* (Salzburg 1686, fol. 14r, see also p. 250) and *Etwas für Alle* (Nuremberg 1699, LII, 417). A copy of the former is kept in the Seminary Library in Ljubljana.

3.14 Entry Page of Baron Johann Joseph Anton Posarelli (TM, fol. 213r)

The *pictura* of Johann Joseph Anton Posarelli is straightforward to interpret. It depicts a nightscape with a stately house or manor and a dog in the foreground, barking at a young man carrying a bundle in his hand. The posture and clothes of the man fleeing from the dog across the bridge over the winding stream suggest that he is a scoundrel, most likely a thief, who tried to approach the house in the dark but was startled and chased away by the vigilant dog. Such an interpretation is also supported by Posarelli's membership name *Der Wachsame* (*The Vigilant One*) and motto *Vigilans dormio* (*I sleep vigilant*), highlighting watchfulness in terms of protection against possible danger.

The dog as a loyal guardian of the home is a *topos* that has been so deeply ingrained in European iconography since Antiquity that there is no need to elaborate on it. This makes it so much more surprising that the motif seldom appears in emblematics. The dog figures as a guardian of sheep, as a good sheepdog protecting the helpless flock against wolves, and as a loyal companion to his master, whom he safeguards against enemies. Conversely, a dog hardly ever figures as the guardian of a house. In his encyclopedia, Picinelli presents sixty emblems with a dog as the main bearer of the emblematic message, including no more than four in which it is guarding a house (Pic., I, 5, embls. 123, 136, 140, 150; 355–358). Of particular interest for understanding Posarelli's emblematic message is the emblem dedicated to Antonio Longo, the Venetian administrator of Crema (Pic., I, 5, embl. 140; 357). The emblem with the motto *Quo opportunius, eo vigilantius* highlights the watchfulness demonstrated by Longo's commendable service, most notably his attentiveness and diligence, whenever they were required.³²⁶ The basic content of the emblem is very akin to Posarelli's: in both examples, watchfulness is illustrated by a dog guarding the master's home against evildoers throughout the night.

It is certainly possible that Posarelli's emblem was an original creation, unrelated to Picinelli's compendium. On the other hand, it is worth bearing in mind

326 "... *D. Antonium Longum hoc emblemate honorabat, qui patriam tanto majore vigilantia & solitudine tuebatur, quo necessitas & occasio id amplius exigebant*" (Pic., I, 5, 357).

that, along with the *pictura* and motto, both emblems also convey an almost completely identical allegorical message. In Picinelli's interpretations, house guarding serves as a metaphor for vigilance and devotion with which Antonio Longo administered the Italian town of Crema.³²⁷ House guarding also assumes an allegorical character in Posarelli's emblem; a closer look reveals a small red heart—the symbol of the St. Dismas Society—in the first-floor window. The carefully incorporated detail informs the viewer that Baron Posarelli, whose motto and membership name symbolically identify him as a watchful guardian, deems himself the keeper of the noble society and its principles. The parallels with the emblems in Picinelli's book are too numerous to be a mere coincidence, especially because its impact is apparent in a significant number of emblems gracing the entry pages of the *Theater of Memory*. The interpretation that the dog in Posarelli's emblematic image represents the baron is further confirmed by other iconographic elements on the entry page. The dog is his heraldic animal and appears in the miniature three more times: in the escutcheon, at the top of the heraldic crown, and as an attribute of the personified loyalty standing by the baron's coat of arms. The embodiment of loyalty complements the emblematic message and attests to the correctness of the interpretation. The same is true of Pallas Athena standing on the other side of the escutcheon: in Antiquity, the goddess of wisdom and prudence was widely venerated as a patroness, watchful guardian, and defender. Athena, described by Homer as having an owl-like vision, could see in the night and protect against misfortune. The owl, Athena's sacred bird, also appears on the coat of arms of the Posarelli family, further explaining its presence and completing the carefully thought-out iconography of the entry page.

327 Antonio Longo, *podestà e capitano* of Crema (1626–1627), distinguished himself as a just man and excellent statesman, to whom the Dominican theologian Nicolò Francesco Mulinello in 1627 dedicated the ode *Glorie dell'illustrissimo sig. Antonio Longo meritissimo podesta, & capitano di Crema*. Interestingly, the ode also uses the metaphor of a noble dog, which is even more understandable, considering the distinctly positive iconography of the dog in Dominican theology. Apart from the traditional motif of a sheepdog (a metaphor for Dominican friars as the good shepherds of their congregations), Dominican iconography also features the motif of the dog as a house guardian, vigilantly protecting the estate against thieves at night. See: *Athanasius von Dillingen, Hortus Mysticus Selectis Floribus Concionum Dominicalium...*, Dillingen 1691, 520.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Johann Joseph Anton Posarelli, 1721, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 213r.

3.15 Entry Page of Baron Johann Joseph Ottheim (TM, fol. 217r)

The emblematic cartouche of Baron Johann Joseph Ottheim features a bay in a hilly landscape that opens towards the vast expanse of the sea. The eye of God shines from above and illuminates the landscape, while various kinds of fish emerge from the waves, turning their heads towards it. The image further depicts two otters climbing out of the water. The selection of animals relates to the owner of the emblem in that both fish and the otter are heraldic animals of the Ottheim family. The otter (Ger. *der Otter*) also supposedly alludes to the baron's family name (Kastelic, 2001, 207).³²⁸

The image is a carefully designed illustration of the motto, which reads: *Benedicite omnia, quae moventur in aquis, Domino* (*All that move in the waters, Bless ye the Lord*).³²⁹ This is a shorter version of the line from the *Canticle of the Three Young Men*, included in some redactions of the Bible in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel. In *The Vulgate*, it reads: *Benedicite cete et omnia, quae moventur in aquis, Domino* (Dan 3:79).³³⁰ The story speaks of three young men who praise God after they have been miraculously preserved from a fiery furnace. Ottheim's membership name, *Der Lobende* (*The Extoller*), also highlights the motif of gratitude and praise for God. The iconographic interpretation of the emblem is quite straightforward: since early Christianity, fish (when appearing in larger numbers

as a collective symbol) represent people who have embraced the Christian faith, believers who strive for redemption in Christ, or simply Christian souls. Their symbolic connotations often relate to the figure of Christ as a fisher of souls or the apostles as fishers of men. The primary Biblical premise is *The Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew*, in which Jesus beckons two fishermen brothers at the Sea of Galilee: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men" (Mt 4:19).

The otters complete the emblematic image, first and foremost as Ottheim's heraldic animals, and it is unlikely that they also possess individual symbolic meanings. This is due to the mere fact that the symbolism of the otter is very modest in European iconography. The *Physiologus* contains no mention of it in any of its numerous redactions, nor can it be found in any medieval bestiaries. However, the otter was by no means foreign to medieval man. Widespread throughout Europe and a predator of fish in rivers and ponds, it was treated as a pest and systematically hunted. Despite its reputation as a remarkable, relentless, and voracious hunter, no further moral-allegorical connotations were documented in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance (Heck and Cordonnier, 2012, 396–400). The only exception is in heraldry, where the otter appears as a regular guest: associated with the notion of a skillful hunter, it is commonly depicted with a fish in its mouth, whereas in noble coats of arms, it can also signify dexterity and persistence. In heraldry, the otter even more commonly appears in association with a family name, a place name, or the name of a noble landed estate. Conversely, it is hardly ever found in emblem books; even the well informed Picinelli knew no more than three emblems featuring the otter (Pic., I, 5, embls. 534, 535, 536; 407–408).³³¹

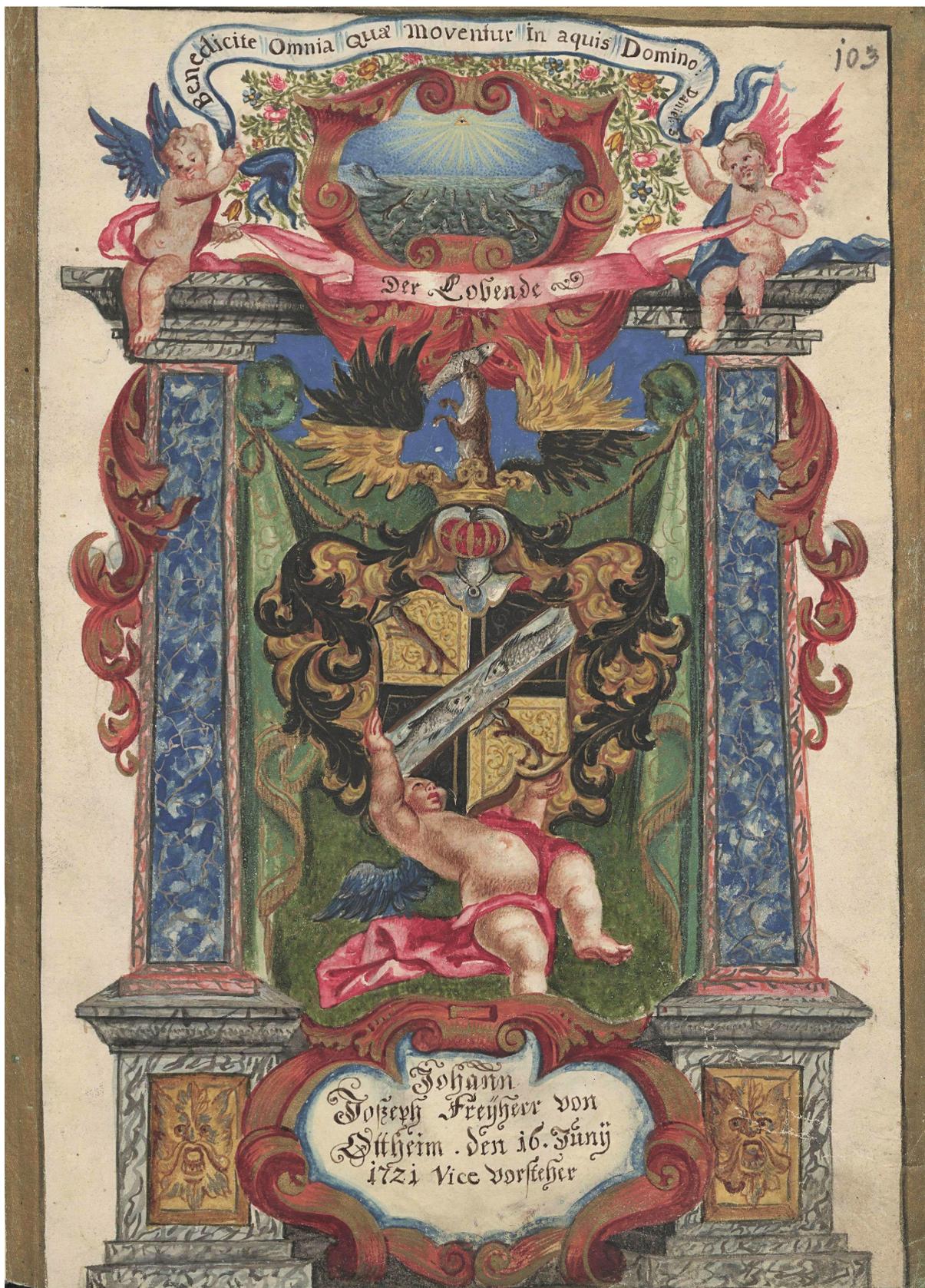
Because fish appear as a collective symbol in Ottheim's emblem and his motto speaks of all aquatic beings, it is unlikely that the two otters bear any specific symbolic meaning. Considering the motto and

328 Kastelic has no doubt regarding the connection and writes in the same place: "The otter in the emblem also appears in the coat of arms of the Ljubljana canon Ottheim, pointing to his surname: *der Otter*." Yet, the connection is not so self-evident, as the baronial title is derived from the family surname Otto, which does not necessarily have any connection to the animal. In other words, the baron came from an ennobled bourgeois family from Ljubljana, Otto von Rosenpichl (Golec, 2022, 27/1, 179).

329 In the King James Version of the Bible, the line reads: "O ye whales, and all/ that move in the waters,/ bless ye the Lord: praise/ and exalt him above all for ever." (Pr Azar 1:57).

330 Because the canticle, featured in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Orthodox Christian redactions, was considered deuterocanonical in Protestant churches, it was removed from many redactions of that period. The King James Version of the Bible includes the Prayer of Azariah among the Greek additions to the Book of Daniel (Pr Azar 1–68). The popularity of the canticle is best attested to by its inclusion in the liturgical canon (also in Protestant churches), often simply under the title *Benedicite*.

331 Two of the emblems presented (535 and 536) build the interpretation on the motif of the otter as a skillful but merciless and greedy hunter. Emblem 535 gives it a distinctly negative connotation: as an otter that catches and kills more fish than it can eat, a tyrant, infamous for its unbridled brutality. In stark contrast, emblem 534 conveys a distinctly positive connotation: here, the otter embodies a man committed to his integrity and nobility, even when falling into an unruly crowd. He repels all evil, just like the otter's fur naturally repels water.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Johann Joseph Ottheim, 1721, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 217r.



Entry page of Baron Johann Joseph Ottheim, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

chosen membership name, the baron's emblem can, first and foremost, be viewed as an expression of true religiousness and faith in redemption, while the others primarily appear in the role of heraldic animals. As such, they perhaps allude to the baron's nobility and perseverance, although additional meanings are not excluded.³³² Considering the iconographic design of the entry pages in the Ljubljana *Theater of Memory*,

it is at least safe to conclude that the emblematic message is unambiguous enough. By requesting that Grachower only paint his heraldic animals in the emblematic image out "of all that move in the waters," the newly admitted member of the Dismas Society clearly declared that he, Baron Ottheim, demonstrated a particularly notable zeal for praising the Lord.

³³² See also the interpretation of the emblem of Baron Ottheim (TM, fol. 270r).

3.16 Entry Page of Lorenz Daniel von Wollwiz (TM, fol. 223r)

The entry page of Lorenz Daniel von Wollwiz is one of the few examples where the emblem clearly imitates an existing prototype without introducing any significant changes and embellishments. A sheep on a winged sphere representing the Earth was taken from the emblem in Daniel Meisner's *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus* above the veduta of Franckenberg.³³³

Even the motto *Et sorte et fato* (*With fortune and fate*) is identical. The academician's membership name *Der*

Unwankelbare (*The Unwavering One*), combined with the motto, speaks of Wollwiz's unwavering patience with everything that fate has in store.

In this context, the sheep, replete with symbolic meaning, embodies patience and resignation to fate.³³⁴ This connotation was already firmly rooted in ancient culture and documented in a variety of sources: one of the most illustrative examples is Aesop's fable about the sheep and the crow. The story tells of a crow perched on a sheep's back and tormenting it, while the sheep patiently endures in its suffering. After the sheep finally says to the crow that a dog would nev-



Emblem with a sheep on a winged sphere, Daniel Meisner, *Thesaurus philo-politicus*, Frankfurt am Main 1626, fol. 171r.

333 The title of Meisner's work in Latin and German reads: *Thesaurus philo-politicus, hoc est, Emblemata sive moralia politica... Politisches Schatzkästlein, das ist, Ausserlesene schöne Emblemata vnd Moralia...* It is a collection of copperplate engravings with emblems set in front of the vedutas of European (mostly German) towns. Daniel Meisner wrote the poetic lines, and several masters collaborated in the creation of illustrations, including Eberhard Kieser, the publisher. The first edition (1623, Frankfurt am Main) had fifty-two sheets; combined with the new series of engravings, the work grew to 830 sheets in the period between 1623 and 1632.

er stand for the abuse, the crow replies that this is precisely why it has not chosen the dog (Perry, 553). The same symbolic meanings are well-documented

334 In the catalogue (Kastelic, 2001, 186), the animal is misidentified as a lamb. Given the physiognomy of its head, the shape of its body, and above all its long and fluffy tail, seen only in adult sheep, this is clearly not a lamb. The correct identification of the animal is key to understanding the emblem, which the author of the catalogue makes no attempt to explain.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Lorenz Daniel von Wollwiz, 1722,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 223r.



Entry page of Lorenz Daniel von Wollwiz, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Using the sheep as the symbol of patience and humility, Christian writers most often invoked the prophet Isaiah, who compared Christ to a lamb and a sheep: “He was oppressed, and he was afflicted,/ yet he opened not his mouth:/ he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter,/ and as a sheep/ before her shearers is dumb,/ so he openeth not his mouth” (Is 53:7).

In Renaissance and Baroque emblematics (as well as Christian iconography in general), sheep represent believers following their shepherds or apostles adhering to Christ. Indeed, it is precisely within emblematics that a very broad spectrum of symbolic meanings associated with sheep developed—Picinelli catalogued fifteen emblems featuring a sheep, with the emblem on humility ranking at the top of the list (Pic., I, 5, embl. 576; 414).

Based on the motto, the winged sphere in Wollwiz’s emblem can be associated with Fortuna, the personification or goddess of luck and fortune, who has since Antiquity been often depicted in art as a young woman standing on a sphere. The variant featuring a winged

sphere like the one in Wollwiz’s emblematic image is very common in Renaissance and Baroque emblematics. Moreover, it is precisely within the sphere of emblematics that the winged sphere representing the goddess of fortune also appears independently, in new contexts emphasizing a selected aspect or specific content associated with Fortuna. Excellent examples are the emblems by Gabriel Rollenhagen *In virtute et fortuna* and *Victrix fortunae sapientia* (Roll. 1611, I, embls. 89 and 97) and *Virtute duce comite Fortuna* (Roll. 1613, II, embl. 5). The brief epigram in Meisner’s emblem states that whatever fate brings is easier to endure with forbearance.³³⁵ Because epigrams were not envisaged to be included in *Theatrum Memoriae*, Wollwiz had to make do with “borrowing” his motto from *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*. Nonetheless, rather than relinquish the epigrammatic message, which exudes a mixture of optimism and stoic detachment, he summarized it in his academic nickname *The Unwavering One* to emphasize his steadfastness in fully embracing his fate.

³³⁵ “*Quicquid fors adfert et inevitable fatum, Aequo (crede) animo si patiare, leve est*” (Meisner, 1624, 170).

3.17 Entry Page of Baron Franz Anton Wolkenberg (TM, fol. 229r)

For his emblem, Baron Franz Anton Wolkenberg chose the popular motif of an eagle flying towards the sun. The basic meaning of spiritual rebirth, trust in the

and awe.³³⁶ The academician's chosen nickname, *Der Verfolgte* (*The Pursued One*), also indicates the desire to retreat from the “noise” of this world and live a more serene life. The idea is visually enhanced by using the iconographic element of clouds that obscure the sight of the mountain peak from the valley below.³³⁷



Entry page of Baron Franz Anton Wolkenberg, detail of the emblematic image.

grace of God, and faith in salvation is akin to that in the already presented Wallensperg emblem (TM, fol. 119r). However, this time, the fundamental content is complemented by a special connotation expressed in the motto *Nunc procul a strepitu, hic in spe et metu* (*Now, away from noise—here, in fear and hope*). The motto illustrates the desire to withdraw from the clamor of everyday life into a spiritual quest for higher truth and closeness to the Divine, which man approaches in hope

³³⁶ The crane soaring high above the clouds can have the same connotation in emblematics; the image is accompanied by the motto *A strepitu procul*. See emblem 419 in *Mundus Symbolicus* (I, 5, 303).

³³⁷ The message is further enhanced by the heraldic motif of an ibex on top of a high cliff piercing the clouds, painted on the escutcheon of Baron Wolkenberg's coat of arms and heraldic crown. The ibex, climbing the mountain top to find shelter from its pursuers, not only directly alludes to the academician's chosen membership name (*The Pursued One*), but in animal iconography it also represents a good Christian leading a spiritual life. See the iconographic interpretation of Hohenwart's emblem (TM, fol. 298r).

The motif of the eagle in an eyrie has a long iconographic tradition. Gregory the Great likened a spiritual man seeking closeness to God by retreating into solitude and lofty planes of the mind to an eagle nesting high up on a rocky cliff (*Moralia in Job*, 31, XLVII). In the same vein, Pseudo-Augustine drew a parallel between a spiritual man and an eagle nesting on a rocky mountain (*Liber meditationum*, PL 40, col. 922).³³⁸ Christian authors most often based their allegorical interpretations of the eagle in an eyrie on the words of Job: “Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high?” (Job 39:27). A safe nest high on a mountain peak also symbolizes virtue and trust in God, who protects man against every danger. Such interpretations of the eagle gazing at the sun from its lofty nest have been known in emblematics since the sixteenth century. Two emblems can also be found in *Mundus Symbolicus* (I, 4, embls. 123 and 124; 265) and two in the book by Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg—works that the Ljubljana academicians often consulted to find inspiration for their entry pages. The emblem on folio 119r in Hohberg’s volume features a similar depiction of an eagle spreading its wings in its eyrie and gazing at the sun, except that, unlike Wolkenberg’s emblem, the illustration features a clear sky above the mountain.

Grachower’s emblematic image, which features an eagle on a mountain peak engulfed in the cloud that obscures its view from the valley, conveys a clear message: the eagle embodies the baron, secluded from the world and gazing at the sun with undivided attention. This is also supported by the fact that the eagle is the heraldic animal of the Wolkenberg family. Such an understanding finds further reinforcement in the visual pun: the mountain, shrouded in clouds, alludes to the owner’s family name Wolkenberg, which contains the words ‘cloud’ and ‘mountain’ (Ger. *die Wolke, der Berg*).³³⁹

338 Picinelli references *Liber meditationum* in his interpretation of the emblem with the eagle (Pic., I, 4, embl. 123, 265). The book, considered to be the work of Augustine, was first published in Venice in 1535 under the title *Divi Aurelii Augustini Meditationum liber unus*, followed by many editions in Venice and elsewhere across Europe. Scholarly analysis subsequently revealed that the treatise was not written by Augustine of Hippo.

339 With regard to the message of Wolkenberg’s emblem, it is worth adding that a retreat from daily obligations amounts to little more than “wishful thinking” or a conscious crafting of an image to be passed down to future generations. The

academician was in fact a highly engaged member of the community as well as successful in both accumulating material possessions and elevating his social standing by acquiring a baronial title.



Simon Thaddeus Grachow, Entry page of Baron Franz Anton Wolkensperg, 1724, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 229r.

3.18 Entry Page of Michael Joseph von Wallensperg (TM, fol. 234r)

The emblematic image of Michael Joseph von Wallensperg also plays with the motif of an eagle flying towards the sun. This time, the majestic bird soars above the tumultuous sea and a sailboat that has managed to anchor itself to avoid the imminent threat of shipwreck. In European art, a safely anchored ship traditionally represents rescue from hardship. The anchor, symbolizing hope, is distinctly depicted and placed in the foreground to accentuate its significance. The motif is very popular in emblematics: Picinelli's encyclopedia includes more than a hundred emblems featuring a sailboat (Pic., II, 20, embls. 49–151; 153–167) and nine in which the anchor figures as the central motif (Pic., II, 20, embls. 1–9; 147–148). The motif also appears repeatedly in the *Ljubljana Album*—i.e., in the emblems of Baron Joseph Xavier Lichtenturn (TM, fol. 249r), Baron Wolf Cajetan Kuschlan (TM, fol. 277r), Baron Franz Anton Schmithoffen (TM, fol. 329r), and Cajetan Balthasar von Pettenegg (TM, fol. 341r). Wallensperg's image is completed by the academic nickname *Der Hoffende* (*The Hoping One*) and the motto taken from the Bible: *Ad te levavi oculos meos* (*Unto thee I lift up mine eyes*; Ps 123). Here, the eagle

rising towards the sun ought to be understood in association with the motif of rebirth in Christ, which was discussed in the *Physiologus* (I, 6), echoed in bestiaries, and was also common in Biblical exegesis. Consideration should likewise be given to the broader iconography of the eagle as a bird possessing the unique ability to ascend towards the sun and look straight at it unflinchingly.³⁴⁰

In addition, the metaphor of the sailboat in Wallensperg's emblem is directly linked to the academician from a heraldic perspective: the small flag fluttering on the boat bears the Wallensperg coat of arms, and the eagle flying above it is the family's heraldic animal. The selection of the motto alludes to the motif of salvation, which is the main theme of the chosen psalm. The psalmist's words, "Unto thee I lift up mine eyes," establish an association between the sun-gazing eagle and Wallensperg. In the context of salvation and rebirth in Christ, the eagle can be compared to the emblem in *Mundus Symbolicus*, featuring an identical motto (I, 4, embl. 102; 263). Although the latter does not include the motif of a boat at sea, it clearly conveys a message of trust in God's grace, which leads from hardship to salvation.



Entry page of Michael Joseph von Wallensperg, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

³⁴⁰ See the interpretation of the emblem of Johann Joseph von Wallensperg (TM, fol. 119r).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Michael Joseph von Wallensperg, 1726, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 234r.

3.19 Entry Page of Count Georg Ludwig Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 238r)

A somewhat modified version of the motif with the eagle and sun appears in the emblem of Count Georg Ludwig Lichtenberg. It features an eagle on a high cliff in the middle of the sea that has spread its wings and is about to fly towards the sun. A little higher and to the left, another eagle is already flying in the direction of the sun. The fact that there are two eagles in the image—one soaring through the air and the other in the nest unfolding its wings—may be understood in connection with the motif of an eagle encouraging its young to fly. In addition, one should not be confused by the fact that the eaglet in the nest is about the same size as its parent: this was a well-established manner of depiction in Renaissance emblematics, partially also based on naturalist observations.³⁴¹

The fusion of both motifs—rejuvenation by flying to the sun and teaching the young—is relatively common in the emblematic tradition. The academician's motto conveys the notion of rebirth and explicitly highlights the gap between spiritual excellence leading to eternal life and the transience of earthly life, between the value of mortal and immortal: *Ex hac magnanimus mortalia despicit arce, tutius aethereas, ut volet inde vias* (Whoever rises from this cliff, despises all things mortal, a much safer path leads him from here to the celestial heights).³⁴² Like the emblem of Baron Franz Anton Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 229r), it draws from Picinelli's book, which contains six emblems conveying a similar meaning (Pic., I, 4, embls. 123, 157, 172, 173, 177, 204; 265–275).

341 By the time the eaglets can fly, they are almost the same size as their parents.

342 The *topos* of virtue and the discrepancy between spiritual excellence striving towards eternity and the transience of earthly life is encountered in many literary works by both Christian and classical authors. Given that Lichtenberg's motto regarding the view from the celestial heights uses the word phrase "*mortalia despicit arce*," which can also be found in an identical context in Claudian's panegyrics, it is possible that the academician was inspired by the Roman poet:

*Ipsa quidem Virtus pretium sibi, solaque late
Fortunae securo nitet nec fascibus ullis
erigitur plausu petiti clarescere vulgi.
nil opis externae cupiens, nil indiga laudis,
divitiis animosa suis inmotaque cunctis
casibus ex alta mortalia despicit arce*
(Claudian, *Panegyric XVII*, 1–6).

The eagle, the heraldic animal of the Counts Lichtenberg, embodies the academician, whereas the motif of the path of virtue, appearing in a multitude of different variants in European iconography, holds a connotation that originates in Antiquity. The emblematic image, albeit still encased in a cartouche, is more open and resembles an open-type emblem. The decorative frame is not closed, allowing the count's coat of arms and the young Hercules with a club and lion's skin to discreetly enter the visual field (and complement the frame) in the bottom left part. Standing next to Hercules is a woman with flames on her chest; she points to the flames with her right hand and directs the little hero's attention to the eagle with her right. Although not marked with an inscription, she clearly personifies virtue: either virtue in the broader sense (*virtus*) or as the most important of Christian virtues, that is, love (*caritas*), not infrequently represented in moral allegory as a beautiful woman with flames on her chest. Given the chosen membership name, *Der Grossmütige* (*The Generous One*), the female figure is very likely the personification of love or generosity. Apart from the basic content, the emblem thus also includes the motif of Hercules at a crossroads, choosing between a virtuous life on the one hand and a comfortable life of fleeting values. The classical theme, embraced by the Christian allegory of the Early Modern Period, can also be understood as a direct addition to the emblem's iconographic message because the motto-bearing banner exceptionally winds around the lower edge of the image, beginning right above Hercules' head.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Count Georg Ludwig Lichtenberg, 1727, *Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 238r.*

3.20 Entry Page of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini (TM, fol. 244r)

In the open emblem of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini, Grachower depicts a soldier wearing a belted coat, a fur cap, and a saber at his side, taking on a lion in the middle of an open landscape. He is about to thrust a long spear into the beast's mouth, while stomping on the basilisk with his right foot.³⁴³ On a monumental and lavishly decorated pedestal behind him is a coat of arms crowned by a basilisk, Coppini's heraldic animal. Above the coat of arms, a *putto* in a toy-like battle suit holds a banner with the academic motto *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis* (*Thou shalt tread upon the adder and basilisk*). The motto is taken from the well-known line in Psalm 90 in Vulgate, which continues: "*et conculabis leonem et dragonem*" (*"the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet,"* Ps 90:13). In the background, on the right side of the miniature, an adder and a dragon flee the scene, while the academician's mansion Lisičje near Škofljica can be seen further in the distance on the left. Two kestrels hover in the air, recognizable by their distinct posture and spread tail. The emblematic message is easily understandable, thanks to the well-thought-out connection between the visual elements and the text. The motto, coupled with the presence of the four animals referred to above, signifies that the protagonist in a military uniform is symbolically associated with the motif of Christ triumphing over evil. The idea of triumph over evil actually takes the form of the popular motif of the Christian soldier (*miles christianus*), and the protagonist clearly represents Coppini himself. The family coat of arms behind him and his membership name *Der Unerschrockene* (*The Fearless One*) relate to the figure of a brave officer. Further confirmation that the soldier indeed represents the academician is the emblem of the heart gracing his cap, uniform, and military bag. In the miniature, Grachower informs the viewer that Coppini, as a member of the Dismas Society and defender of its principles, triumphs over every evil. Further enhancing his combative demeanor is the fact that even the *putto* with the banner is depicted wearing a helmet and a shield indicating the academician's membership name.

³⁴³ In the catalogue, Kastelic mistakes the basilisk for a dragon (2001, 195), whereas Cevc correctly identifies it as the mythical king of all snakes (2001, 75).

The kestrel, belonging to the family of falcons, has a rather modestly developed symbolism in European iconography, which makes its prominent appearance on Coppini's entry page especially striking. Apart from symbolizing nobility, loyalty, and chivalry, in Coppini's emblem it is further tied to the idea of the perfect knight. Although the symbolism of chivalry is immanent to all species of falcons, the kestrel stands out by the distinctly accentuated motifs of the battle between good and evil and of protecting the weakest against a formidable foe. According to medieval lore, the kestrel kills snakes and toads, age-old symbols of sin, impurity, and evil in Christian iconography.³⁴⁴ In this regard, Pliny's observation that the kestrel protects doves from various birds of prey (*Natural History*, X, 37) is key to understanding its iconography. It attests to its boldness and fearlessness because, despite being one of the smallest falcons, it safeguards doves by unflinchingly taking on the largest falcon and other predators.³⁴⁵ Consequently, the kestrel established itself in the Middle Ages as the personification of the noble Christian soldier who protects the defenseless against offenders and good Christians from the Devil, or even as the personification of Christ as the protector and savior.

Further contributing to our understanding of the kestrel's symbolic meaning is Aelian who stresses its fidelity, noting that a pair of kestrels remain committed to each other for the rest of their lives (*On the Nature of Animals*, II, 43). Devoted love, extolled as one of the noblest virtues in chivalric tradition, often possesses a distinctly spiritual dimension, corresponding

³⁴⁴ The kestrel most often preys on field mice and other small rodents as well as small lizards, frogs, and common slow worms. Most European snakes are too large to be captured by the kestrel. Nonetheless, this belief is interesting when considering the development of symbolic meanings ascribed to the kestrel. One of the illustrations in Aldrovandi's book on birds (*Ornithologiae, hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII.*, 1599, 360) even features a kestrel clutching a small snake or a slow worm in its claws.

³⁴⁵ The falcon, which possesses distinctly positive symbolic connotations in European iconography, is exceptionally presented as evil or the Devil himself in the dove hunt motif. This implication stems from the *Physiologus* (I, 35b) and is ubiquitous in medieval bestiaries. The kestrel, on the other hand, holds no negative symbolic connotations. It never attacks doves, which symbolize good Christians, in fact, it even defends them from falcons. Ancient and medieval records on the kestrel were also summarized by Gessner (*Historiae animalium, Lib. III., De avium natura*, 1555, 53–55) and Aldrovandi (*Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII.*, 1599, 356–362).



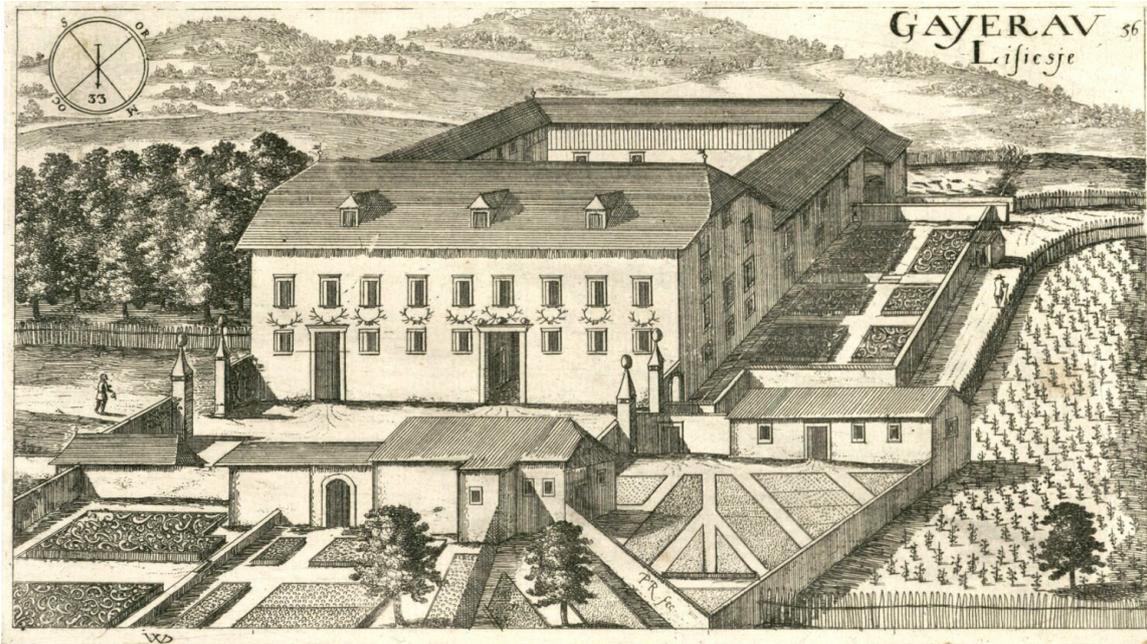
Simon Thaddeus Grachowher, Entry page of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini, 1729, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 244r.



Entry page of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini,
detail of *Lisičje Mansion*.

to the iconographic motif of the *miles christianus*. The falcon's loyalty is one of the most prominent motifs in medieval iconography. Finally, in respect of chivalry and courtly love, it is also interesting to note that the kestrel as the smallest and highly trainable hunting falcon was primarily used by ladies and noble youth that had just taken up learning falconry.

What makes Coppini's entry page particularly noteworthy in terms of animal iconography is that the basilisk, which appears several times in the miniature, has different, even diametrically opposed meanings. Representing an evil foe, it is crushed under the brave officer's feet, and as Coppini's heraldic animal occupying two fields of the escutcheon and sitting on top of the heraldic crest, it symbolizes courage and fearlessness. Despite the explicitly negative meaning that the basilisk has in European (and especially Christian) iconographic tradition, the mythical hybrid between a serpent and a rooster holds predominantly positive symbolic implications in heraldry. It features not only in the armorial bearings of medieval noblemen who distinguished themselves with valor, but that it was also embraced as the patron of several cities, most significantly Basel. The full-page emblem of Sigmund Joseph de Coppini is iconographically and artistically an original creation with no precedent in earlier emblem books. At the same time, it constitutes the first example of the mature form of the open-type emblem in the *Dismas Chronicle*.



Lisičje Mansion, Johann Weikhard von Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain*, XI, Nuremberg 1689, 173.

3.21 Entry Page of Johann Anton Vermatti von Vermersfeld (TM, fol. 246r)

The *pictura* of the emblem selected by Johann Anton von Vermatti features a landscape scene with a river lined by trees and steep mountains far in the distance. A large white swan is depicted in the foreground, flapping its wings energetically against the surface of the river. Stretching its long neck forward, it appears as if it is about to dip its head into the water. Grachower succeeds in crafting a remarkably lifelike portrayal of a swan washing. By slapping its wings against the water, this elegant bird sprays water all around, creating a genuine shower, while alternately lifting the front part of its body and plunging into the water. The image of a swan flapping its wings and washing in pristine water relates to Vermatti's motto *Vel minimae impatiens labis* (*Free from all blemishes*) and his membership name *Der Unbemakelte* (*The Unblemished One*).

Due to its snow-white feathers, in European iconography the swan primarily represents purity and chastity. Moreover, as Apollo's sacred bird since Antiquity, it also symbolizes music, singing, and poetry. In Greek mythology, the swan's brilliant whiteness was associated with the idea of light, as well as with physical and spiritual beauty, reflecting above all the embodiment of traits attributed to Apollo as the deity of light, beauty, and spiritual excellence. The belief that the swan is an excellent singer largely originates from the motif of the swan song: according to the Ancient Greeks and Romans, in the last moments of its life this bird sings most beautifully.³⁴⁶ Plato's *Phaedo* is crucial for understanding the motif and its allegorical interpretation, especially by noting that a swan nearing its death rejoices at the prospect of returning to its creator, whom it has served faithfully (*Phaedo*, 84–85). Plato's metaphor speaks

of the soul of a sage who does not fear death but, like the swan, eagerly anticipates his return to the heavenly realms. The words of the great philosopher were wholeheartedly embraced by Christian writers, who created a close link between the whiteness of the swan's feathers and the motif of the swan song aligned with the Christian spirit: the swan symbolizes a pure, unblemished soul returning with joy to God. In the Middle Ages, such an interpretation (with variations) repeatedly appeared in a variety of texts: bestiaries, sermons, encyclopedic writings, poetry, and allegorical novels. It also had a significant impact on the swan's occurrence in heraldry, which became increasingly frequent, especially in the Late Middle Ages.³⁴⁷

The immense popularity of the swan and its symbolism continued during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as can also be gathered from its occurrence in emblems. Jacob Bosch's emblem book *Symbolographia sive de Arte Symbolica* contains five emblems featuring a swan symbolizing purity and chastity,³⁴⁸ and Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus* includes no fewer than seven.³⁴⁹ The fusion of the two key symbolic connotations—purity and singing—is most directly expressed in the emblem with the motto *Candidus et canorus* (*Pure and singing*), presented by both Jacob Bosch (III, embl. 691) and Picinelli (Pic., I, 4, embl. 333; 293). Vermatti's swan finds its closest approximation in *Mundus Symbolicus* (I, 4, embl. 321; 291), which likewise contains the depiction of a swan bathing in the river. The motto *Ut purior fiam* (*To become purer*) conveys a similar idea, except that it is complemented by an additional explanation highlighting the purity of the soul, the nobility of the spirit, and devotion to God.

Although in iconographic terms the emblem of Johann Anton Vermatti offers nothing particularly innovative, it nonetheless serves as a fine example of a carefully thought-out structure, in which the *pictura*

346 One can read about the swan venerating its master Apollo with its song as early as in the *Homeric Hymns* (XXI, *To Apollo*). The hymn by an anonymous author probably dates to the sixth century BC. The motif of the swan song was mentioned by both ancient naturalists and literary authors, among them Aristotle (*History of Animals*, IX, 12), Aesop in his fable *The Swan and the Goose* (Perry, 339), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, XIV, 430), Pliny (*Natural History*, X, 63), Aelian (*On the Nature of Animals*, II, 32), just to name a few.

347 See: Hablot, 2001, 51–64; Pastoureau, 2008, 221–244.

348 See: Bosch, *Symbolographia sive De arte symbolica*, 1702, emblems: I, 260; III, 122; III, 284; III, 673; III 691. Such symbolism of the swan is also firmly rooted in early modern natural science. See: Belon, *De la nature des oyseaux*, Lib. III, 1555, 151–152; Gessner, *Historiae Animalium*, Lib. III. *qui est de avium natura*, 1554, 357–366; Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae Tomus Alter, liber XIX.*, 1610, 13–19.

349 Pic., I, 4, emblems. 317, 320, 321, 324, 325, 333, 339; 291–294.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Johann Anton Vermatti von Vermersfeld, 1729, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 246r.



Entry page of Johann Anton Vermatti von Vermersfeld, detail of the emblematic image.

harmoniously blends with the motto and membership name. The swan also being the count's heraldic animal and appearing twice on the escutcheon under the emblematic image further confirms the connection between the swan in the emblematic cartouche and the owner of the emblem. What makes the emblem particularly alluring is Grachower's masterful depiction of the swan vigorously flapping its wings, which distinguishes it from depictions in earlier

emblems that typically portray the bird calmly floating on the water. The reason for such an artistic solution is clearly that Vermatti's heraldic swan has its wings fully open. However, the painter skillfully transforms the hieratic rigidity of the heraldic animal into a lifelike portrayal of a swan washing itself with such vigor that makes it a genuine embodiment of the academician's motto *Vel minimae impatiens labis*.

3.22 Entry page of Baron Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels (TM, fol. 255r)

The image in the emblem of Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels features the motif of a beehive with a swarm of bees in front of it flying off to forage and returning, bringing pollen. The hive, traditionally shaped like a woven straw basket with an opening for bees at the base of the circumference, stands on a low wooden table in the middle of a flowering meadow with an idyllic landscape in the background. The motif of the hive with a swarm of bees is very common in emblematics. It can already be found in Alciato's *Emblemata* (Alc. 1550, 161),³⁵⁰ and the bee was highly regarded by writers of emblem books. Picinelli presented as many as eighty-six emblems with bees (Pic., I, 8, emblems. 1–86; 497–508) conveying the notions of diligence, industriousness, meticulousness, unity, the sound organization of the bee colony, working for the common good, and prudence, as well as wise rulership, the ruler's concern for the subjects on the one hand and the subjects' loyalty to the elected ruler on the other.

The connotations above were connected to bees not only by Aristotle, Pliny, and Aelian, but also by great ancient Roman poets like Virgil and Ovid.³⁵¹ Many symbolic meanings shaped in Antiquity continued into the Middle Ages and took on new allegorical content within the framework of the Christian understanding of the world. Thus, resting on Pliny, who likened the orderliness of a bee colony in a hive to

the structure of a republic (*Natural History*, XI, 4–23), medieval authors tended to emphasize the hierarchic structure of a bee colony and the idea of servitude. For many Christian writers, the beehive exemplified an ideal organization of a community of believers, in which every member had a precisely defined place and role. This conception was fully developed by Thomas of Cantimpré, who in his *Bonum universale de apibus* (ca. 1262)³⁵² compared the orderliness of a bee colony to a monastic community, whereas one of the finest accounts on the life of bees, which can serve as an example to good Christians, was left by Bartholomew the Englishman in his encyclopedic work *On the Order of Things* (*De proprietatibus rerum*, XII, 4). Apart from all positive meanings that bees were ascribed in medieval iconography, there is also a particularly prestigious aspect worth mentioning: owing to their capacity to build honeycombs with geometric perfection and produce honey, bees were symbolically associated with the creationist work of God the Father. The *Physiologus*, referencing Ezekiel (Ezk 3:3), describes the bee as a tiny animal capable of remarkable feats. Its creations are so solid that they are impenetrable, while bee also produces honey, the sweetest thing in the world. The author adds that the same holds for God's works in heaven, which are admirable and impenetrable to mortals, as well as sweeter than honey and all other creations (Phys. II, 53).³⁵³

Gallenfels's emblem with the motto *Concordia ditat* (*Concordance enriches*) highlights concordance and working for the common good as that which bears bountiful fruit as well as connecting and enriching us. The banner, originally envisaged to contain the baron's membership name, is left blank and his academic nickname remains unknown. Nonetheless, the emblematic

350 It appeared for the first time in the French and Spanish editions (1549) and a year later in the Latin edition, all published in Lyon with the same publisher (Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouillé). Unlike its Spanish and Latin counterparts, the emblem in French edition had no illustration (*Emblemes*, the emblem with the motto *La clemence du prince*, 180). Furthermore, in the French and Latin editions (*Emblematum liber*, the emblem with the motto *Principis clementia*, 161), Alciato mistakenly wrote about wasps, but corrected the mistake in the Spanish edition (*Los Emblemas*, the emblem with the motto *La clemencia d'el Principe*, 224). A modern reader may also be surprised to find that Alciato wrote about a king bee instead of a queen bee. However, this is not an error: he merely followed the ancient and medieval writers who believed that bees had a king bee rather than a queen bee (Schöne and Henkel, 1996, coll. 918). The idea of a king bee survived well into the seventeenth century, until the Dutch biologist and researcher of insects, Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680), discovered that the “bee king” was in fact a queen.

351 On the symbolism of the bee and honey in Greco-Roman culture, see: Ransome, 2004, 55–139.

352 Regarding the influence on Baroque emblematics, it is important to note that the work underwent several printed editions and was translated into French (*Le bien universel ou les abeilles mystiques du celebre docteur Thomas de Cantimpré*, Brussels 1650).

353 Zucker, 2005, 270–271. Of equal relevance for understanding the account in the *Physiologus* are the passages from the Book of Sirach (Sir 11:3–4) and Psalm 18 (Ps 18:11), as well as the chapter that Pliny dedicated to the bees. The Biblical context is further confirmed by the allegorical aspect of the passage in the *Physiologus*, which is further accentuated with a pun: in philosophical and theological treatises, the adjective ‘impenetrable’ (Lat. *impenetrabilis*) can also signify ‘unfathomable’ (i.e., impenetrable to the human mind).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels, 1732, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 255r.

message is clear—even more so because the beehive with a swarm of bees is a traditional symbol that was also selected and meticulously explained by the *Operosi*. In the prospectus *Apes Academicae Operosorum Labacensium* (1701) presenting the new academy, its rules, principles, and mission, the members likened themselves to bees and described their calling in the same manner. The title page (fol. 3r) is adorned by a copperplate engraving depicting a motif akin to the one used by Baron Gallenfels, except that it shows the view of Ljubljana with the castle in the background, and the emblematic cartouche has the shape of



Entry page of Baron Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels, detail of the emblematic image with the motto.

an escutcheon, held by the heraldic eagle of Carniola. The image is completed by the academy's motto *Nobis atque alyis* (*For us and others*). The engraving is the work of Andreas Trost, who created numerous emblematic images in the *Ljubljana Album*. Trost also engraved the members' personal emblems, in which the motif of bees and/or beehive appears as a constant. Baron Georg Andreas Gallenfels, the elderly uncle of Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels, was a member of the Academy of the *Operosi*, which most likely contributed to the selection of the motif.

However, the emblem of Andreas Eusebius was not borrowed from any of the emblems in *Apes academicae*, but from *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids* (Hohb., fol. 133r). While Grachower artistically perfected Eimmart's engraving in Hohberg's book, the motto was left intact—*Concordia ditat*. For a full understanding of Gallenfels's emblem,

the interpretation offered by Hohberg's epigram is particularly interesting: the traditional allegorical message regarding bees working together, with sweet honey representing the bountiful fruit of concordance among people, places great emphasis on intellectual endeavor and the power of friendship.³⁵⁴ In his further explanation, the author also links the motif to the psalm that praises brotherly unity (Ps 133:1–2). By doing so, he transfers the metaphor to the Biblical context and gives it full legitimacy at the level of both secular activity and striving for the salvation



Emblem with a beehive, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*, Regensburg 1675, fol. 133r.

of the soul. In just a few lines, Hohberg aptly encapsulated the idea that reflects one of the fundamental principles of the Dismas Society. Little wonder, then, that Andreas Eusebius Gallenfels so wholeheartedly embraced the motif from the book that inspired quite a few United Academicians.³⁵⁵

354 "Floribus en pascuntur apes, concordia gentis utilibus studiis dulcia mella parat: Talis amicitiae effectus, benedictio coeli terrenos fructus perpetuosque parit" (Hohb., fol. 133r).

355 Apart from Gallenfels, emblems from Hohberg's book were also embraced by: Anton Franz Joseph Posarelli (TM, fol. 257r), Franz Anton Moschkhon (TM, fol. 272r), Wolf Cajetan Kuschlan (TM, fol. 277r), Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 287r), Carl Joseph Valvasor (TM, fol. 294r), Carl Joseph Flödnig (TM, fol. 296r), Carl Ignaz Juritsch (TM, fol. 316r), Anton Thadäus Nepomuk Taufferer (TM, fol. 327r), Franz Anton Schmittoffen (TM, fol. 329r), Ferdinand Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 337r), and Johann Thomas Garzarolli (TM, fol. 355r). Sometimes an emblem from Hohberg's

3.23 Entry Page of Baron Anton Gothard Erberg (TM, fol. 261r)

Baron Erberg opted for an open emblem iconographically conveying the idea of Divine Providence and wisdom ruling the world, as well as the wisdom to accept one's fate, understand it, and learn from everything good and bad that it brings.³⁵⁶ The miniature is thematically and compositionally composed of four sections. The upper segment, which is crucial for understanding the emblematic message, features the personification of Divine Providence sitting in the clouds with all its attributes: the eye of God, the scepter, the crown, and the earthly sphere. In line with the Baroque tradition, Grachower combined the two most essential attributes by placing the eye of God on the tip of the golden scepter. Next to Divine Providence is a crane standing on one leg and holding a stone in the claws of the other. As an established symbol of reason and prudence, the crane meaningfully adds to the attributes of the personification. On the opposite side, a *putto* holds a banner that reads: *In adversis constantia, in prosperis temperantia* (*Constancy in misfortune, moderation in fortune*). The downward

book served as an example for an emblematic image, while the Ljubljana academicians chose a different motto: Anton Joseph Auersperg (TM, fol. 259r), Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld (TM, fol. 265r), and Cajetan Balthasar Pette-negg (TM, fol. 341r). Less often, only an individual element of an emblem was taken and placed into a new textual and artistic context on the academician's entry page, as was done by, e.g., Cajetan Augustin Wildenstein (TM, fol. 285), Nicholas Rudolph Raab (TM, fol. 300r), and Maria Ignaz Engelshaus (TM, fol. 375).

³⁵⁶ The concept of Divine Providence is very complex and not entirely uniform among the Christian churches. The common denominator is the idea of God's active relationship towards creation. Divine Providence is an expression of God's care in maintaining an orderly, just, and meaningful world (and human life), guided by love. It was the Church Fathers (first and foremost, St. Augustine), who defined the Christian understanding of Divine Providence by partly drawing on the Platonic and Stoic concepts of divine forethought (*pronóia*), intrinsically refuting the doctrine of blind fate and complete randomness held to by some Greek philosophers (especially Epicureans) to rule the universe. In classical Greece, it also signified the higher, divine or cosmic order, the system, and the natural flow of things. The Latin designation *divina providentia* is a neologism, coined by Cicero and later adopted by younger Roman writers and Church Fathers. For a concise overview of the concept of Divine Providence, see: Köhler, 2001, vol. 11, 1206–1218. Specifically on how Augustine and Thomas Aquinas contributed to the development of the concept, see: Horton, 1992.

facing part of the banner that reaches into the scenic section of the illumination bears the academician's membership name: *Der gleich Sinnende* (*The Equally Minded One*).

The second segment of the miniature features a landscape and a man sitting surrounded by books. He uses a small round shield to protect himself from a lightning bolt striking from the left side of the sky, while pointing with his right hand towards a woman that hovers in the air, showering him with gifts from a cornucopia. The scene illustrates the academician's chosen motto and the idea of calmly facing whatever Divine Providence has in store. The man is learned and wise, as suggested by the pile of books, and he knows how to brave misfortune (lightning), while accepting with moderation the gifts of happiness and abundance personified by the woman with the cornucopia. To the left of the narrative scene is a winged genius with two coats of arms, and at the bottom of the page is the cartouche conveying information regarding the owner of the emblem.

The family coat of arms and the heraldic baronial crown testify to Anton Erberg's noble rank, and the mitre above the escutcheon of Novo Mesto's provost points to his elevated status in the church hierarchy.³⁵⁷ On the right hand side of the miniature, Athena or Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and prudence is depicted in the foreground, complementing the emblematic message by incorporating ancient iconography. By choosing Athena, the academician probably wants to inform his knowledgeable audience that he also contemplates Divine Providence in the ancient context. *Divina providentia* is a Latin synonym for the Greek notion of *pronóia*, an attribute commonly associated with Athena (Gr. *Athena Prónoia*). The patron goddess of wisdom was known as clairvoyant, deliberate, and "forethinking,"³⁵⁸ and so it is no coincidence that she figures so prominently in Erberg's miniature.

³⁵⁷ The inscription in the lower left corner of the miniature informs the viewer that, holding the positions of the canon of Ljubljana cathedral, provost of Novo Mesto cathedral, and archdeacon for Lower Carniola and Windic March, Baron Anton Gothard Erberg was entitled to wear a mitre. After Georg Slatkonja (1456–1522), Provost of Novo Mesto, the escutcheon with a golden horse was adopted by all his successors.

³⁵⁸ The term *prónoia* etymologically derives from the verb *pronoōō* (to predict, foresee/forethink, or act prudently).



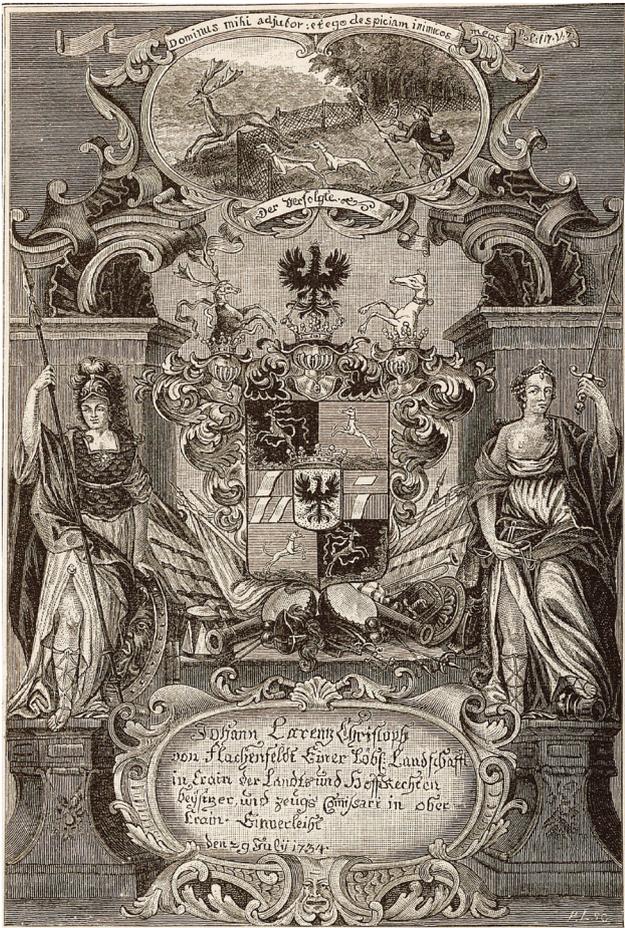
Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Anton Gothard Erberg, 1734, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 261r.



Entry page of Baron Anton Gothard Erberg, a detail featuring a wise man with books and the goddess Athena.

3.24 Entry Page of Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld (TM, fol. 265r)³⁵⁹

contemporaneous noble culture but an image that holds a deeper meaning:



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld, 1734, published in: Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Wien 1886–1902, Bd. “Kärnten und Krain,” 1891, 473.

Unknown master, Drawing of the entry page of Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld, ink wash and gouache, 1891, National Library, Vienna, inv. no. 12957460 (template for book publishing).

Flachenfeld’s emblematic image features a hunter with two elegant white hounds pursuing a stag. The animal with magnificent horns has wandered into the enclosure but does not need to fear its pursuers: it can easily jump over the netted fence and swiftly disappear from sight. The painter immediately makes it known that the stag hunt is not an actual scene from

the hunter, dressed in the typical attire of the period, holds a spear instead of a rifle. This is not an ill-conceived anachronism (in mid-eighteenth-century Europe, rifles were used to hunt large animals), but rather an iconographic clue that points to the multifacetedness of the image. This is also supported by how ancient weapons were depicted at the time: the image shows a large, decorative spear, a type that was not even used for hunting before firearms took the place of spears, bows, and crossbows. The allegorical character of the image is clearly conveyed by the

³⁵⁹ This is a lost folio, known solely from its reproduction in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Kärnten und Krain*, Vienna, 1891, 473. See the chapter: “Provenance and Current Condition of the Manuscript.”

academician's motto *Dominus mihi adiutor: et ego despiciam inimicos meos* (*The Lord is my helper. And I will look down upon my enemies*)³⁶⁰ and membership name *Der Verfolgte* (*The Pursued One*).

Although the motif of a stag hunt is well established in emblematics, it is usually reduced to the scene of a stag pursued by hunting dogs. The meanings differ: Flachenfeld's emblem belongs to those images in which the stag embodies a good Christian whom God offers help and shelter in facing the troubles of this world. The academician and painter created the emblem in the *Dismas Chronicle* by drawing from Hohberg's popular book, in which folio 57r features a copperplate engraving with the same motif, accompanied by the motto *Conantes Deus ipse iuvat*.³⁶¹ The differences in composition are minor, and the iconographic changes are primarily related to the academician's context. The hunter in Hohberg's emblem is accompanied by three instead of two dogs, which cannot be reliably

identified as hounds. Furthermore, not all three dogs are depicted as white but two as black, and, of course, they possess no heraldic meaning like the ones in the image that Grachower created for Flachenfeld. The hunter, as envisioned by Georg Christoph Eimmart for the engraving in Hohberg's book, holds a hunting horn but not a spear, which Grachower introduces to highlight the allegorical character of the scene.

Unlike most Carniolan academicians who drew upon Hohenberg and adopted the motto along with the image, Flachenfeld decided on a slightly different approach. While both mottos speak of trust in God and his assistance, which he never denies to one in need, the motif of distress in Hohenberg's epigram is further accented and directly relates to Psalm 57, specifically, the line that reads: "They have prepared a net for my steps..." (Ps 57:6).³⁶² This explains the netted fence in Eimmart's engraving. Hohberg's explicit reference to the net enables the reader to immediately understand



Emblematic image of Baron Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld, detail of the illustration in Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild.

360 The line in the King James Version of the Bible reads: "The Lord taketh my part with them that help me:/ therefore shall I see my desire upon them that hate me." (Ps 118,7). Considering the iconographic context of the entry page, Gantar's translation is more appropriate, as well as in line with the established translations of the Vulgate into the major European languages.

361 The motto can be translated as: "God himself helps those who look for him."

362 The versified interpretation also includes the motif of the netting:

*Wenn ganz umstrickt ist der hirsch von nez und pplanen,
Er oft mit einen sprung der jäger list entgeht;
Wann alles unglück frommen wil zu naben,
So schicket Gott, daß noch ein rettungsluft herwäbt*
(Hohb., fol. 57r).



Emblem with a stag, Wolfgang Helmhart von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 57r.

the meaning of the netted fence in his epigram, but without a knowledge of Hohberg's book they will most probably overlook the same iconographic detail on Flachenfeld's entry page.

For a full understanding of Baron Flachenfeld's emblem, it is crucial to consider the broader context of the psalm from which he borrowed his motto. The central theme of the verse is trust in the grace of God, who helps rescue the righteous from distress, whereby the psalmist specifically points to the evil that man inflicts it upon his fellow human being:

*I called upon the Lord in distress:
The Lord answered me, and set me in a large place.
The Lord is on my side; I will not fear:
What can man do unto me?
The Lord taketh my part with them that help me:
Therefore shall I see my desire upon them that hate me.
It is better to trust in the Lord
Than to put confidence in man (Ps 118:5–8).*

The stag thus represents the academician, who has a solid foundation in faith and can face foes and adversities without fear. The emblem is completed by two personifications flanking the baronial coat of arms:³⁶³ Justice on the right and Wisdom portrayed as Athena on the left. Justice and Wisdom, Flachenfeld informs the viewer, are the core guiding principles of his life. In terms of contextual meanings underlining the emblems in the *Theater of Memory*, the connection between the motif and Flachenfeld's newly obtained baronial title is interesting: the academician deliberately chose an emblematic image featuring both his heraldic animals, the stag and white hound, which is quite a rare occurrence in the chronicle.

³⁶³ Lorenz Christoph Flachenfeld was granted the baronial title in 1739. Because the miniature was created after 1740, Grachower would paint the coat of arms with the baronial crown without reservation.

3.25 Entry Page of Baron Johann Benjamin Erberg (TM, fol. 264r)

Like several members of the Dismas Society before him, Johann Benjamin Erberg chose the motif of the eagle and the sun for his emblematic image. This one features an eagle taking flight from a high cliff above the sea and ascending towards the sun, keeping its gaze fixed on it. Following suit, four eaglets fly out of the nest. The baron's chosen membership name *Der Nachartende* (*The Emulating One*) refers to the chicks emulating their father, and the motto *Et documenta damus, quia simus origine nati* (*We give proofs from what original we are sprung*)³⁶⁴ completes the emblematic message with the thought that by following their father's example, the chicks prove themselves to be his worthy descendants. In addition, the motto attests to the fact that this is a common combination of both iconographic motifs—encouragement to take flight and the challenge that the eaglets must brave by looking at the sun.³⁶⁵

As in the emblem of his older brother Franz Michael Erberg, the motto highlights the eaglets' trial, a well-established theme in the iconography of the eagle since Antiquity.³⁶⁶ The image, on the other hand, highlights the motif of the eagle teaching its chicks to fly and its allegorical interpretation. The latter is rooted in Biblical exegesis, the interpretation of a fragment from the Song

of Moses to the rock of Israel, in which God's care for the chosen people is illustrated by the image of an eagle teaching its young to fly: "...sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos/ et super eos volitans/ expandit alas suas/ et adsumpsit eum atque portavit in umeris suis..." (Dt 5, 32:11).³⁶⁷ Extremely popular among Biblical exegetes, the metaphor was used in the works of the Church Fathers, as well as by numerous medieval writers.³⁶⁸ On the other hand, an interesting insight into the cultural environment of the Ljubljana intellectual elite during the compilation of the Dismas Chronicle can be gleaned from the fact that the same metaphor was cited and interpreted by Johann Ludwig Schönleben in one of his sermons.³⁶⁹ The motto is also well known in emblematics: five emblems with the same motif can be found in Picinelli's book (Pic., I, 4, embls. 175, 186, 194, 197, 214; 270–277) and the same number in *Symbolographia sive de Arte Symbolica* (Bosc., embls. I, 206, 208; II, 260, 447, 615). Although the emblematic message may vary depending on the motto, the core idea invariably promotes living in faith and virtue, setting a good example, spiritual growth, God's care for his believers, and a good ruler's concern for his lineage or people.

In the emblem of Johann Benjamin Erberg, the chosen motto and membership name highlight the baron's determination to prove himself as a worthy descendant of his ancestors and paragons. The academician places primary iconographic emphasis on the authenticity of lineage, which the eaglets must demonstrate by looking straight at the sun. Given that his brother Franz Michael already chose a similar motif on his joining the Dismas Society, the idea of emulating one's paragons clearly refers to the baronial Erberg family's tradition of acquiring membership in the Academy of the United.³⁷⁰

364 The motto is the end of the line from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: "*Inde genus durus summus experiensque laborum et documenta damus, quia simus origine nati*" (I, 414–415).

The English translation is cited from: Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses I–III*, transl. Henry Thomas Riley, Bell&Sons, London 1851. The translation in the iconographic catalogue (Kastelic 2001, 204) reads slightly differently: "We are the living proof of the matter which gave birth to us."

365 Due to the close connection between the motifs, combining them artistically is understandable, and was already established during the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, according to ancient sources, the challenge of gazing at the sun is set in the time when the chicks are still covered in soft downy feathers and unable to fly, whereas Christian iconography frequently overlooks this detail or primarily rests on subsequent accounts in individual bestiaries explicitly stating that the eagle puts the eaglets' sight to the test only when they are big enough to take flight. The eagle then flies with them towards the sun: those that follow and can look straight at the sun are recognized as its rightful offspring, and the rest are cast away. See, e.g., the chapter on the eagle in the very popular bestiary by Guillaume le Clerc, *Le Bestiaire Divin*, from ca. 1210. The earliest preserved copy dates to the mid-thirteenth century (Bodleian Library, Ms Douce 132).

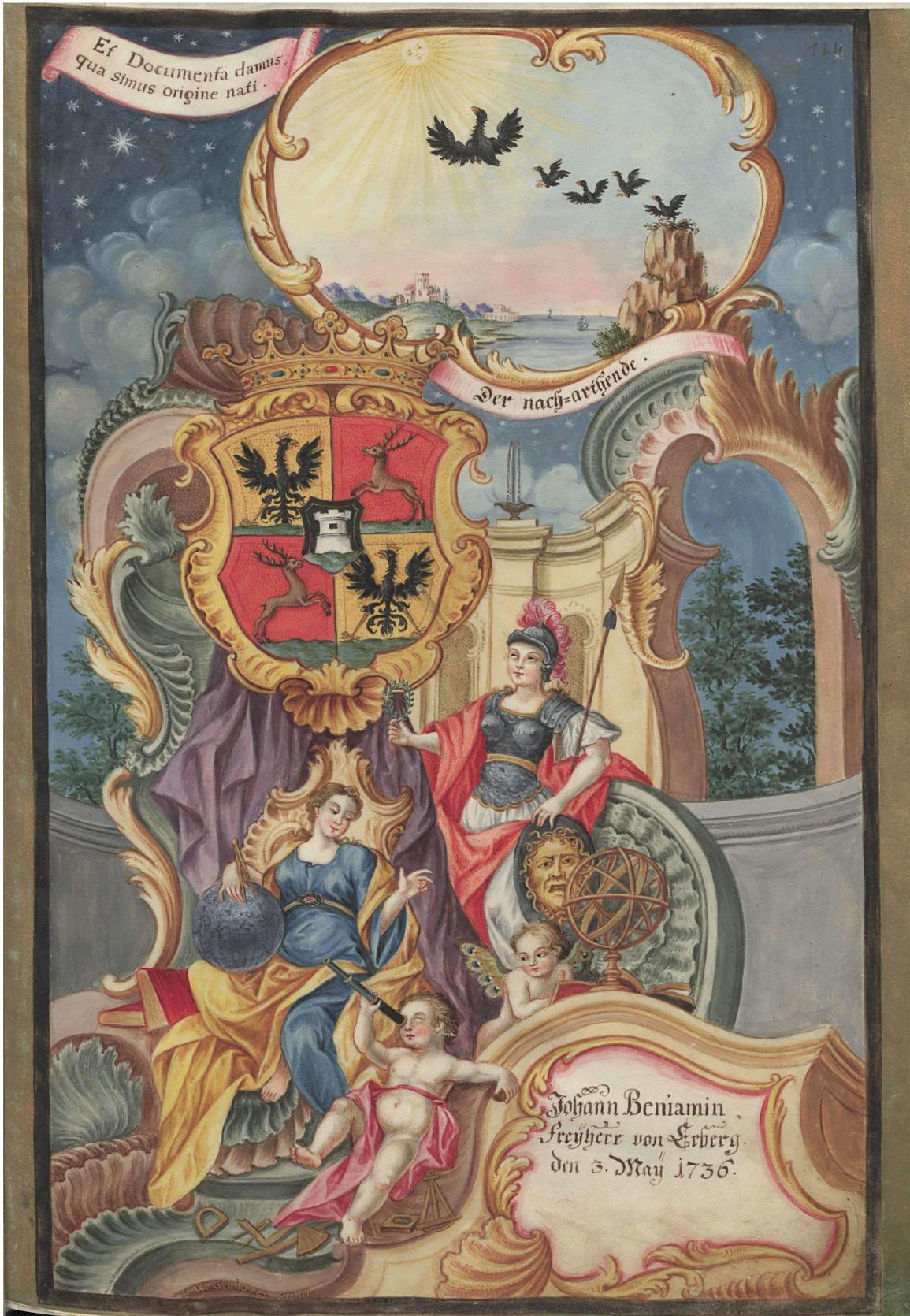
366 See the interpretation of Franz Michael Erberg's emblem (TM, fol. 161r).

367 In the King James Version of the Bible, the segment reads: "As an eagle stirreth up her nest,/ fluttereth over her young,/ spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them,/ beareth them on her wings..."

368 E.g., in St. Ambrosius (*Hexaemeron*, PL 14, 232), St. Hieronymus (*Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 26, 1097), Rabanus Maurus (*Commentaria in cantica*, PL 112, 1138), Peter Abelard (*Expositio in Hexaemeron*, PL, 178, 736), and Bernard of Clairvaux ("In die ascensionis Domini sermo," in: *Sancti Bernardi... Opera omnia*, Paris 1839, col. 1986).

369 Joannis Ludovici Schönleben..., *Feyertäglicher Erquick-Stunden...*, Salzburg 1670, 11.

370 Before Johann Benjamin, five other representatives of the Erberg family were already members of the Dismas Society, i.e., his brother Franz Michael (TM, fol. 161r), his father Johann Daniel (TM, fol. 25r), uncles Franz Jacob (TM, fol. 13r) and Johann Adam (TM, fol. 109r), as well as his cousin Anton Gothard (TM, fol. 261r).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Johann Benjamin Erberg, 1736, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 264r.

3.26 Entry Page of Franz Carl von Hohenwart (TM, fol. 268r)

The entry page of Franz Carl von Hohenwart is of a distinctly didactic nature. It conveys a straightforward message, which, apart from the image, motto, and chosen membership name, includes succinct Latin inscriptions incorporated into Grachower's composition. The miniature shows a seascape with an island and a sheep grazing on it. The sky to the right is bright and bathed in sunlight, while the left side is dark, featuring a hand stretching out from the clouds, with an open eye depicted on it. Just below the upper edge of the cartouche, three doves fly across the sky, carrying tiny banners in their beaks, with words that read from left to right: "Paucis," "Nulli," and "Omnibus." Inscriptions also appear in the lower section of the image, where a small, elongated island is depicted with a lighthouse and two sailboats, one to its left and the other to its right. The sail of the boat on the left bears the inscription "fide," the island that of "noceto," and the sail of the boat on the right is marked by the word "place." The words meaningfully connect when read vertically, from the top to the bottom: "Paucis fide! (Trust only a few!)," "Nulli noceto!" (Hurt no one!), and "Omnibus place!" (Please all!). All three succinct declarations align perfectly with the motto in the banner above the cartouche, which reads: *Sic felix eris* (This way you will attain happiness).

This is one version of moral sentences derived from a combination of ancient proverbs: *Trust only a few, hurt no one, please all. This way you will attain happiness.*³⁷¹ The membership name *Expertus* (The Expert) defines the academician as a seasoned court counselor who wishes to share his chosen guiding principle with others. The hand with an open eye adds a special note to the emblematic message. The prehistoric symbol, already known to the Hebrew tradition, has a rich iconography and bears different meanings in different cultural environments. The common denominator is its apotropaic role of warding off evil and protecting against harm.³⁷² In emblematics, the seeing hand

first emerged in Alciato's work,³⁷³ signifying prudence, restraint, and sobriety, as well as distrust when combined with pennyroyal (Lat. *Mentha pulegium*). A similar interpretation was offered by Erasmus of Rotterdam in his collection of proverbs *Adagia* (I, 8, 31, *Oculatae manus*), stressing that very few friends can be trusted. In his interpretation, Picinelli (Pic., I, 3, embl. 567; 248), also associated the motif of the hand with an open eye with the importance of discernment in identifying trustworthy people and selecting friends.

The sheep on the island in Hohenwart's emblem represents a gullible person usually unsuspecting of others' ill intentions. It is an established symbol of trustfulness and sincerity, patience and gentleness, which often leads the bearer into the role of victim.³⁷⁴ The seeing hand warns against gullibility in a deceptive world, and concise pieces of advice offer a tried and tested guiding principle for life. The iconographic elements are carefully selected: the doves carrying the inscriptions embody prudence,³⁷⁵ the sailboats at sea allude to the course of life, and the lighthouse with its beacon symbolically guiding ships on their journey rounds out the emblematic message. Equally

so-called evil eye. The symbol is known to nearly all Middle Eastern cultures. It is especially widespread and still highly popular in the Arab world, where it is referred to as the Hand of Fatima. In Christianity, it is associated with the iconographic motif of God's hand and God's eye, signifying God's shelter and protection, as well as Divine Providence. In emblematics, the hand with the eye is also known as *oculatae manus*, stemming from the ancient motif of "seeing hands." It illustrates prudence or reasonable distrust: believe only what you can see with your own eyes and feel with your own hands. The expression *oculatae manus* was first used in Plautus' comedy *Asinaria* or *The Comedy of Asses*: "semper oculatae manus sunt nostre, credunt quod vident" (Plautus, I, 3, 202). On the motif of *oculatae manus* in emblematics, see especially: Maranini, 2007, 115–156.

373 Alciato first introduced the motif in the Venetian edition, published by Aldo Manuzio (*Emblematum libellus* 1546, fol. 28v), and two years later in the *Emblemata*, published by Macé Bonhomme (Lyon 1548, 19).

374 These symbolic meanings of the sheep originate in Christian iconography (especially the Bible and its exegesis) on one hand, and ancient and early modern fables on the other. See also the interpretation of the emblem of Lorenz Daniel Wollwiz (TM, fol. 223r).

375 In the rich symbolism of the dove, prudence has since the Middle Ages featured as one of the most prominent connotations regularly encountered in bestiaries. This meaning is also retained in emblematics. See: *Mundus Symbolicus* (I, 4, embl. 277; 285).

371 A famous example is a similar sentence carved in the park of Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo, which Duke Pier Francesco II. Orsini had constructed in the mid-sixteenth century: "Nosce te ipsum. Vince te ipsum. Vive tibi ipsi. Sic eris felix."

372 The hand with an open eye is the age-old apotropaic sign believed to protect from evil, particularly curses and the



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Franz Carl von Hohenwart, 1737, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 268r.



Entry page of Franz Carl von Hohenwart, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

remarkable is the masterful compositional solution that guides the viewer to understand the key message, expressed on the main axis of the illustration. The sheep on the island occupies the center of the miniature and is iconographically highlighted, standing at the intersection of two opposite poles—the bright one with the shining sun and the dark one with solely the stars illuminating the night sky.

The dove above the island holds the banner with the word *nulli*, and the lighthouse below the island bears the inscription *noceto*. The most important of the three messages—*Hurt no one*—is thus placed on the central axis spanning the sheep and the lighthouse, symmetrically splitting the emblematic image into two halves while also constituting the core of the

moral allegory.³⁷⁶ The motto and membership name complementing the emblem extend the main axis line through the image-holding cartouche, enabling the artist to visually highlight the most essential note of Hohenwart's emblematic message.

³⁷⁶ The motto "*Hurt no one*" is a variant of one of the fundamental tenets of Christian morality, teaching that one should do no harm to one's neighbor. The doctrine is clearly stated in the Old Testament (e.g., Ps 15:3 and Prov 3:29) and reiterated through many variations, particularly in the Gospels.

3.27 Entry Page of Baron Christoph Ottheim (TM, fol. 270r)

For Baron Ottheim, Grachower created an emblematic image featuring an open landscape with the recognizable veduta of the Sava River with Šmarna Gora and Grmada hills. A man sitting on the riverbank raises his fishing rod, having just caught a fish. The small inscription next to him reads: *Errando discit* (*Learn from your mistakes*). In the foreground, the viewer can see an otter holding a fish in its mouth. The otter holding a fish is the heraldic animal of the Ottheim family, explaining the academician's surname (*der Otter* in German).³⁷⁷ Ottheim's membership name—*Der Fischende* (*The Fisherman*)—indicates that the angler on the Sava riverbank can metaphorically be identified as the academician who commissioned the emblem. While the idyllic scene from a real landscape not far away from Ljubljana, the motif of angling, and the otter with a fish align perfectly with the baron's membership name, the link to the motto *Terramque habitabit et undam* (*He will inhabit the earth and the sea*) is less apparent. The motto probably alludes to the Biblical metaphor that man will inhabit the earth and the seas, or that he will have dominion over all things on land and in water. A similar message appears repeatedly in God's promises to the patriarchs of the Old Testament, his decision to create mankind, and addressing the first parents, Adam and Eve (Gen 1:26–28). According to the author of the iconographic catalogue, although a land animal, the otter catches fish in water and may as such symbolize both dry land and the sea, as indicated in the motto (Kastelic, 2001, 207). However, presented without proper foundation, such an interpretation raises some issues because it has no direct basis in European symbolism and, specifically, emblematics.

As already noted, the iconography of the otter in art is rather modest: in Antiquity, it developed no symbolic meaning and appeared in very few depictions.³⁷⁸ While the same holds for medieval art, it is more common in heraldry, where it represents the notion of an excellent

hunter. The otter, occupying the center of Ottheim's emblematic image, should primarily be understood as an allusion to his heraldic animal, which also figures prominently on his escutcheon. As such, the shrewd hunter from the Mustelidae family most likely bears an additional allegorical meaning stemming from heraldry, where it also embodies persistence. Master Grachower illustrates this by inscribing *Errando discit* next to the angler. Once the link between the words and the academician's membership name is established, the emblematic message becomes quite clear: choosing the nickname *The Fisherman*, the baron can through persistent learning acquire the hunting skills of the otter. The association with the motto on the upper edge of the cartouche on inhabiting the earth and the sea should be sought in the idea that man will only have "dominion over all things on land and in water," once he is able to master the world in which he lives through knowledge, persistent effort, and adherence to the fundamental postulates of the Christian faith. This aligns with the principles of the St. Dismas Society, which fostered living in faith, upholding Christian values by working for the common good, honoring the basic moral values, and loving one's neighbor as its core objectives. Such an understanding of the emblematic image and motto is supported by the selection of the two personifications flanking the academician's coat of arms: the woman on the right holding the Tablets of Stone and the golden thurible embodies the Old Testament, and the woman on the left in a bright-colored robe and with a flame on her chest represents the New Testament.³⁷⁹ In the typological tradition of *concordia veteris et novi testamenti*, the personifications are well-aligned additions to the Law: the Old Testament religious and moral tenets, defined by the Ten Commandments, and the mercy of the New Testament, embodied in God's love. The notion of love is particularly highlighted by how both personifications are depicted: the established iconographic gesture of placing the left hand over the heart, symbolizing the embodiment of God's love, is further accentuated with the motif of a stylized heart in the right hand of the female figure embodying the Old Testament.

³⁷⁷ See footnote 328 on p. 150.

³⁷⁸ The two classical authors who wrote about it were Aristotle and Aelian, who referred to it as a "river dog." Apart from stating that it inhabits both water and land, Aelian also described it as an excellent hunter and compared it to a dog (*On the Nature of Animals*, XIV, 21, XI, 37).

³⁷⁹ According to Cevc, the figure probably represents John the Baptist (2001, 75), which is incorrect. A close examination reveals that it is undoubtedly a woman, and Cevc's interpretation is also flawed from the iconographic point of view.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Cristoph Ottheim, 1737, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 270r.



Entry page of Baron Christoph Ottheim, detail of the emblematic image.

3.28 Entry Page of Baron Franz Anton Moschkhon (TM, fol. 272r)

The emblematic image of Baron Franz Anton Moschkhon features a wide seascape, with the gently undulating sea occupying most of the miniature. On the left is the coast with a picturesque mansion and in the distance a walled town, mountains, and a coastal fort. A bird's nest floats amid the waves with a colorful bird sitting in it. The motto on the banner reads: *Mens immota inter motus* (*A still mind amid commotion*),³⁸⁰ and the baron's academic nickname *Der beständig Bleibende* (*The Constant One*) further emphasizes the idea of unwavering stillness. The bird on the nest can be identified as the mythic halcyon,³⁸¹ first introduced into emblematics by Alciato (Alc. 1531, embl. B1v). However, the woodcut in his book portrays the halcyon inaccurately by placing its nest on a rocky cliff rather than directly on the water's surface in the middle of the sea. The error is probably due to the woodcutter's poor knowledge (or understanding) of the epigrammatic message. According to the text accompanying the image in Alciato's book, the bird represents the halcyon (Lat. *alcyon*, Gr. *alkyón* or *halkyón*), associated with the story of tragic love between Ceyx (Gr. *Kéyx*), King of Thrace, and Alcyone (Gr. *Alkyóne*), his wife and the daughter of Aeolus, the god of winds. The motto *Ex pace ubertas* (*Prosperity as the result of peace*) invokes the ancient belief that while the halcyon is nesting the winds do not ruffle the sea to make sure that the chicks can hatch in peace.

Of the many adaptations retelling the story of Ceyx and Alcyone and their transformation into birds

380 Gantar's translation of the academic motto in Kastelic's iconographic catalogue is literal and rather awkward: *Untroubled spirit in time of trouble* (2001, 208). In the context of the emblematic message, it would make more sense to translate the word phrase *mens immotus* as 'firm, unwavering, and steadfast spirit.' It is the spirit of a man who remains resolute and steadfast in the face of various perturbations in life. This most directly confirms Moschkhon's academic nickname *The Constant One*.

381 In the iconographic catalogue, Kastelic identifies the bird as a duck (2001, 208), which is incorrect, considering the shape of its head and beak, and the color of its feathers does not correspond to a duck's. The motif of a duck sitting in a nest amid the waves has not been encountered in European animal iconography, and one would likewise look for it in vain in emblematics. Vrhunc tentatively identifies the bird as a sandpiper (1970, 118), but this interpretation also lacks validity.

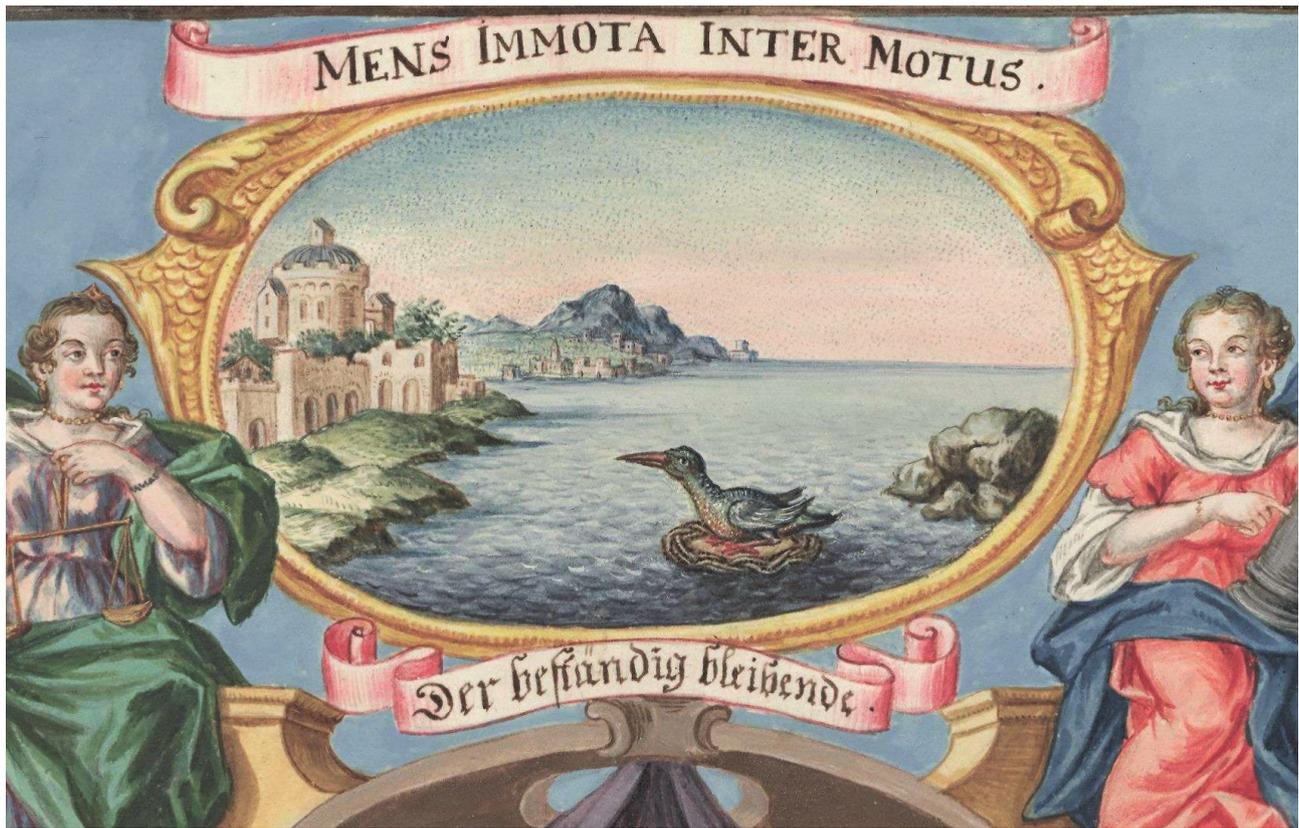
nesting in the middle of the sea, the best known in European cultural lore is the one told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (XI, 410–748). Alcyone and her husband shared a love so profound that it stirred envy among the gods. Zeus thus called a storm that sank the ship carrying Ceyx to Apollo's temple in Claros. Ceyx's body was washed ashore of his native Thrace, where Alcyone found him, after Hera sent her dreams with the tidings of her husband's tragic demise. In her grief, Alcyone threw herself into the sea to end her life and unite with her husband. Out of compassion for the ill-fated couple, Zeus transformed them into birds, which remained devoted to each other even after their transformation. Thenceforth, Aeolus kept a watchful eye over his daughter and restrained the winds every winter for seven days to help her hatch her chicks in the nest afloat on the sea.

In natural history literature, the mythical halcyon is associated with the kingfisher family (*Halcyoninae*)—more precisely, the common kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*), a bird species commonly found in Europe and elsewhere. According to a widely held belief among the ancients, the halcyon (kingfisher) nested around the winter solstice; during that time, the sea was calm and safe, and the windless days became known as 'halcyon days' (Lat. *alcyonei dies*). Instead of seven, writers often indicate fourteen days. Aristotle wrote about the halcyon building a floating nest at sea, describing the sea as calm during that time (*History of Animals*, IX, 14; V, 8). His opinion was borrowed by, among other authors, Pliny (*Natural History*, X, 90–91) and Aelian (*On the Characteristics of Animals*, IX, 17). Nesting at sea as a natural historical fact was also cited in medieval encyclopedias, starting with Isidore of Seville's (*Etymologies*, XII, 7, 25) and numerous bestiaries. The halcyon in Christian iconography symbolizes trust in God, steadfast faith, and a contemplative nature, as discussed by Basil of Caesarea in his *Homilies at Hexaemeron* (8, PG 29, 278) and St. Ambrosius, who developed his own interpretation of the *Hexaemeron* by drawing on Basil's example (5, 13 PL 14, 238).

The identification of the bird in Moschkhon's emblematic image as the kingfisher or the mythic halcyon is supported by both medieval and early modern animal iconography, most explicitly by Renaissance emblematics and zoology. In his *L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (1555, 218–220), French ornithologist Pierre



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Franz Anton Moschkhon, 1738, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 272r.



Entry page of Baron Franz Anton Moschkhon, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

Belon equated the kingfisher (Fr. *Martin-pêcheur*) with the halcyon, briefly summarizing the accounts of ancient and medieval writers. His observation was clearly confirmed by the accompanying woodcut. Although Conrad Gessner discussed the halcyon and the kingfisher in separate chapters, he maintained them to be one and the same bird.

In the chapter *De Alcyone* (*Historiae animalium*, Lib. III., 1555, 84–95), he provided an extensive list of ancient and medieval accounts, including the legend of Ceyx and Alcyone, presented designations used in different European languages at the time, and expressed his agreement with his fellow naturalist Pierre Belon (whom he mentioned specifically) in identifying the halcyon as the kingfisher. In the chapter on the kingfisher (*Ibid.*, *De Ispida*, 550–551), the author presented his personal observations of the common kingfisher (*Ispida* or *Alcedo atthis*), once again directly referring to Belon. This time, the identification of the

bird is supported by the accompanying illustration.³⁸² Even more meticulous in citing ancient and medieval accounts was Ulisse Aldrovandi, who paid particular attention to allegorical meanings. Thus, in the third volume on birds, the natural historical section on the halcyon is followed by subchapters with cultural as well as allegorical and symbolical meanings, summarizing ancient, medieval, and early modern traditions (*Ornithologiae tomus tertius ac postremus*, lib. XX, 508–517).

Simon Thaddeus Grachower clearly knew how to depict a halcyon (kingfisher) to make it easily identifiable: the shape of its head, the long, pointed beak, and the color of its feathers correspond to the general appearance of the common kingfisher. Perhaps he was familiar with the kingfisher in its natural habitat, given that the bird is relatively common in the Slovenian area, and he could also see its illustrations in zoological books, especially Gessner's, which was well known and widely

³⁸² See also: Kinzelbach and Erstmaliger, 2008, 261.



Emblem with a kingfisher, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*, Regensburg 1675, fol. 16r.

disseminated.³⁸³ From the iconographic point of view, it is interesting that, in his book, Picinelli described an emblem with an alcyon (I, 4, embl. 66; 258) that conveys an almost identical message as Moschkhon's. According to Picinelli, the halcyon on its nest represents an upright and fearless spirit (*animus imperteritus*), an image of a man whose trust in Divine Providence enables him to maintain a calm spirit, inner stability, and steadfastness even in the face of major trials in life. Even in the direst moments, a righteous man who trusts in God is not afraid or hesitant but remains calm and even cheerful, Picinelli concludes.

383 The 1600 edition of Gessner's book on birds (Robert Campiers, Frankfurt am Main) is also kept in the Seminary Library in Ljubljana, where it probably arrived from the private library of Mark Gerbez, a visible member of the Ddismas Society. The Seminary Library also holds a summary of all Gessner's books on animals.

Although Moschkhon and Grachower were probably familiar with the emblem in *Mundus Symbolicus*, they directly drew from Hohberg's work, which was also very popular among the *Academici Uniti*.³⁸⁴ The first page of the parchment folio with the sequence number 16 contains an emblem featuring a very similar engraving and an identical motto: *Mens immota inter motus*. Although Grachower's miniature is artistically more refined than Eimmart's engraving, the basic composition remains largely intact. The faithful depiction of the bird with its shiny blue back, wings, and upper neck as well as orange-reddish feathers on its chest and belly confirms that the painter's knowledge

384 Based on Grachower's signature stressing that he not only painted but also conceived a certain miniature (*invenit et pinxit*), I erroneously assumed in earlier publications that his design of the emblematic image was entirely original (Germ, 2009, 308; Germ, 2017, 161–162).

of the halcyon (kingfisher) exceeded what he could have gathered from the engraving in Hohberg's volume. The assumption that he knew the bird through his own experience is valid and speaks of his artistic autonomy, despite drawing on a model. The precision with which Grachower imitated individual details of Eimmart's halcyon is equally noteworthy: contrary to the usual representation of the bird sitting on the nest (either laying eggs or keeping the chicks warm), both masters depicted the bird squatting somewhat elevated, with its legs clearly visible. Another interesting point worth mentioning is that no eggs or chicks can be seen in the nest. One can only speculate why, but most probably two key factors are involved. The first is of artistic nature: according to the emblematic tradition, the halcyon is never depicted in the nest with visible chicks or eggs because it sits on them and hides them from view.³⁸⁵ The second reason relates to the emblematic message, which uses the halcyon's nesting as a fabular starting point, while allegorical interpretations center on the calmness and steadfastness of the spirit that firmly believes in God. This makes the motif of nesting less prominent, possibly causing Eimmart to think it unnecessary to add eggs or chicks to the composition, and Grachower obviously following suit.

For an iconographic interpretation of Moschkhon's entry page, identification of the direct model is welcome especially because the epigram in Hohberg's emblem sheds additional light on its allegorical meaning. The primary content taken from the motif originating in Greek mythology and ancient natural history is (like in Picinelli's case) closely linked to Christian moral allegory: no harm can come to a man who firmly trusts in God, because God's love is always with him.³⁸⁶ Franz Anton Moschkhon, *The Constant One*, can therefore remain calm, regardless of the trials that life brings, just like the kingfisher calmly nesting

amid the waves. The personifications of justice and strength flanking the emblematic image complement the emblematic message on Moschkhon's entry page, along with Mars and Hercules holding the academican's coat of arms: steadfastness, firmness, and uprightness crucially rest on the two cardinal fortitudes: justice and strength, but also on courage and fearlessness, personified by Mars and Hercules in classical tradition.

385 Except for the illustrations in most Alciato's editions, where the image is rendered completely inaccurate by, as already noted, placing the motif of the halcyon nesting on a rocky island, in addition to which the woodcarver obviously had no clear idea about the bird itself. In the earliest editions, it resembles a dove and in some subsequent ones (e.g., Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, Lyon 1556) even an eagle.

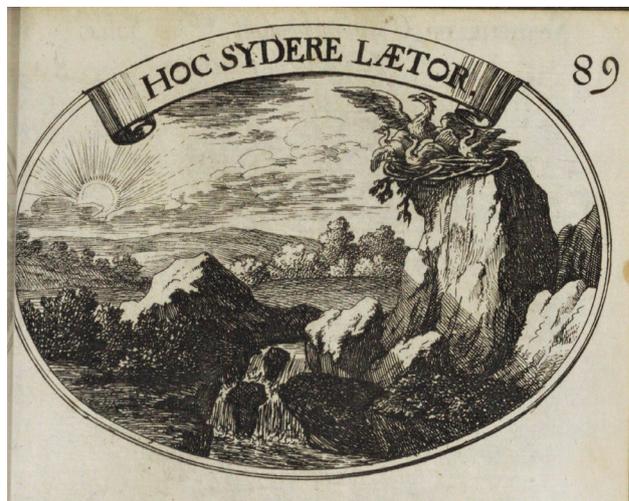
386 *Solertem facit hyberno super aequore nidum, Et tuto Halcyon incubat ova mari: Sic nos si Domini sustentat dextera, nobis nulla pericula adsint quaecumque nocent* (Hohb., fol. 16r).

3.29 Entry Page of Count Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 287r)

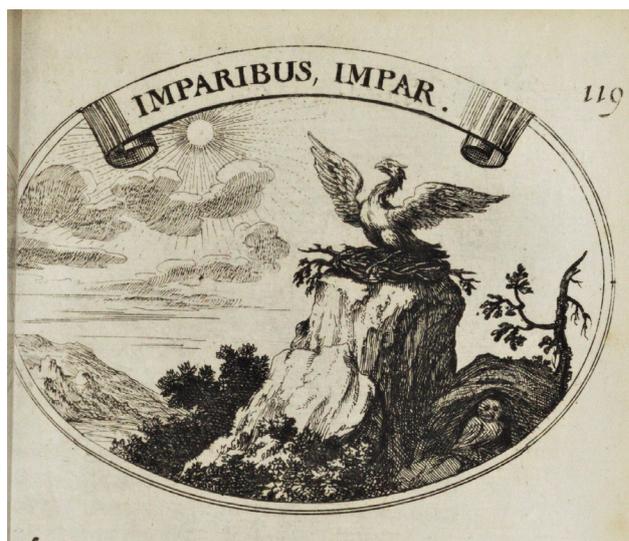
The emblematic cartouche of Count Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg features a hilly landscape and a high cliff, as well as an eagle sitting in its eyrie made of brushwood. The royal bird is raising its head and spreading its wings, as if about to fly, and its gaze is fixed on the sun bearing the inscription of Christ's monogram IHS with a small cross. This time, the motto *Hoc sidere laetor* (*Under this star I find joy*) is accompanied not by the academican's usual membership name but its longer, descriptive version: *Der im Licht deines Antlitzes Wandlende* (*The One Walking in the Light of Thy Countenance*). The wording alludes to the psalm: "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound:/ they shall walk, o Lord, in the light of thy countenance" (Ps 89:15). The motto and the allegoric nickname are in line with the motif of the eagle looking at the sun—the source of life and a promise of eternity. With the incorporated monogram, the sun is directly equated to Christ, the light of life, and linked to God's countenance, referred to in the psalm. It is also the "star" under which Count Lichtenberg found his "joy."

Alongside the iconography of rebirth in Christ, an important role is also played by the motif of the eagle in its eyrie, which has a long iconographic tradition (see the interpretation of the emblem of Franz Anton Wolkenberg, fol. 229r). The eagle's lofty nest symbolizes virtue and trust in God, who protects man from danger and temptation. The academican could find an emblem with an eagle in its eyrie with such an interpretation in Picinelli's collection (I, 4, embls. 123 and 124; 265). Equally interesting is the comparison with two emblems in *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*. The first (fol. 89r) displays an identical motto and similar iconography, in which the main focus is on the challenge facing the eaglets in the nest, gazing at the sun together with their parent.³⁸⁷ The connection to Hohberg's emblem is clear, considering that the central quote of his epigram is the very same line in Psalm 89, from which Lichtenberg derived his academic nickname. The

second emblem from Hohberg's book (fol. 119r) is interesting because Grachower's composition with the eagle on the rock was in fact clearly copied from it. However, whereas the shape of the rock and the posture of the eagle in its nest are practically identical, the



Emblem with an eagle and its young gazing at the sun, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 89r.



Emblem with an eagle in its eyrie, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 119r.

³⁸⁷ The epigram accompanying the image provides further proof that the motif of the eagle facing the sun constitutes the core of Hohberg's emblematic message.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Count Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg, 1740, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 287r.



Entry page of Count Mark Ferdinand Lichtenberg, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

mottos are not.³⁸⁸ Grachower designed a new emblem as a free combination of two different emblems from Hohberg's book, which is the only such example in the *Dismas Chronicle*.

Although Count Lichtenberg's entry page draws inspiration from both Picinelli and Hohberg, it contains an original content related improvement by revealing the academician's identity with a witty pictorial rebus. The notion of light (Ger. *das Licht*), featured in both the textual and visual parts of the emblem combines with the motif of a mountain (Ger. *der Berg*) rising in the foreground, providing a sufficient clue to deduce the surname Lichtenberg. To dispel any remaining doubt, the detail of a red heart is added on the eagle's chest: the heart symbolically equates the eagle and the academician, who proudly presents his membership in the Academy of the United. Grachower's signature, informing the viewer that the miniaturist not only painted the emblem but also designed it ("*Grachover inv. et pinx.*"), points to the painter's active role in

conceiving the emblem while also bearing witness to the contemporaneous understanding of what constituted an original work of art, which was markedly different in the Early Modern Period than it is today.³⁸⁹

388 The motto "*Imparibus, impar,*" the line from a psalm (Ps 119:113–114), and the epigram speak of the love for God, who offers help and shelter, and of rejecting evil.

389 In the same vein, Grachower signed twenty-one other miniatures in the *Dismas Chronicle*. Considering the lasting collaboration with the academicians who commissioned the emblems, as well as his mastery and inventiveness, it is safe to conclude that his contribution to the conceptual design was significant. Polonca Vrhunc credits him with a significant contribution to the genesis of the emblems and believes that he was closely familiar with the realm of allegories and symbols. In her opinion, one of the possible sources from which he may have drawn his knowledge was the book by Abraham a Sancta Clara, *Hui und Pfui der Welt* (Würzburg 1707), which the artist kept in his library (Vrhunc, 1970, 126). The analysis of emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle* supports her assumption.

3.30 Entry Page of Baron Carl Joseph Valvasor (TM, fol. 294r)

What makes the emblem of Baron Carl Joseph Valvasor unique is that it offers further explanation in the form of a couplet complementing the chosen academic name *Der Verneuerte* (*The Restored One*) and motto *Formosius renascens* (*Reborn in greater beauty*). The added epigram reads: *Ex senio rediturus adit Iovi armiger aetheram/ Solis ubi hanc puro sidere flamma cremat* (*Jupiter's eagle re-emerges from old age and rises to the sky/ to be embraced by the brilliance of the solar flame*). This time, Grachower depicts an eagle flying over the sea and shedding feathers from its wings. The eagle turns back towards the sun but flies in the opposite direction, slowly descending.

The emblematic message is clear and would require no further elaboration were it not for an unexpected misreading that occurred in the existing interpretation. In his description of the emblematic image, the author of the iconographic catalogue exceptionally adds a brief explanation: “The image of the eagle in the emblem is an antithesis of the device” (Kastelic, 2001, 217). What apparently confused him was that the eagle (unlike in other emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*) is not depicted flying towards the sun but away from it, while shedding wing feathers. Kastelic’s assertion is faulty in its very premise, because it fails to align with the Renaissance emblematic theory stipulating that all message bearers must be organized in accordance with the principle of mutual complementarity to form homogeneous emblematic content. An antithetical structure in emblematics signifies a synthesis of two different (and contradictory) symbols that through their mutual interaction generate a new emblematic message of the image, whereby the latter must correspond to the motto and epigram.³⁹⁰ To put it differently: the textual and visual parts of the emblem simply cannot be in an antithetical relationship as proposed by Kastelic.

Indeed, no antithesis is used in Valvasor’s emblem, as the *pictura* meaningfully illustrates the popular variant of the motif of an eagle’s rebirth, also presented in the *Physiologus*. When the eagle grows old, the *Physiologus* says, it flies up to the sun, which burns

away its old feathers and dispels the clouds in its eyes and then descends to a spring and bathes three times in its water to restore its youth. The author supports the credibility of his claim with the psalmist’s words: “thy youth is renewed like an eagle’s” (Ps 102:5).³⁹¹ To this he adds an allegorical explanation: “if you have old clothing and your eyes have grown dim with sin, seek out the spiritual fountain, the spring of living water, which is the Lord’s word ... As you fly into the height of the ‘Sun of Justice,’ Jesus Christ, and free yourself of an old man’s clothes and actions” (Phys. I, 6).³⁹² Even though the epigram in Valvasor’s emblem explicitly refers to the king of birds as Jupiter’s eagle and highlights the ancient connotation, the prevailing iconography is nonetheless Christian. The classical Greco-Roman iconography of the eagle was not familiar with the idea of rejuvenation by flying to the sun, which burns off the eagle’s old feathers for the new ones to grow. It was only in early modern iconography and particularly in emblematics that the link was established between Jupiter’s eagle, which can soar high above the clouds and come nearest to the sun, and the motif of rejuvenation, which stems from the *Physiologus* and the Biblical tradition. The *pictura* in Valvasor’s emblem focuses on the motif of burned feathers falling from the eagle’s wings.

Well known in emblematics, the motif appears in both Picinelli’s compendium and Bosch’s encyclopedia. Even though the shedding of feathers is more often depicted as the eagle approaches the sun (one of the earliest depictions is presented in Claude Paradin’s *Devises Heroïques*, Lyon 1551, the emblem with the motto *Renovata iuventus*, 112), the variant with an eagle flying away from the sun is also well-documented.³⁹³ The motif of the eagle’s rebirth in direct relation

391 On the Biblical belief that the eagle can rejuvenate itself, see also Isaiah: “But they that wait upon the Lord/ shall renew their strength;/ they shall mount up with wings as eagles...” (Is 40:31).

392 For the entire chapter on the eagle, see: Zucker, 2005, 78–82.

393 See, e.g.: Cam., III, embl. 14 or Bosc., I, embl. 853. Bosch offers three mottos next to the image of an eagle flying away from the sun and shedding its feathers: *Renovata iuventus, Et damna juvabunt*, and *Donec renover* (I, str. 59). A detailed explanation regarding the motif of an eagle shedding old feathers after it has moved away from the sun is provided in Bartholomew the Englishman’s popular encyclopedia *On the Properties of Things*, stating that the sun’s heat widens the eagle’s pores causing its feathers to fall out (*De proprietatibus rerum*, XII, 1).

390 See the interpretation of Baron Engelshaus’s emblem (TM, fol. 147r).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Carl Joseph Valvasor, 1740, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 294r.



Emblem with an eagle having its feathers burned by the sun, Wolfgang Helmbard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 103r.

to Jupiter enters emblematics through Nicolaus Reusner and his emblem with the rejuvenated old eagle and identical motto: *Renovata iuventus* (*Emblemata Partim Ethica, et Physica*, Frankfurt am Main 1581, 101). Following the opening lines of the epigram, in which he refers to the eagle as the bird of Jupiter and speaks of its flight towards the sun and rebirth, Reusner interprets the motif in the established Christian context. While the emblem is highly akin to Valvasor's in terms of its message, it certainly did not inspire the emblematic image, as its *pictura* depicts an eagle standing on one leg and clutching Jupiter's lightning bolt in the claws of the other.

The prototype that inspired Valvasor can be found in Hohberg's popular emblem book: the emblem on fol. 103r has an identical motto (*Formosius renascens*) and features a *pictura* that Grachower reproduced quite faithfully. The comparison further explains why complementary text appears in Valvasor's emblem: the baron clearly wanted to incorporate a segment of Hohberg's epigram, and Grachower copied the first two lines. Equally important for understanding the

emblem in the *Dismas Chronicle* are the other two lines, which are not included in the entry page but complement the classical content with the specific Christian iconography of rebirth, directly associated with Christ's sacrifice on the cross.³⁹⁴

On the entry page of Baron Carl Joseph (as in many previous cases), the Valvasor family's heraldic eagle enters the emblematic image and conveys the academician's faith in eternal life through the motif of flying towards the sun. By explicitly emphasizing the ancient iconography of the eagle as Jupiter's bird, Valvasor—a man of wide horizons, having traveled to Italy in his youth (Golec, 2022, 27/1, 220)—probably points to his interest in Classical culture, which was highly esteemed among the Carniolan academicians.

³⁹⁴ "... pietas Divina suos licet ardor adurat/ igne crucis tamen has sic renovare solet" (Hohb., fol. 103r). Even though the motif of the eagle's rebirth usually features Christ as represented by the sun, the interpretation of the eagle symbolizing the Crucified Christ was already established in medieval iconography. The connection stems from the idea of salvation and ascension, while Christian authors also likened the eagle's silhouette in the sky to the cross. See, e.g.: Arnold of Bonneval, *Tractatus de septem verbis Domini in cruce*, 7, PL, 189, 1682.

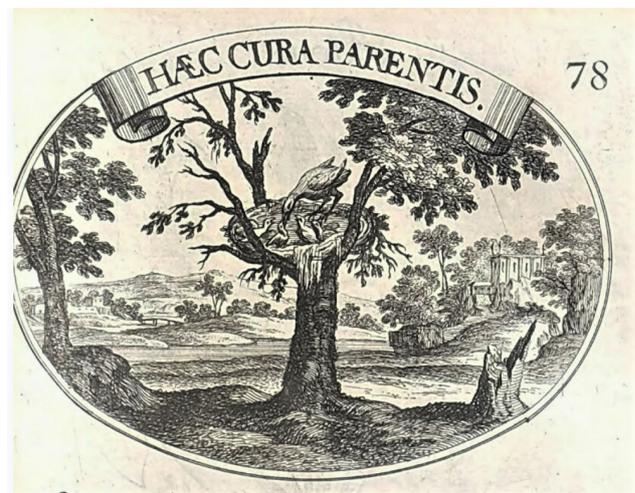
3.31 Entry Page of Baron Carl Joseph Flödnig (TM, fol. 296r)

For Baron Flödnig, Grachower created an emblematic image that features a panoramic landscape with meadows bathed in sunlight, traversed by a winding river and bordered by hills and mountains in the distance. There is a mansion on slightly elevated ground to the right, and to the left, a shepherd grazes his flock on the opposite side of the river. Adding to the pastoral scene is the depiction of two dog walkers slowly approaching the river from the right. A key compositional and iconographic element placed in the foreground and reaching from the top to the bottom of the emblematic image is a tree with a nest where a bird is feeding its chicks. The motif of the bird and its chicks alludes to the notion of parental care, which is further enhanced by Flödnig's academic nickname *Der Sorgfältige* (*The Caring One*) and motto *Haec cura parentis* (*This is the care of the parent*).³⁹⁵ The serene landscape with the shepherd tending to his sheep can be viewed as a bucolic addition to the motif of care that completes the emblematic message both visually and textually.

From the perspective of animal iconography, it is unclear whether the bird in the nest is a generic representative of the avian class, or perhaps the academician and the painter had a specific species in mind that might affect our understanding of the emblem and its contextualization. However, not even close examination of the miniature with a magnifying glass provides a clue. Based on its anatomical traits, especially compared to various species of birds that Grachower realistically depicted for other academicians in the *Ljubljana Album*, it seems safe to exclude birds of prey, aquatic birds, the most distinctive bird species such as crows, magpies, and some smaller species of warblers. Considering the shape of its neck and head, its thick body, small wings, and short tail, the bird in Flödnig's emblematic image resembles most

Grachower's depictions of the dove, even though other emblems most often feature it as light-colored or white.³⁹⁶

Familiarity with emblem books is always useful when searching for answers, except that in this case, there is no need for time-consuming study: a quick flip through Hohberg's *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids* reveals that Grachower borrowed the emblematic image from Eimmart's engraving contained therein (fol. 78r). He improves the original composition artistically and by introducing a greater sense of movement. He achieves this by widening the river and by adding the dog walkers and



Emblem with a common wood pigeon, Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 78r.

the shepherd with his flock. Grachower enhances the emblematic character of the image by leaving out the tree that Eimmart placed on the left edge of the illustration and the ragged stump on the right. He thus guides the viewer's attention to the crown of the tree, which occupies the central axis of the miniature and constitutes the meaningful heart of the emblem. Despite the changes, there is no doubt that the landscape scene with the mansion was copied from Eimmart,

³⁹⁵ Gantar translates the motto as: "*This is the care of the father*" (Kastelic, 2001, 218). However, considering the context of European emblematics, the iconographic analysis has shown the translation "*This is the care of the parent*" to be more appropriate with primary emphasis on parental care, love, and sacrifice. The translation "care of the father" is all the more flawed, because the motto in emblem books refers specifically to the mother bird.

³⁹⁶ See, e.g., the emblems of Franz Carl von Hohenwart (TM, fol. 268r) and Count Jobst Corbinian Lichtenberg (TM, fol. 367r). In the latter, the color white is iconographically significant, with the dove embodying the Holy Spirit.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Carl Joseph Flödnig, 1740, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 296r.

alongside the tree with the nest and the bird feeding its four chicks. It is also impossible to overlook the precision with which the miniaturist of Flödning's entry page copied the image of an adult bird: its standing posture and tilting head, as well as the size and shape of its thick, small-winged body are almost identical to those featured in the engraved template. Although the bird in Hohberg's emblem is not referred to by name, its allegorical representation, ushered into emblematics by Alciato, enables its identification as the common wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus*).

Grachower, clearly not familiar with the wood pigeon from personal experience, diligently copied from the depiction in Hohberg's book, which also explains why the bird in Baron Flödning's emblem (unlike most other birds depicted in the *Dismas Chronicle*) is more difficult to identify. Alciato's emblem *Amor filiorum* (*Love of one's children* or *Parental love*) can already be encountered in the first edition of his *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg 1531, C3r).³⁹⁷ It features a female wood pigeon that may be considered the embodiment of parental love, devotion, and sacrifice, as the epigram states. Because, Alciato explains, the wood pigeon nests very early, its chicks are exposed to perilous cold winds and late snow. To protect her offspring, the mother plucks out her own feathers and cushions the nest with them. While she dies of cold, her chicks, nestled in warm feathers, survive the frost.³⁹⁸ The mo-

tif of the wood pigeon is quite popular in emblematics and can, among other sources, also be found in Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus* (I, 4, embl. 266; 284).

The *pictura* used by Alciato and most other authors who followed his example differs from the emblematic image in Hohberg's book and the *Dismas Chronicle*: here, the pigeon does not feed her young but sits in the nest and keeps her offspring warm, as described in the epigram. The act of plucking her feathers to build a nest with is visually not highlighted. The time of year—early spring—is indicated by depicting the tree³⁹⁹ with the nest still bare (when an emblematic image is designed as a panoramic view, all trees are depicted bare).⁴⁰⁰ Early modern naturalists, who related the story about the wood pigeon's early nesting as an emblematic curiosity and ultimately refuted it with their personal observations, caused a shift in emblematics: at the end of the seventeenth century there emerged illustrations that no longer featured a bare winter landscape but a spring one, with the tree already covered in foliage.⁴⁰¹

In terms of its basic composition, Grachower's emblematic image upholds the tradition of Alciato's emblem from editions featuring the *pictura* of a landscape with the tree in the foreground serving as an example embraced by many emblem illustrators.⁴⁰² Apart from that, Grachower, as already noted, copies directly from Eimmart's engraving, in which parental care is illustrated by using the motif of a mother pigeon feeding

397 Alciato and most other authors of emblem books referred to the wood pigeon as *palumbus* and occasionally simply by its generic name (Lat. *columba*), widely established in the Early Modern Period (but also in Antiquity and the Middle Ages) as a common term for pigeons, regardless of species.

398 "Ante diem vernam boreali cana palumbes,
Frigore nidificat, praecoqua & ova fovet.
Mollius & pulli ut iaceant sibi vellicat alas,
Quis nuda hyberno deficit ipsa gelu..."
Alciato sets the dove's motherly love and care as an example to people and concludes the epigram with a rhetorical question:
"... Ecquid Colchi pudet, vel te Procne improba mortem?
Cum volucris propriae proles amore subit?" (Alc., 1531, C3r).
Alciato freely summarizes the passage on the female wood pigeon that selflessly protects her chicks from cold after Alpheus of Mytilene (*Greek Anthology*, IX, 95) but translates the original Greek term "órnīs" (bird) into Latin as "palumbes." Pliny, too, writes about wood pigeons' care for their offspring (*Natural History*, X, 105–107) and, contrary to Alciato, maintains that the female nests no earlier than after the summer solstice. Extremely popular, the impactful image of the self-sacrificial mother took root in emblematics, even though it contradicted scientific facts. Although Gessner provides a

detailed (and accurate) description of wood pigeons' nesting behavior, he makes explicit mention of the emblematic tradition and Alciato's indication of the selfless female dove nesting early in spring and plucking her feathers out to protect her young (Gessn. 1555, Lib. III, 300–301). Alciato's emblem is also mentioned by Aldrovandi, who even provides the motto and the epigram (*Ornithologiae tomus alter*, 1687, Lib. XV, 495).

399 Instead of a tree, some early illustrations (Alciato's Paris editions before the mid-sixteenth century) feature cut reed, which usually symbolizes winter in European plant iconography.

400 See, e.g., *Emblematum liber*, Padua 1621, embl. 194; 824–825.

401 See the emblem with the motto *Ama, non clama* in the popular collection *Gedancken Muster und Anleitungen* by Johann Christoph Weigel (Nuremberg, ca. 1710, 5).

402 The version with the landscape scene first emerged in Alciato's *Emblemata*, published in Lyon in 1548, 156. Several later editions (e.g., *Liber Emblematum/Kunstabuch*, Frankfurt am Main 1567, fol. 50r) devoted increasing attention to landscape background.



Entry page of Baron Carl Joseph Flödnig, a detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

her chicks. Hohberg introduced a conceptual change in his book by grounding the emblems in psalms. The last line of Psalm 78, which Hohberg placed at the core of the emblematic message (*Und er weidete sie mit aller Treue, Ps 78:72*), speaks of God's love and care for the chosen people, and the metaphor also includes the motif of nourishing (grazing) them.⁴⁰³ Eimmart followed this shift in meaning and, departing from the established tradition, depicted a bird feeding its chicks in the nest. Due to the distinctly Christian allegorization, which also prevails in the emblems of the *Dismas Chronicle*, it is understandable that Hohberg's version was particularly favored by Flödnig.

In the context of iconographic multifacetedness characterizing the emblems in the *Theater of Memory*, Baron Flödnig's entry page inadvertently raises the question: Does the connection to Psalm 78 warrant a sound enough basis for understanding Grachower's shepherd as an allusion to the psalmist's words: "So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart"? Can, thus, the shepherd tending to his flock be viewed as an addition to the emblematic message rather than merely as part of a picturesque bucolic setting? Considering the imaginative design of the emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle* and clever cues they often hide, the answer is most likely affirmative.

403 In the King James Version of the Bible, the line reads: "So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart; and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands."

3.32 Entry Page of Leopold Ludwig von Hohenwart (TM, fol. 298r)

The emblematic cartouche of Leopold Ludwig von Hohenwart features an Alpine landscape scene, composed of a steep rocky mountain with two ibexes on the left and a valley with a river, a castle, and a tiny island with a church in the distance on the right.⁴⁰⁴ The landscape is illuminated by the sun with Christ's monogram IHS inscribed into it. The banner bears the motto *Nec temere nec timide* (Neither boldly nor fearfully or Neither hastily nor hesitantly),⁴⁰⁵ and the academic name *Providus* (The Provident One) is inserted below the cartouche. The iconography of the ibex, whose prominent position in the image clearly attests to its symbolic value, is of crucial importance for understanding the emblematic message. In Christianity, the ibex (steinbock or wild goat)⁴⁰⁶ figures as an established symbol of wisdom, reason, and prudence, as well as of steadfast faith and even Christ himself. Originating in the earliest redactions of the *Physiologus* (I, 41), such symbolic meanings further developed in subsequent Latin versions⁴⁰⁷ and

404 The author of the iconographic catalogue identifies the body of water at the foot of the mountains as Lake Bled with the island and the church. The catalogue presents the description of the image but no interpretation (Kastelic, 2001, 218). While the tiny island with the church may indeed resemble Bled, the identification is incorrect: a closer look reveals that the "lake" is in fact a river and that the landscape scene does not correspond to the panorama of Bled's surroundings.

405 Gantar translates the motto as "Neither boldly nor fearfully." The saying probably originates in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (II, 6), in which Aristotle speaks of the concept of true measure and states, among others, that a virtuous man acts neither hastily nor hesitantly but courageously. He stresses prudence and courage in terms of deliberation and discernment in decisions and actions. In European heraldry, where the motto is very popular, it also clearly serves as a warning against audacity, hastiness, frivolity, etc. on one hand and hesitancy and cowardice on the other. The same connotations can also be found in the iconography of the ibex, which is crucial for the correct understanding of Hohenwart's emblematic message.

406 The symbolism of the ibex or wild goat is highly complex and occasionally also linked to the domestic goat. In animal symbolism, the term 'wild goat' or 'steinbock' usually signifies the ibex (*Capra ibex*), even though the notion of the wild goat should be understood as a generalization, and illustrations sometimes make it clear that the writer/artist also referred to the chamois (*Rupicapra rupicapra*). In the Greek original of the *Physiologus*, the animal is named *dorkás*, while in several medieval bestiaries, these traits and symbolic connotations appear in modified versions in separate chapters on the wild goat (*Caprea*) and on the ibex (*Ibex*).

407 The Latin *Physiologus* B—the oldest preserved manuscript

bestiaries. They all share the motif of a wild goat or ibex that chooses to live in the mountains where it enjoys splendid views from above and can detect any danger from afar. This explains why the ibex allegorically represents God's wisdom, extolling the elevated planes of the mind, i.e., apostles and prophets. Its sharp-sightedness symbolizes a keen spirit and ability to discern between good and evil (Heck and Cordonnier, 2012, 212; Marino Ferro, 1996, 86–87). Such symbolic connotations were also adopted during the Renaissance period and added new meanings in emblematics. As an emblematic animal, the ibex also represents steadfastness and purity, which safeguards against transgression, as well as the wisdom of those who trust in God and fearlessly climb to the steepest pinnacles of the mind to come closest to Him.⁴⁰⁸ Furthermore, the ibex symbolizes the desire to achieve the highest virtue by taking the path that requires a great measure of prudence, courage, and discernment. During the Renaissance period, the motif became associated with the notion of a good ruler, prince, or military leader emulating these virtues. Typotius, for example, presents two emblems with an identical theme: the first one features an ibex standing on a high rocky cliff and taking in a panoramic view (III, 66), and the second shows an ibex (depicted as a steinbock or chamois) which, like the one in Hohenwart's emblematic image, is leaping over a precipice from one mountain peak to another (I, 119).⁴⁰⁹ On

from the tenth or early eleventh century is kept in the Vatican Library (Ms Palat. Lat. 1074, fols. 1–22)—devotes its Chapter 20 to the wild goat (*De caprea*), also using the Greek term *dorkás*. In addition to the traits listed above, it highlights their outstanding farsightedness and develops an interesting Christological iconography of the ibex by drawing on the *Song of Songs* and Psalm 137.

408 See, e.g., Picinelli, I, 5 embls. 161 and 162; 360, and emblem 17 in *Émblemes ou devises Chrétiennes* (Utrecht, 1697, 41). The symbolism of the ibex is most exhaustively presented in a separate chapter in the book of the *Accademia degli Occulti* in Brescia (Bartolommeo Arnigio, *Rime de gli Academici occulti con le loro imprese et discorsi*, Brescia 1568, 85–89).

409 The first emblem is designed based on the device of Gianfrancesco I of Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and the second one on the device of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, both featuring the same motto: *Ad nos laudis amor*. Nevertheless, in the first emblem, the ibex is depicted as the steinbock or Alpine ibex or and, in the second, it resembles a chamois, regardless that the author uses the same Latin term for both: *capreolus*. Typotius' emblems clearly demonstrate that the authors of emblem books abided by the medieval tradition and did not distinguish between the ibex and the chamois in terms of their symbolic meanings.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Leopold Ludwig von Hohenwart, 1740–1741, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 298r.



Entry page of Leopold Ludwig von Hohenwart, a detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

Hohenwart's entry page, the image of the ibexes amid mountain peaks blends seamlessly with the motto to form the emblematic message: to walk through life prudently, deliberately, and with a sense of moderation. Here, too, the ibex represents the academician, as is further confirmed through the connection to the heraldic representation, with the ibex horns serving as the main heraldic symbol on Hohenwart's coat of arms.

In terms of Picinelli's impact on the emblem iconography in the *Dismas Chronicle*, it is significant to note that he describes a similar emblem in his *Mundus Symbolicus* with the motto *Per inuia viam* (I. 5, embl. 177; 362), highlighting the ibex's remarkable skill of jumping from one rocky cliff to another over precipices and overhangs to find a way when there are no trails.⁴¹⁰ The allegorical explanation of the emblem adds that the ibex is guided by its trust in God and is the embodiment of a righteous man who firmly believes in Christ and follows his own path. The link between the emblem in Picinelli's encyclopedia and Hohenwart's emblem is undeniable: both ibexes on Grachower's image jump from one

mountain to another, raising their heads towards the sun representing Christ, as the inserted monogram IHS suggests. The motto *Nec temere nec timide* and the membership name *Providus*⁴¹¹ emphasize the virtue of prudence that guides man's venture along steep and treacherous paths.



Emblem of Baldwin II of Jerusalem, Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana, I*, Prague 1601–1603, 119.

⁴¹⁰ Picinelli is one of few emblem book authors who discuss the wild goat and the ibex in separate chapters. However, based on his descriptions of emblems, the division proves problematic from the iconographic perspective: in the emblems of both chapters, the traits and symbolic meanings of the wild goat and the ibex closely intertwine.

⁴¹¹ The Latin term *providus* signifies not only careful but also prudent, forethinking, and farsighted.

3.33 Entry Page of Count Wolf Engelbert Ignaz Auersperg (TM, fol. 306r)

Count Auersperg's open emblem offers a view of a coastal landscape with imposing ruins and four men standing in front of them wearing feather headdresses and short colorful skirts, aiming their bows at an eagle. Ascending towards the sun, the eagle is beyond the reach of their arrows, and the futility of their attempt is further evidenced by the motto on the banner that the king of birds holds in its claws: *Irrideo tela (I scorn the arrows)*. The image of the eagle's flight unsurpassed by arrows is rounded out by the count's academic nickname *Der Hochschwebende (The High Floating One)*.

The belief that the eagle can fly higher than any other bird was widely held among the Ancient Greeks and Romans, who regarded it, respectively, as Zeus's or Jupiter's sacred bird. According to Greco-Roman lore, the eagle soared above perilous lightning bolts and even carried them in its claws.⁴¹² In Christian exegesis, the motif of the eagle's lofty flight has always been endowed with allegorical meaning, which took root in St. Augustine's treatises. The bishop of Hippo set the Gospel of John apart from the other gospels by likening its intellectual complexity to the eagle's flight and thus establishing its spiritual superiority (*In Evangelium Joannis tractatus*, XXXVI, 5, PL 35, 1666). Both traditions converge in emblematics, where the motif is very common and replete with symbolic connotations. As in many other emblems, Grachower inserts the eye of God into the sun, linking the basic premise of Auersperg's emblem to the iconography of rebirth and resurrection in Christ, who is the Sun of Justice (*Christus sol iustitiae*). However, this time, the emblematic message accentuates the idea of transcending the woes and perils of this world: whoever

412 The earliest mention of the eagle in connection with Zeus and his lightning bolt is found in Pindar's *Pythian Ode* (I, 5–10) and repeatedly encountered in Roman poetry, e.g., Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X, 155), Horace's *Odes* (IV, 4), and Virgil's *Aeneid* (V, 252), as well as in Pliny's treatises (*Natural History*, X, 4). The most common visual realizations of the eagle clutching the lightning bolt appear on the Hellenistic coins of the Ptolemaic dynasty and on Roman coins. In Rome, the eagle with the lightning bolt was one of the most important state symbols featured on the banners of Roman legions, and it was also common in other contexts.

strives towards loftier goals finds refuge in God and is saved from evil.

The question that is yet to be answered is why the illustration of an eagle flying higher than arrows also includes the exotic motif of Native American archers, whom Kastelic refers to as "Indians" in the catalogue (2001, 222).⁴¹³ One would look in vain for such a representation in emblem books, where the images are confined to the simplified motif of an eagle flying out of arrows' reach. The key to understanding this iconographic puzzle can be found in an emblem in Jacob Bosch's book (III, embl. 1025) that conveys the idea of a noble statesman risen above slander and conspiracy. The copperplate engraving with an eagle and arrows is completed by the motto *Haud ullae potuere (None ever can)*, while a notation next to the emblem states that the motto was borrowed from Virgil. The words are in fact taken from a line in *Georgics*, where the poet mentions jungles in India where no arrow surmounts the height of treetops, no matter how skillfully the natives handle their bows.⁴¹⁴ The motif of an eagle flying higher than arrows in Bosch's book is therefore associated with India and Virgil's metaphor for the height of trees, whereas the *pictura*, underlined by the same conciseness in composition that marks most emblematic images in his collection, features only the most essential figural elements: an eagle in midflight and arrows beneath it.

Having the entire page at his disposal, Grachower complements the message of Auersperg's emblem with a vivid scene of Native American archers, presented as indigenous to India in Virgil's writing. The painter and academician would find artistic examples for the exotic

413 In early modern art and culture, archers wearing short skirts and feather crowns were typical representatives of Native Americans. The designation 'Indians,' which Kastelic uses in the catalogue, stems from Columbus's erroneous belief that he had discovered India. From the sixteenth century onwards, they appeared in allegorical scenes (especially as part of the iconography of the four continents), illustrated geography and history books, travelogues, etc. Starting with the first illustrated edition of Ripa's *Iconology*, the personification of America was traditionally depicted as a woman wearing a short skirt and a feather crown, with a bow and a quiver of arrows as her main attribute.

414 "*Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos, / Extremi sinus orbis: ubi aera vincere summum / Arboris haud ullae jactu potuere sagittae? / Et gens illa quidem sumits non tarda pharetris*" (*Georgics*, II, 122–125).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Count Wolf Engelbert Ignaz Auersperg, 1741, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 306r.

motif of “Indians” in various sources, from allegorical presentations of continents alongside the personification of America to illustrations in geographic atlases or historical accounts of the New World. Surely, these were also echoes of contemporary captivation with the Orient and exotic lands. It is safe to assume that they also indirectly allude to the classical interest in the wonders of the Orient as poetically reflected in Virgil’s verse.

The Turkish pasha sitting next to the cartouche and comfortably leaning against the overturned stone slab with the Auersperg family’s coat of arms carved into it is not directly included in the basic emblematic message. Nonetheless, this can be understood as an expression of the same enthusiasm for the exotic as reflected in the “Indians” fantastical garments. Vibrant Oriental motifs with male and female figures in typical Ottoman clothes also appear elsewhere in the *Ljubljana Album*, e.g., in the emblems of Baron Mark Anton Billichgrätz (TM, fol. 320r) and Baron Carl Leopold Rosetti (TM, fol. 357r). The figures clad in Ottoman attire belong to the fashionable phenomenon of the so-called Turqueries, which were very popular during that period throughout Europe and hence also in the territory of present-day Slovenia. Grachower repeatedly incorporated Oriental motifs into his compositions, and his captivation with the Orient is well documented. In his library, he kept at least two illustrated volumes on the Middle East that provided him with an abundance of scenes and exotic attires to draw inspiration from.⁴¹⁵ The Turkish pasha may be re-

garded as a clever allusion to the famous history of the academicians’ ancestors who fought against the Ottomans. A hundred years earlier, the latter still posed an imminent threat to Carniola and a major part of central Europe until they suffered a devastating defeat at the Battle of Sisak in 1593. The battle was decided by Andreas Auersperg, who shaped history with his bravery, and the Slovenian territories were no longer under the threat of Ottoman invasion, especially after the Turks redirected their military campaign further north, towards Vienna, the imperial capital.⁴¹⁶

415 According to Polonca Vrhunc, Grachower’s library also included the “O. Daper D.: *Beschreibung von Assia und Persien* and Giovanni Sagiedo: *Neu eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte*” (Vrhunc, 1970, 110). Grachower kept a German copy of *Asia, of naukeurige beschryving van het rijk des Grooten Mogols, en een groot gedeelte van Indiën: ... beneffens een volkome beschryving van geheel Persie, Georgie, Mengrelie...*, written by the Dutch author Olfert Dapper (Amsterdam 1672). The other book, translated into German and published in a single volume, was the work of two authors: Paul Rycout, *The History of Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (London 1680) and Giovanni Sagredo *Memorie Istoriche de’ Monarchi Ottomani* (Venice 1673). The German translations of both books were published under the title *Die neu-eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte: bestehend: erstlichen in einer grundrichtigen und aus eigener Erfahrung gezogenen Beschreibung deß gantzen Türckischen Staats- und Gottesdiensts übersetzt aus deß ... Herrn Ricaut in Englischer Sprach verfassten... Buch. Zweyten einer wolgefaßten Außführlichen Histori der vornehmsten Geschichten aller Ottomanischen Monarchen aus deß... Giovanni Sagredo italiänischer Beschreibung ...* (Augsburg 1694).

416 The Turkish threat to the Inner Austrian territories and the Western Balkans finally ended with the triumph of Prince Eugene of Savoy over the Ottoman army and the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Požarevac in 1718.

3.34 Entry Page of Count Jobst Weichard Anton Barbo (TM, fol. 308r)

The emblematic image of Count Jobst Weichard Anton Barbo features a landscape scene with a lion hunt unfolding in the foreground. The hunter holding a rifle on the right side of the *pictura* has one of his hounds on a leash, while the other one has engaged the mighty beast and is wounded, struggling to break free from the lion's grip. The lion, unafraid of its pursuers, proudly turns towards the hunter, assuming a nearly heraldic posture, highlighting its magnificence. The motto on the banner reads: *Otia sic inter dubiae discrimina sortis/ forti confusus robore tutus agit* (*Amidst the blows of deceptive fate, peace is granted to those/ who can safely rely on their strength*). Combined with the academic name *Der Unerschrockene* (*The Fearless One*), the emblem thus informs the viewer that the lion can rely on its strength to confront any danger calmly and with little effort. As the heraldic animal of the Barbo family, the lion also represents the academician as a proud and influential representative of the Carniolan high nobility. The emblem is completed by two personifications flanking the family coat of arms: the soldier symbolizes strength and courage, and the woman personifying Athena represents wisdom and prudence. The selected personifications mirror the personality and career of Count Barbo, who played an active part in political affairs, holding the offices of provincial councilor and commissioner, president of the commissioner's office, and councilor at the Carniolan government (Preinfalk, 2016, 32). The fact that the soldier holds a baton of command instead of a weapon can be interpreted as an allusion to the academician's position in the provincial government. The selection of the goddess associated with wisdom was also deliberate, pointing to his education and sophistication: Jobst Weichard was, among other things, the proud owner of one of the largest private libraries in Carniola, which on his death comprised almost six hundred titles (Preinfalk, 2016, 32).

Despite its seemingly straightforward iconography, the emblem deserves some extra attention. First, because it is one of those to which Kastelic adds a succinct but incorrect interpretation. The author of the iconographic catalogue symbolically equates the hunter to the academician, who chose for himself the nickname *The Fearless One*, and maintains that the "fight with

the lion in the emblem alludes to the fraternity name" (2001, 223). His explanation aligns neither with the established tradition of heraldic animals in emblematics nor with the decades-long practice of designing emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*. When an academician's heraldic animal is integrated into the emblematic image as the main bearer of the allegorical message, it almost without exception stands for the academician himself. There are few deviations from the rule; however, when they occur, they are iconographically justified and evident from the emblem design.⁴¹⁷

The second reason that calls for a more in-depth examination of Barbo's emblem is the potential presence of additional layers of meaning, as is characteristic of the emblems in the *Ljubljana Album*. While the basic interpretation of the emblem with the personifications flanking the count's coat of arms highlights the secular aspect, the message portraying the academician as a good Christian—both here and in the vast majority of other emblems in the *Dismas Chronicle*—is not immediately clear. Although the lion carries a wealth of symbolic meaning in Christological iconography, the scene of lion hunting, which is quite rare in European art, does not automatically lead to associations with Christian narratives. According to the latest findings, the motif, which was prevalent in the art of ancient high civilizations, is in fact considerably older than previously thought.⁴¹⁸ It was popular in Greco-Roman art and appeared less frequently after the collapse of the Roman Empire. During the Middle Ages, lions were valuable beasts that European sovereigns kept in their menageries. After their import increased in the Renaissance, the wealthiest owners used them for games, animal fights, and arranged hunt scenes which placed lions at risk of being harmed or

417 One such example in the *Ljubljana Album* is the emblem of Baron Christoph Ottheim (TM, fol. 270r), in which the angler, who has just caught a fish, is symbolically identified as the academician who commissioned the emblem. The identification is unambiguously confirmed by Ottheim's membership name (*The Fisherman*) and the inscription added next to the angler: "Learn from your mistakes." Here, the otter swimming in the river with a fish in its mouth is primarily presented as a heraldic animal moved into the emblematic image and complementing its message. See the interpretation of the emblem on p. 183.

418 According to the latest discoveries of rock paintings at Shuwaymis and Jubbah, Saudi Arabia, which presumably date to ca. 6000 BC, the motif of a lion hunt with hounds is significantly older in visual art and appears as early as in the Neolithic (Guagnin, 2018, 225–236).



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Count Jobst Weichard Anton Barbo, 1742, Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 308r.



Lion hunt, Rochester Bestiary, 1225–1250, British Library, Ms Royal 12 F XIII, fol. 3v.

killed. In early modern art, the motif of lion hunt was primarily revived by imitating examples from ancient monuments and ultimately underwent liberal, sometimes genre-based reproductions.

Due to its visual appeal, the motif even made its way into handicrafts, most notably on the famous seventeenth-century Delft ceramic tiles.⁴¹⁹ While proving possible Christian connotations on tiles without inscriptions may be challenging, there are a few interesting examples in emblematics that clearly convey Christological content.

⁴¹⁹ Perhaps, it was precisely the Delft ceramics that inspired Count Barbo's unusual emblematic image, rendered exclusively in the palette of blue and white. Emblems on ceramic tiles were not rare and were used to create humorous decorative interior furnishings. One of the best-known examples is the room in Wrisbergholzen Castle (ca. 1750), with its walls completely covered in ceramic tiles depicting emblematic scenes. The motifs for 680 tiles, taken from different emblem books, were painted by Johann Christoph Haase. See: Köhler, 1988.

Such emblems draw on the iconography of the king of the beasts, which originated in the *Physiologus* and regularly appeared in medieval bestiaries as well as numerous other accounts. It was the so-called “primary nature” of the lion (*prima natura leonis*), its behavioral quality, which served Christian writers as an interesting allegorical explanation of Christ's embodiment and His role as the Savior. The lion escapes hunters by obliterating its traces with its tail. The author of the *Physiologus* associates its behavior with Christ, whom he refers to as the “spiritual lion” (*spiritualis leo*): just as the lion erases its tracks, so did Christ cover all traces of his divinity and by the will of God the Father incarnated himself in the Virgin Mary. As not even the Devil would recognize him, Christ sacrificed himself to atone for mankind and returned to heaven, still unrecognizable, causing angel choirs to wonder: “Who is this King of Glory?” (Phys. I, 1–2).⁴²⁰ By summarizing the ques-

⁴²⁰ See the entire chapter on the lion (Zucker, 2005, 53–60).



Entry page of Count Jobst Weichard Anton Barbo, a detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

tion after the psalmist (Ps 23:8), the author of the *Physiologus* establishes an explicit link between the lion and the Savior. In some bestiaries, the scene is illustrated as a lion hunt in which the hunter walks or rides on horseback with a spear in his hand, while his hounds charge at the lion, which pays them no attention.

The pursuit of the lion transforms into a vivid medieval conception of a lion hunt, in which the formidable beast, described as the representation of Christ, maintains its poise as the king of the beasts. In the *Rochester Bestiary* (1225–1250, British Library, Ms Royal 12 F XIII, fol. 3v), the miniature is positioned so that the key passage from the psalm is featured just above it: “*Quis est iste rex gloriæ?*”

In emblematics, the Christological iconography of the lion, based on the tradition of the above-cited passage from the *Physiologus*, often translates into a comparison with a courageous, just, and graceful sovereign or reflects the notion of a Christian soldier. In the emblem with the motto *Impavidum ferient* (I, 5, embl. 481; 401), Picinelli uses the image of a lion ignoring its hunters as a symbolic representation of a just and upright man who boldly rises to the most daunting challenges, a lion-hearted man who remains

firm, even as the entire world threatens to collapse on him.⁴²¹ The author specifically highlights the motif of justice, invoking the words of Solomon: “*Iustus quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit*” (Prov 28:1).⁴²² In his allegorical interpretation of the emblem, Picinelli combines secular and religious iconography, with the king of the beasts representing a fearless man and good Christian who has nothing to fear. It is probably only in this light that one can fully comprehend the deeper meaning of the emblem that Count Jobst Weichard Barbo, *The Fearless One*, “bold as a lion,” commissioned for the *Ljubljana Album*.

421 *Imperterritum homininis animum Leonis emblemate adumbrabis, quis lanceis ac sagittis impetitus, epigraphen ex Horatio sus tinct: impavidum ferient* (Pic. embl. 481). Picinelli quotes Horace’s lines, from which the motto is taken: “*Iustum et tenacem propositi virum non civium ardor prava iubentium, non voltus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida neque Auster, dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae, nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis: si fractus inlabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae*” (Carmina, III, 3, 1–7).

422 The entire line in the Vulgate reads: “*Fugit impius nemine per sequente, justus autem, quasi leo confidens, absque terrore erit*” (“The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous are bold as a lion.”).

3.35 Entry Page of Baron Anton Thadäus Johann Nepomuk Taufferer (TM, fol. 327r)

In Baron Taufferer's emblematic image, Grachower presents a realistic landscape scene near Višnja Gora with the meandering Višnjica River directing the viewer's gaze further towards the Višnje mansion (Ger. *Weichselbach* or *Weixelbach*) as depicted in Valvasor's *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain*.⁴²³ In the foreground is an ibex, wounded by an arrow and grazing an indistinct herb. The banner above the cartouche encasing the emblematic image features the chosen motto: *In vulnera quaero medelam* (*I seek a cure for wounds*), and the academician's symbolic identification as the wounded ibex is further enhanced by his membership name: *Der Verletzte* (*The Wounded One*).

The motif of a wounded ibex that heals itself with a medicinal herb is well represented in European animal iconography. It is mentioned in many classical writings, including those of Aristotle, who maintained that the wild Cretan goat or Cretan ibex (*Capra aegagrus cretica*), wounded by an arrow, sought the healing herb *diktamnus* (a type of wild marjoram, *Origanum dictamnus*) and cured itself completely with it (*History of Animals*, IX, 6). Pliny echoed Aristotle's assertion, only that he ascribed the same self-healing ability to the stag, and his interpretation was reiterated by other late classical and medieval writers. The herb was believed to possess magical healing properties: not only would it cure the wound, but it would also extract the arrow from the animal's body.⁴²⁴ After classical au-

thors stressed the animal's wisdom of healing itself, Christian iconography endowed it with additional allegorical meaning by portraying the ibex or wild goat as a good and prudent Christian (often also a preacher), struck by the arrows of sin, who can find a cure in Christ.⁴²⁵

The wounded ibex appears in both heraldry and emblematics,⁴²⁶ although quite rarely in emblem books.⁴²⁷ The stag is more commonly represented in emblematics than the ibex, particularly its ability to cure itself with wild marjoram described by ancient writers and medieval bestiaries.⁴²⁸ The motto *Hinc vulnus, salus et umbra* (I, 5, embl. 216; 368) in Picinelli's compendium, a source most frequently consulted by the Ljubljana academicians, mentions a stag rather than an ibex.⁴²⁹ Of crucial importance for understanding the genesis of Taufferer's emblem is that Hohberg's book contains

423 *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain*, XI, 627. The Turn seigniorship was in the hands of the Taufferer family from 1664 onward, after it was purchased by Baron Michael Taufferer. At the end of the nineteenth century, the mansion passed into the hands of the Barons Codelli and became known as Codelli Mansion. The building was burned down during World War II.

424 Pliny adds that the herb only grew on Crete and was also used by wounded stags (*Natural History*, VIII, 41; XXV, 92). The power of wild marjoram to extract an arrow from the wound was reported on by many ancient and medieval writers: Dioscorides (*De Materia Medica*, III, 34), Plutarch (*On the Intelligence of Animals, Moralia*, XII, 959A–985C), Cicero (*On the Nature of the Gods*, II, 50), and Ambrose (*Hexaemeron*, XI, 26). The story was repeated by early modern naturalists, e.g., Conrad Gessner in his book on mammals (*Historiae animalium liber I, De Quadrupedibus viviparis*, Zurich 1551, 322–323), and Aldrovandi in his book on ungulates (*Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia*, Frankfurt 1647, 302).

425 See: *Aberdeene Bestiary* (University of Aberdeen, Univ. Lib., Ms 24, fol. 14v) and *Ashmole Bestiary* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Ashmole 1511, fol. 20v).

426 E.g., the coat of arms of Count Ferdinand II of Carafa, Duke of Nocera, and Count of Soriano. See: Palliser, 1870, 66. An identical motif appears in the emblem which, expanded with the motto *Vulnus, salus et umbra*, Girolamo Ruscelli dedicated to Count Ferdinand Carafa in his book on impresas (*Le impresse illustri*, 1584, 179).

427 Among the most popular emblem books containing the emblem with the wounded ibex, mention should also be made of *Symbola et Emblemata* by Joachim Camerarius. His emblem features a similar image and a motto identical to Ruscelli's, with the added epigram *Ejicit e caprae dictamnus vulnere telum./ Sic fugat ex animo spesque slausque metum*. The explanation speaks of spiritual healing in terms of triumphant hope expelling all fear from the heart (Cam. II, 1605, embl. 69).

428 In Pliny (*Natural History*, XXV, 52), Solinus (*Polyhistor*, XIX, 15), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies*, XVII, 9), Alexander Neckam (*On the Natures of Things*, II, 136), and others. The reason why the story about the healing power of *diktamnus* features an ibex and a stag is of a linguistic nature: Aristotle, who mentioned the story first, referred to the Cretan ibex using the Greek term *dorkás*, which covers a broad spectrum of animals from the wild goat, ibex, stag, or even antelope. Because Pliny translated the term as 'stag,' confusion continued well into the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period until it was resolved by natural science: both Gessner and Aldrovandi explained the misunderstanding, agreeing that Aristotle referred to the Cretan ibex or wild goat.

429 A wounded stag chewing wild marjoram also appears in the collection of Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), except that it highlights the motif of love for which there is no cure. The motto (*Nullis medicabilis herbis*) and verse of the epigram state that the wounded stag can cure its wound with a healing herb, but there is no cure for a man struck by Cupid's arrow.



Simon Thadeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Anton Thadäus Johann Nepomuk Taufferer, 1749, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 327r.



Entry page of Baron Anton Thadäus Johann Nepomuk Taufferer, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

an emblem displaying a wounded ibex and an identical motto (fol. 51r). The *pictura* of Hohberg's emblem appealed to the learned baron so much that he asked Grachower to reproduce it with only slight alterations. The master partially reshaped the landscape scene with the meandering stream by making it look like the panorama of the Višnjica River valley with the academician's Turn mansion in the background. The wounded ibex is depicted in a lifelike manner, and it is safe to assume that Grachower was familiar with the emblematic animal of the Julian Alps from his personal experience.

The reason why Taufferer chose an ibex for his emblem is clear: as the coat of arms in the center of the miniature reveals, it was the heraldic animal of the Taufferer family. In keeping with the medieval tradition, Hohberg's allegorical commentary on the story

about the wounded ibex says that man finds the true remedy for the wounds of sin in God.⁴³⁰ This confirms the interpretation of Taufferer's emblem, which can be summarized by stating that a wise man finds in faith the remedy for all wounds inflicted by life.

The illustration of Taufferer's entry page includes two female allegorical figures and a nude boy in the foreground, calling for their interpretation in the context of the emblematic message. The woman holding the scales in her left hand and a sword in her right personifies justice, whereas the woman drawing with a compass on a sheet of paper on a lectern probably represents science, more specifically, geography.

430 "Cretica venantum si sentit capra,
Dictamnum, vulnus quo medicetur, edit:
si quoties peccatum animos crudelibus ausis
susciat, in solo est vera medela Deo" (Hohb., fol. 51r).



Emblem with a wounded ibex, Wolfgang Helnhard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 51r.

The identification of the second allegorical figure is supported by the motif of a boy sitting on the floor with an unfolded map in front of him and holding a compass in his right hand. As may be gathered from the cartographic marking, it is the map of the Duchy of Carniola with a precise internal division, defined by the labels: INNER CRAIN, MITTER CRAIN, OBER CRAIN, and UNTER CRAIN.⁴³¹ The allegorical significance of the boy on the entry page is illustrated by his nudity. His inquisitive glance towards the woman at the lectern and the fact that both hold a compass clearly links him to the personification of geography. The personification of justice fits perfectly in the emblematic message, especially considering that

⁴³¹ Judging from its appearance, Grachower must have designed the map by drawing on *Tabula Ducatus Carnioliae, Vindorum Marchiae et Histriae*, the map of the Duchy of Carniola, the Windic March and Istria, published ca. 1720 in Nuremberg by Johann Baptist Homann. Confirming this is, first and foremost, the accurately copied internal division of Carniola presented in different colors. Although he may have been familiar with Johann Florianschitsch's famous geographic chart *Ducatus Carnioliae Tabula Chorographica* from 1744, his most likely source was that of Homann.

fairness is the key virtue in searching for a remedy for life's trials and the salvation of the soul. The allegorical depiction of geography and the prominent placement of the map of Carniola may signify the academician's deep ties with his native land⁴³² as well as his desire to glorify it, as was characteristic of many Carniolan intellectuals from Johann Ludwig Schönleben and Johann Weikhard Valvasor to numerous Ljubljana *Operosi* and members of the Dismas Society. In addition, the academician apparently wanted to draw attention to his own importance by stating the name of Višnja Gora (Ger. *Weixelburg*) in much larger letters than any other place name on the map of Carniola. Taufferer's highlighted lordship on the map and the illustration of his estate with the mansion in the emblematic cartouche confirm that the *pictura* of the emblem and the allegorical motif at the bottom of the illuminated page are well aligned, as goes for most entry pages in the Ljubljana *Theatrum Memoriae*.

⁴³² Anton Thadäus Taufferer held an important position in the administration of Carniola and endeavored for the establishment of a public scholarly library, following the initiative of Anton Thomas Lienhardt in 1784. See: Gspan, 2013.

3.36 Entry Page of Baron Ferdinand Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 337r)

The emblematic image of Ferdinand Apfaltrer centers on an apple tree full of ripe apples that also litter the ground. Beneath the tree is a hedgehog carrying apples to its hole. The scene further presents an idyllic landscape with a farmstead on the left and a lake in the background surrounded by rolling hills, one occupied by a small castle. The motto on the banner reads:



Entry page of Baron Ferdinand Apfaltrer, detail of the emblematic image with the motto.

Venturo tempori (*To the future*), and the membership name *Der Vorsehende* (*The Prescient One*) is written below the baron's coat of arms. The image, motto, and academic nickname form the allegorical message: Apfaltrer introduces himself as a prudent man with the foresight of a diligent hedgehog preparing for winter scarcity by stocking its underground hole with the fall's harvest. This idea is further supported by the personifications of Prudence (*Prudentia*) and Abundance (*Abundantia*) next to the cartouche with the details of his admittance to the academic association.

Since Antiquity, the hedgehog carrying different kinds of fruit (most commonly grapes) on its spines symbolized foresight, wisdom, and diligence. The description of a hedgehog collecting food for winter appeared in the writings of various authors, the most important for further iconographic development being Pliny, who also listed other examples testifying to its intelligence (*Natural History*, VIII, 56).⁴³³ Conversely, the fruit-foraging hedgehog would, especially in medieval iconography, also possess distinctly negative conno-

tations that stemmed from different versions of the story about the hedgehog in certain redactions of the *Physiologus*.⁴³⁴ However, in the Early Modern Period,

⁴³³ Pliny further describes the hedgehog's skillful techniques of defending itself against natural enemies and humans, adding its ability to foresee a change in weather as well as open or close the entrances to its den accordingly. The hedgehog's intelligence was also discussed by Plutarch (*On the Intelligence of Animals, Moralia*, XII, 971F–972A) and Aelian (*On the Characteristics of Animals*, III, 10; IV, 17 and 24; VI, 54).

⁴³⁴ In individual versions of the *Physiologus* and most medieval bestiaries, the hedgehog represents the Devil stealing grapes



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Ferdinand Apfaltrer, 1752, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 337r.

positive symbolic interpretations prevailed once more, especially in emblematics. The image of a hedgehog laden with fruit is quite rare in emblem books, and when it does appear, it is most often depicted as carrying grapes. Baron Apfaltrer's decision to choose apples for his emblem is quite understandable: they allude to his family name (*der Apfel* signifies 'apple' in German), and the apple tree represents the heraldic tree of the Apfaltrer family. The fact that the apple tree and/or apples is/are also included in the illustrated entry pages of other members of this noble family indisputably confirms the heraldic value of the apple tree and apples on the hedgehog's back.⁴³⁵

It is worth noting that *Mundus Symbolicus*, a very popular source among the Ljubljana academicians, contains an emblem with a hedgehog carrying apples on its spines.⁴³⁶ Even more significant is the description of another emblem featuring a hedgehog, in this case laden with fruit, which Picinelli does not specify and the motto: *Venturi providus aevi* (Pic., I, 5, embl. 379; 387). The message of the emblem in the *Dismas Chronicle* is almost identical, making it highly likely that the baron was familiar with Picinelli's collection of emblems.⁴³⁷

On the other hand, it is safe to say that the Carniolan scholar (like many of his peers before him) drew inspiration for the emblem from Hohberg's *Lust- und Artzeney--Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids*:

from the vineyard of a good Christian, hence robbing a man of spiritual fruit. Such an explanation probably stems Biblical portrayal of the hedgehog as an unclean animal, associated with the image of God's wrath and the destruction of Babylon. According to prophet Isaiah in the Vulgate, God said "*et ponam eam in possessionem ericii, et in paludes aquarum, et scopabo eam in scopis terens*" (Is 14:23).

435 See the emblems of Wolf Herbart Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 193r), Johann Siegfried Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 211r), Joseph Leopold Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 291r), Sigmund Ferdinand Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 232r), and Johann Ignaz Apfaltrer (TM, fol. 304r).

436 The image belongs to emblem 430, displaying the motto *Nil deferet intro* and a hedgehog as the bearer of negative symbolic meaning. The illustration is included in the original edition of Picinelli's book from 1653 (I, 5, 198) and early editions before 1681. Apfaltrer was probably unfamiliar with it, given that the Ljubljana academicians used Picinelli's subsequent Latin editions that did not contain the image.

437 The baron's motto could be viewed as a witty play on words that was highly popular among scholars during that period: Apfaltrer's *Venturo tempori* is synonymous to *Venturi aevi*, and his membership name (*Providus*) literally completes the motto of the emblem, described in Picinelli's book: *Venturi providus aevi*.

folio 67r features a print almost identical to the image that Grachower painted for Apfaltrer, and the same succinct motto *Venturo tempori*.⁴³⁸ While the compositional changes are minor and iconographically inconsequential, the question remains whether Apfaltrer's emblem still incorporates traces of distinctly Christian allegorization, which characterized Hohberg's epigram. The latter directly associates the bounties of nature with the grace and magnanimity of God.⁴³⁹ It is impossible to determine whether Apfaltrer's emblem can be interpreted as holding undeniably Christian symbolism. Yet as a theologian and priest, it seems



Emblem with a hedgehog, Wolfgang Helmbard von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 67r.

safe to assume that he regarded such a view favorably and probably also wove it into his emblem.

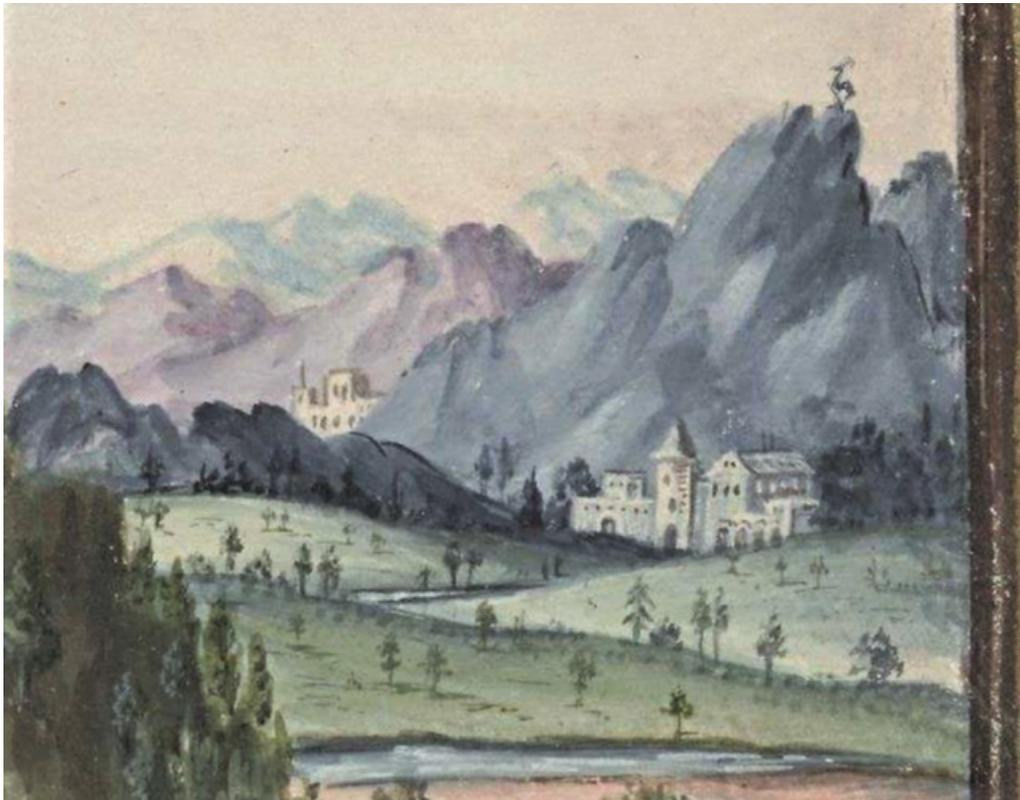
438 The succinctness of the emblematic message, summarized in no more than two words, was apparently so appealing that it was even included in a short chapter on emblems in Johann Georg Schiebel's widely distributed book *Neu-erbauetes erbauliches Historisches Lust-Hauß*. Interestingly, Schiebel spoke of a hedgehog collecting apples on its spines below an apple tree—just like a hedgehog that Grachower depicted for Apfaltrer's emblem: "*Ein Igel unter einen Apfel-Baume der auf seinen Stacheln die Abgefallenen Apfel eintraeget ist ein Sinnbild der haushaltigen Vorsorge nach eingefuegte Abschrift: Venturo tempori*" (Johann Georg Schiebel, *Neu-erbauetes erbauliches Historisches Lust-Hauß*, Leipzig 1679, 313). Schiebel also compiled the well-known book of emblems *Neu-erbaueter Schausaal*..., Nuremberg 1684.

439 "*Ceu gravidâ autumnno sibi poma sub arbore quaerit Hericius, brumâ ut possit habere cibum: Sic tu dona Dei quae pleno florida cornu fert tellus, parcâ prome, reconde manu*" (Hohb., fol. 67r).

3.37 Entry Page of Count Paul Alois Auersperg (TM, fol. 347r)

The open emblem of Count Paul Alois Auersperg features a picturesque valley with a winding stream and mountains in the background. In the foreground is depicted a personification of strength (*Fortitudo*) with the broken pillar next to the cartouche containing the academician's name and details regarding his membership in the association. The banner extending from Strength's left arm to the top of the cartouche displays the count's membership nickname: *Der unerschrocken Standhafte* (*The Fearlessly Steadfast One*). In the meadow by the stream, three large dogs growl at a bull which faces them without fear, standing firm and holding its head high. With its right leg slightly raised, the bull's posture is identical to that of the heraldic aurochs in the Auersperg family's coat of arms. On the opposite side of the stream, near the left edge

holding two infants in her lap. Placed prominently in front of them is the coat of arms of the Counts of Auersperg. In the upper right corner of the illustration, a *putto* flies through the air holding a banner with the words of the psalmist: "*Multa flagella peccatoris, sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit*" (Many are the sorrows of the sinner, but mercy shall surround him that hopeth in the Lord).⁴⁴⁰ The motto starting in the top left corner of the illustration reads: *Vulnerare nequeunt* (*They cannot wound*). The scene with the dogs growling at the bull, coupled with the count's motto and membership name, conveys a clear emblematic message: the fearless count is undaunted by his attackers; he proudly stands up to them and no harm can come to him—not only because of his courage highlighted by Strength in the foreground but also, and above all, because he lives a life of virtue governed by Faith, Hope, and Love. The fact that trust in God and steadfast faith are the fortitudes that



Entry page of Count Paul Alois Auersperg, a detail with an ibex on a mountaintop.

of the illustration, three theological virtues are seated, accompanied by their distinctive attributes Faith with a cross and chalice, Hope with an anchor, and Love

⁴⁴⁰ In the King James Version, the line reads: "Many sorrows shall be to the wicked:/ but he that trusteth in the Lord,/ mercy shall compass him about" (Ps 32:10).



Simon Thaddeus Grachowier, Entry page of Count Paul Alois Auersperg, 1755, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 347r.



Emblem of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga I, Marquis of Mantua, Jacobus Typotius, Symbola Divina et Humana, III, Prague 1601–1603, 66.

protect Paul Alois Auersperg from harm is confirmed by the inscription in the *putto's* hands. In iconographic terms, the emblem is an original creation in that it innovatively incorporates the count's heraldic animal into its visual narrative as well as by presenting the scene of dogs charging at a bull, which was otherwise unfamiliar to Renaissance and Baroque emblematics.

Apart from the main motif centered on the bull and the dogs, there is yet another animal visible far in the background, where the mountains soar towards the sky: it is a tiny ibex standing on mountaintop. Despite its miniscule appearance, it is quite sizeable considering the distance and hence so prominent that it was clearly inserted there after careful consideration. As noted in the chapter discussing the link between emblematics and heraldry, the ibex bears symbolic meanings that fit well into Count Auersperg's emblematic message. Its disproportionate size and distinctly heraldic posture command attention and equally significant is its placement in the right corner of the miniature below the genius with the inscription

regarding the importance of maintaining trust in God. In Christian iconography, an ibex standing on a mountain peak symbolizes the excellence of spirit, reason, and trust, as addressed in Psalm 32. Because these symbolic meanings easily weave themselves into the emblematic message concerning Paul Alois Auersperg's courage and steadfast faith, the link between the tiny detail and the central iconographic motif is sufficiently clear. Moreover, in Renaissance emblematics, the motif of an ibex standing on a high cliff blended with the notion of a virtuous and courageous prince who fears no danger and aspires to emulate the most commendable virtues. In interpreting the meaning of the ibex on Count Auersperg's entry page, the emblem of Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, presented by Jacobus Typotius in his book *Symbola Divina et Humana* (II, 66), offers an interesting example with an ibex standing on top of a cliff in the same heraldic position, accompanied with the motto *Ad nos laudis amor*.

3.38 Entry Page of Count Franz Adam Lamberg (TM, fol. 349r)

In addition to the usual cartouche with entry details, the open emblem that Grachower designed for Count Franz Adam Lamberg features a pyramid-shaped obelisk in the foreground, painted from an angular perspective and thus only revealing two of its sides. Standing next to the obelisk are two *putti*: the one on the right wraps an olive wreath around the obelisk, and the one on the left points towards the coat of arms of the Counts of Lamberg, which also graces one of the stone monument's visible sides. The adjacent surface features an oval medal with the inscription *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat, qui custodit eam* (*Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain*”; Ps 127:1). Above the *putto* pointing to Lamberg's coat of arms is the banner stating: *Caelo custode securi* (*With the sky, that faithful guard*). In the upper section of the miniature, separated from the central part by a decorative Rococo frame, a gunner on the left aims at an imposing fortified city set on an elevation in the upper right corner. A cannon ball has just been fired at a bastion built of ashlar and left unscathed by artillery fire. Testifying to its formidable strength is the inscription on the wall: *Nec titubare nec recedere* (*No hesitation, no retreat*), beneath which runs the banner with Lamberg's membership name *Der Festentschlossene* (*The Firmly Decided One*). Bearing in mind the count's academic nickname, the inscription on the fortress ought to be understood as his chosen motto, despite its departure from the usual practice of displaying the motto on the banner. Conversely, although the saying at the bottom of the miniature adheres to the said principle, its role cannot be determined unambiguously: it does not appear as an emblematic motto because, at least at first glance, it does not correspond to the selected nickname.

In the central segment of the emblem, occupying most of the entry page, Grachower presents an idyllic landscape with a small stream winding through a valley, with grasslands extending on either side. The meadow on the left borders a forest, and the pastures on the right extend across the slopes, occupied by a shepherd's cottage, a sheep barn, and a sheepfold. In the distance, a white castle gleams against a picturesque backdrop of high mountains. Despite its

remoteness, the castle complex is rendered with such precision that the viewer can easily recognize it as one of the Lambergs' estates: Kamen (Ger. *Stain*) Castle near Begunje, as it was during the days of Johann Weikhard Valvasor. Adding to the bucolic image is the portrayal of a young shepherd dozing peacefully while his flock grazes near the river and on the hill-sides. However, the pastoral bliss can swiftly take a tragic turn, as the sheepdog is barking fiercely at a pack of wolves emerging from the forest, threatening to slaughter the sheep. In the same instant, a storm approaches the shepherd's cottage, with thunderbolts ripping through dark clouds and large snowflakes falling from the sky. All the while, the round-faced shepherd boy in fine clothes, white stockings, and gentleman's shoes remains completely oblivious to the world around him.

What makes the emblem stand out in terms of animal iconography is its original take on the motif of a guard dog protecting sheep from wolves. The symbolism of a shepherd dog is quite straightforward, regardless of whether it appears as part of profane or religious iconography: it stands for watchfulness, vigilance, courage, and safety. In profane iconography, the listed meanings allegorically relate to the notion of caring for the vulnerable and protecting the helpless, or to the idea of a good ruler or thoughtful stewardship. In Christian tradition, a sheepdog most often represents a priest or preacher safeguarding believers from the ruin that the Devil and demonic forces bring on mankind. Such interpretations were popularized during the Middle Ages with ardent support from the Church, especially Dominican preachers, who likened themselves to watch dogs—in fact, even the name of their religious order (Lat. *dominicani*) was allegorically interpreted as *canes Domini*, the dogs of God. The motif of sheepdogs protecting their flock from wolves is equally prevalent in emblematics, where they are depicted not only as growling at the wolves but often also as boldly attacking them. Hohberg's work offers a fine example: the emblematic image on fol. 70 features a dramatic scene in which a shepherd and his sheepdog confront a pack of wolves. The allegorical explanation in the epigram adheres to the classical tradition of the wolf representing the Devil, while the shepherd and his canine friend stand for God's help and deliverance from suffering. The lines invoke the



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Count Franz Adam Lamberg, 1756, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 349r.



Entry page of Count Franz Adam Lamberg, detail with Kamen Castle in the background.

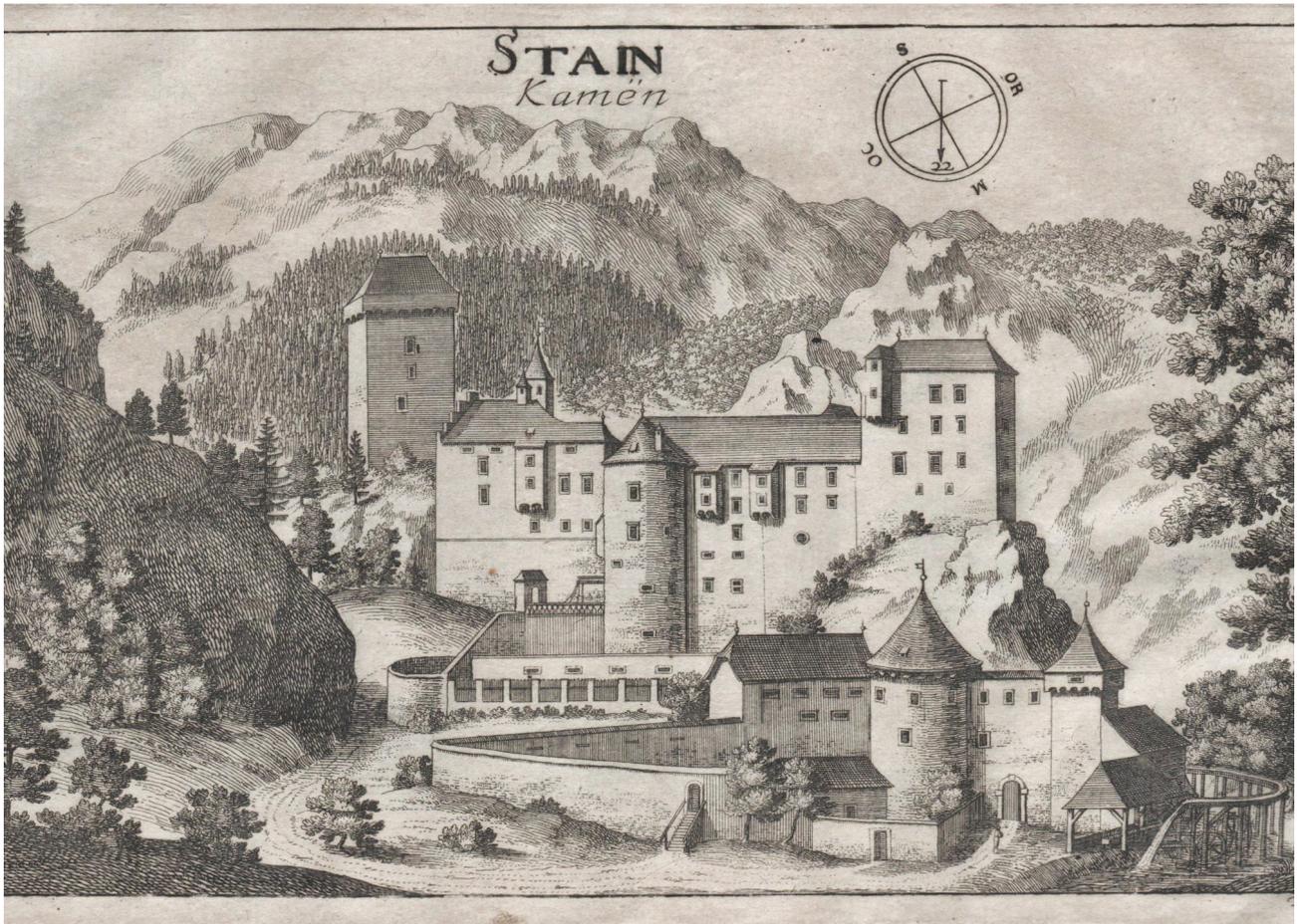
psalmist's plea in the introduction to Psalm 70: "Make haste, o God,/ to deliver me; make haste to help me, o Lord" (Ps 70:1).

The scene with the black greyhound in Count Lamberg's emblem calling attention to the wolf threat follows the established iconographic patterns.

Although the young master remains sound asleep, the sheepdog continues to bark and refuses to back down in face of the wolves. While the beasts are markedly oversized, the dog resembles an elegant greyhound with a golden collar, rather than one of sheep herding breeds common in Europe. The painter's idea was to emphasize the allegorical aspect of the unfolding event, most notably by portraying the shepherd not even being woken by his dog's loud barking. Of key importance for understanding the emblematic message, the scene clearly alludes to the

academician's membership name *The Firmly Decided One* and the motto *No hesitation, no retreat*: the relentless guard dog embodies the academician, who "neither hesitates nor retreats." In line with the established allegorization in the *Dismas Chronicle*, this interpretation is supported by the fact that the black greyhound with the golden collar is Lamberg's heraldic animal. This is further stressed by the *putto* standing next to the obelisk and pointing to the count's escutcheon.

This, however, is only part of the message that Count Lamberg's carefully designed emblem conveys. The keys to a full understanding of it are the sleeping shepherd, the saying *With the sky, that faithful guard*, and the inscription in the medal gracing the obelisk, which states that the guard keeps watch in vain if God does not protect the town. The message, seemingly



Kamen Castle, Johann Weikhard Valvasor, Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain, XI, Nuremberg 1689, 549.

contradicting the first part of the iconographic interpretation, may seem confusing to the modern viewer: What good will so much emphasis on watchfulness, determination, and perseverance do to ward off danger if God is the only true protector and all our efforts *sub speciae eternitatis* may therefore be in vain? The question would never have been raised by the creators of the *Ljubljana Album* and its readership. In their world, there was no such opposition because the belief that God is the only true protector and savior does not relieve mankind of its responsibility or absolve it from doing all in its power. Franz Adam Lamberg, a representative of one of the most prominent families in eighteenth-century Carniola and its provincial governor, presents himself as a man of resolve and integrity, who fulfills his tasks conscientiously and with full awareness that, without firmly believing in God's help, his efforts would be fruitless and left to the capriciousness of fate.

When considering the question of the count's academic motto from this perspective, it becomes clear that the wording on the banner next to the obelisk bears equal importance for the understanding of the emblematic message as the saying on the fortress wall. These are two distinct but complementary sayings that combine into a topically rounded off academic motto. The same idea can also be encountered in some other emblems in the United Academicians' album.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ See the emblems of Franz Carl Hohenwart (TM, fol. 268r), Mark Anton Billichgrätz (TM, fol. 320r), Carl Lamberg (TM, fol. 345r), and Joseph Leopold Rastern (TM, fol. 353r).

3.39 Entry Page of Johann Thomas von Garzarolli (TM, fol. 355r)

The emblematic image of Johann Thomas von Garzarolli is encased in a lavish Rococo cartouche displaying a banner with the motto *Intus timor, foris pugnae* (*Fear inside, strife outside*) on the upper edge and a banner on the lower edge with his membership name: *Der Verfeindete* (*The Loathed One*). This time, Grachower presents a landscape scene with a river and a small manor on the right and a tree on the left positioned behind a wooden fence in the foreground. On one of the fence posts sits an owl being attacked by a flock of agitated smaller birds.

The motif of an owl attacked by various birds in the middle of the day is quite common in emblematics. It dates to Antiquity and is rooted in accounts based on naturalist observations. An owl that, for whatever reason, happens to be out in the open during the day, is indeed frequently attacked by other birds that want to chase it away.⁴⁴² The allegorical evolution of this motif largely rests on the connection of naturalist observation to one of the interpretations of Aesop's fable about a wise owl mocked by stupid birds that refuse to heed its advice.⁴⁴³ To illustrate the relation between the orator and his audience that often fails to comprehend his words of wisdom, Dio Chrysostom cites the above-mentioned fable in his *Orationes* (72, 14–16) and links it to the motif of a trapped owl used as bait by bird catchers. The author thus creates

an image that established itself in visual art, taking on different allegorical meanings in different contexts. The common thread that invariably remains is the failure to appreciate wisdom or sound advice, often coupled with ridicule or envy. An example of particular interest to research on the development of emblems is the Roman mosaic at the baths of Thysdrus (present-day El Djem, Tunisia), displaying a so-called proto-emblematic design. In other words, the image is accompanied by a brief motto, in which small birds, ignored by the owl, are presented as invidious characters destroyed by their own envy.⁴⁴⁴

The image of an owl pecked at by smaller birds also appears in medieval art, especially bestiaries, where, by contrast, it usually represents blind nonbelievers, Jews, and heretics scolded and persecuted by good Christians.⁴⁴⁵ Although this is the prevailing interpretation, a diametrically opposed explanation also emerged in the Middle Ages, likening the owl among smaller birds to Christ among Jews or pharisees. This interpretation, coming much closer to the classical tradition by endowing the owl with positive attributes, rests on the *Physiologus*, in which the owl represents Christ (I, 5).⁴⁴⁶ In the *Physiologus* and bestiaries adopting its interpretation, the bird is called *nycticorax*, very likely signifying the barn owl.⁴⁴⁷

442 The birds do not actually attack the owl but fly around it in an agitated manner, darting towards it, and making loud screeching sounds. They try to chase it away to eliminate its threat as a predator. There are documented cases of an owl attacked during the day by larger species of birds, such as ravens, crows, or birds of prey. According to Aristotle (*History of Animals*, IX, 1), the ancients used an owl as bait to catch the birds attacking it. Both classical and medieval authors wrote about the animosity that smaller birds felt towards owls and about the practice of catching birds with the use of a captured owl. The same practice was also mentioned by early modern zoologists. On the iconographic development of the motif, see especially: Zenkert, 2017.

443 The fable speaks of an owl that admonishes smaller birds not to let a tiny oak shoot grow into a tree but destroy it immediately. When the oak grows big, the owl warns, mistletoe will attach to it, from which man will extract birdlime and catch them all. The birds do not believe the owl and mock it. Only when its predictions become true and many birds turn into bird catchers' prey, they finally realize that the owl was right all along (Perry, 437).

444 The original notation next to the image reads: *Invidia rumpuntur aves neque noctua curat* (*The birds are bursting with envy, and the owl does not care*). The mosaic from the late third century is kept in the El Djem Archaeological Museum.

445 The owl usually appears in bestiaries with the Latin name *noctua* or *nycticorax*. The labels *bubo* and *strix* are somewhat rarer. Isidore of Seville strictly distinguished among these designations and wrote about four species of owl (*Etymologies* XII, 7, 39–42); however, most bestiaries do not differentiate among them or do not use uniform definitions of species. In bestiaries, the owl, regardless of the species, is frequently the bearer of a predominantly negative symbolic message. But when the differences among owl species are determined, the owl referred to as *bubo* has, almost without exception, an ominous connotation, while *nycticorax* can possess a positive symbolic value and represent Christ. See: Miyazaki, 2013, 32.

446 Zucker, 2005, 75–77.

447 Although *nycticorax* is also mentioned in the Bible (Ps 101:7), scholars have yet to agree on the specific type of bird it supposedly represents. In modern ornithology, *nycticorax* signifies night heron (also night raven or black-crowned night heron, Lat. *Nycticorax nycticorax*), characterized by its nocturnal feeding habits and crow-like croaking sounds. However, as its medieval depictions reveal, it is most probably the barn owl (*Tyto alba*) rather than the night heron. Its identification as a barn owl is also more likely from the iconographic point



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Johann Thomas von Garzarolli, 1758, *Theatrum Memoriae*, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 355r.

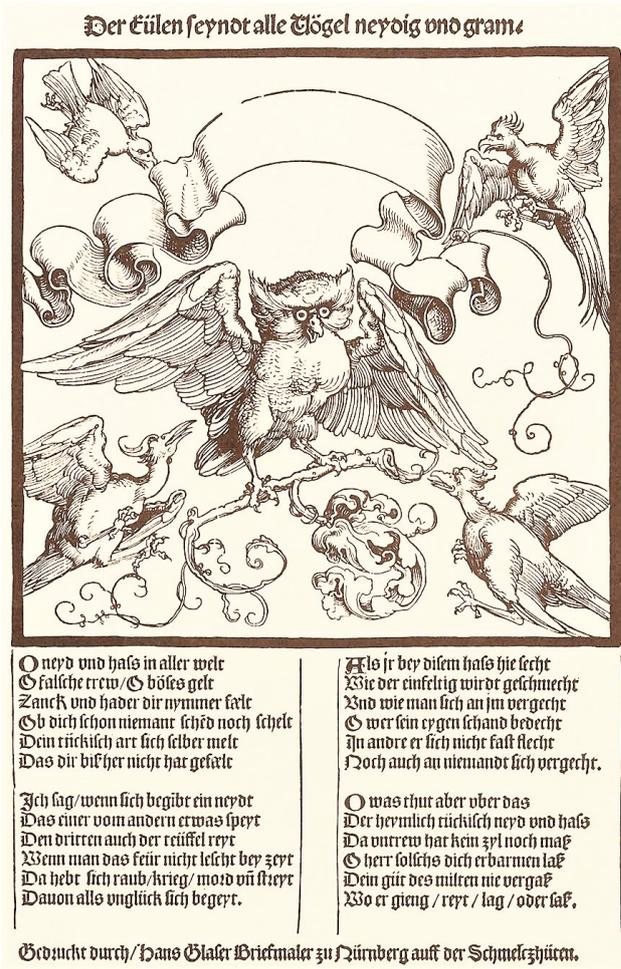
In early modern art, the owl reclaims its positive symbolic value as the sacred bird of Athena and as the representation of wisdom, shrewdness, and clairvoyance. As a result, it is also in the motif of the owl attacked by smaller birds that its symbolic value once again becomes aligned with the original message of Aesop's fable and the above-mentioned Dio's interpretation. Numerous new editions of Aesop's fables and Dio Chrysostom's repeatedly printed *Orationes* were undoubtedly important stepping stones in this development (Zenkert, 2017, 561). Growing increasingly common, visual depictions of an owl attacked by smaller birds appear in various contexts—from illustrations of fables and sayings to paintings in natural historical accounts and independent visual depictions or decorative additions. The depictions of this scene even feature on playing cards.⁴⁴⁸ A woodcut believed to have been based on the model of Albrecht Dürer or his workshop provides an informative insight into how the motif developed in Renaissance and Baroque emblematics.⁴⁴⁹ However, the graphic sheet also resembles the emblem in terms of formal design: the image of the owl surrounded by agitated birds is accompanied by the motto *Der Eülen seyndt alle Vögel neydig und gram* (*All birds envy the owl and torture it*), which is further explained in verse about envy and enmity as the causes of all human suffering.

While the meaning of the emblematic motif varies depending on the accompanying motto and epigram, it usually alludes to the idea of patience and life wisdom, as the owl calmly endures the torment, without making any attempt to defend itself. The owl invariably possesses a positive connotation by representing an experienced

of view, as medieval writers interpreted it as a representation of Christ, due to the bright or predominantly white color of its feathers, symbolizing purity and light. The Christological interpretation, relatively rare in the Middle Ages, persisted into the Early Modern Period. One of the finest examples is Joris Hoefnagel's illustration in the model book of calligraphy by Georg Bocskey, accompanying the story of Jesus among the pharisees (*Schriftmusterbuch*, text 1561–1562, illustrations 1594–1598, Museum of Fine Arts, Vienna, inv. 975, fol. 20).

448 A deck of cards dated 1435–1455 (National Library of France, Picture Collection) contains a card featuring seven birds engaging in the above-mentioned scene. See: Tesnière, 2005, 78.

449 A separate folio with the woodcut illustration and text was printed by Hans Glaser in Nuremberg in 1540. See: Strauss, 1980, 514–515 and 617.



Albrecht Dürer's workshop, *An owl attacked by birds*, separate graphic sheet, Hans Glaser, Nuremberg 1540.



Patience, Christoph Murer, *XL Emblemata Miscella Nova*, Zurich 1622, emblem 14.

and wise man, an intellectual or artist,⁴⁵⁰ whose virtues make him the target of criticism and mockery, but he demonstrates spiritual strength by patiently withstanding them. This connotation is most directly expressed in Christoph Murer's emblem *Patientia*, which features a personification of patience, with an owl next to it, sitting on a staff and ignoring the mobbing birds (*XL Emblemata Miscella Nova*, Zurich 1622, embl. 14).⁴⁵¹

Garzarolli's emblem draws directly on Hohberg's work, in which folio 56r features an emblem with a motto identical to the one chosen by the new member of the Dismas Society and a very similar image. Hohberg links the content of the emblem to Psalm 56, stating: "Every day they wrest my words: all their thoughts are against me for evil" (Ps 56:5). In his allegorical interpretation, the author equates the patient owl to the church mocked by evildoers. Grachower freely modifies Eimmart's engraving by preserving the central part of the composition with the owl and birds flying around it but changing the surrounding landscape. Thus he omits the house on the left, while adding a mansion and significantly changing the landscape on the right.



Emblem with an owl, Wolfgang Helmhart von Hohberg, Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids, Regensburg 1675, fol. 56r.

450 The owl as an emblematic motif also intersected with art: in one of his emblems, Joannes Sambucus (*Emblemata*, Antwerp 1566, 223) used the motif of an owl harassed by smaller birds and completed it with the motto *Ignari artes oderunt. Noctua (The ignorant hate arts. Owl).*

451 See also: Vignau-Wilberg, 1982.

Considering the Biblical context of the motto, the emblem of Johann Thomas von Garzarolli can be understood as a representation of patiently enduring trials, afflictions, and fears with unwavering trust in God as well as his love and help.



Entry page of Johann Thomas von Garzarolli, detail of the emblematic image with the motto and membership name.

Such an interpretation is supported by two iconographic elements of the miniature in the *Dismas Chronicle*: first, the fact that the owl in the emblematic image is also the baron's heraldic animal, strongly emphasized on the entry page, where it graces not only the escutcheon but the crest as well. The owl in the emblem undoubtedly represents Garzarolli himself, a seasoned man who endures afflictions with steadfast faith and wisdom. The message is reinforced by two personifications flanking the baron's coat of arms: Athena (whose sacred bird and permanent attribute is the owl), representing wisdom and the personification of God's love (*Caritas*), which, coupled with the inscription *Amore Timore (With love, with fear)* primarily emphasizes that God's love enters the soul as fear and love.⁴⁵²

452 Thus St. Bernard of Clairvaux already wrote in his *Liber de modo bene vivendi, ad sororem*, IV, ch. "De timore Dei." Bernard's reflections were succinctly summarized by Louis of Granada in his popular work *Memorial de la vida christiana*, translated into many European languages: "Dos pies, dize san Bernardo, que tiene Dios, el uno de temor, y el otro del amor: y quando el quiere entrar en un anima, primero suele poner el pie del temor, y despues el del amor: y quanto es mayor el temor que precede, tanto suele ser mayor el amor, que despues se sigue" (*Memorial de la vida Christiana* . . ., Salamanca, 1573, vol. I, 150). According to information currently available, Slovenian public libraries have preserved no fewer than six editions of this book or Louis of Granada's collected works.

3.40 Entry Page of Count Carl Auersperg (TM, fol. 359r)

Count Carl Auersperg's entry page displaying an open emblem is as imaginative as the one that Paul Alois Auersperg (TM, fol. 347r) commissioned a few years before him. Here, too, a formidable bull or, more precisely, aurochs is the central protagonist, except that it is being attacked by a lion rather than a pack of dogs. The confrontation unfolds on a hillside: the aurochs charges at the lion, keeping its head lowered and leaping from the top of the hill. In the sky, right beneath the upper edge of the miniature and slightly to the right, is a golden crown in a cloud of light and to the left a *putto* pointing at it with his left hand. The gesture is compositionally and textually enhanced by the banner extending towards the crown, stating: *Pro corona (For the crown)*.⁴⁵³ In the foreground, in the left corner of the illumination is the cartouche with the academican's name, honorary titles, and the date of his joining the Dismas Society. Standing on the right side are a soldier in Antique-looking battle dress and a woman, recognizable by her attributes as the embodiment of Justice (*Iustitia*). Behind them is the Auersperg coat of arms in a monumental stone cartouche with the banner displaying the academican's membership name—*Der Streitende (The Militant One)*. In his raised right hand, the soldier holds a sword and in his left a shield with the depiction of the sun crossed by a sword and a palm branch. Along the edge of the shield runs the inscription: *Huius ad exemplum (Emulating his example)*. Items arranged on the ground include a cannon, cannonballs, a powder keg, kettledrums, a drum, banners, and a helmet topped with a headdress.

The man in the foreground, standing next to the personification of Justice, represents Honor, particularly military honor, bravery and chivalry, one of the most popular personifications, to which Cesare Ripa dedicates close attention in his *Iconology*. Under the motto *Honore*, Ripa describes four versions, all depicting the image of a young or mature man in a purple coat and/

or military gear, while his attributes may vary.⁴⁵⁴ The notion of honor described by Ripa originates in Ancient Rome, where it was highly regarded and venerated as the deity *Honos*. *Honos* was worshipped especially among soldiers and officers, although he also had an important role in the Roman state iconography, often appearing together with *Virtus*, the goddess of heroism, bravery, noble manliness, etc. Due to their similar meanings and roles, the deities were usually worshipped in a joint temple.⁴⁵⁵ Their inseparable connection is also highlighted by Cesare Ripa, who, drawing on the Roman tradition, stressed that the only way to enter the temple of Honor was through the temple of *Virtue*.⁴⁵⁶

While the personification of Honor is a well-established motif in early modern art, the variations that Ripa presents as the alternative version (type B)—a soldier with a shield, spear, and palm wreath or branch—can also be found in emblematics. In Latin emblem books, *Honos* generally preserves the original spelling of the name and is traditionally depicted next to *Virtus*. Nonetheless, due to their close correlation, the two virtues are often conflated to the degree that only *Virtus* is mentioned in the emblem title. Sometimes, like in the emblem *Praemium virtutis honos* of Jean-Jacques Boissard,⁴⁵⁷ *Honos* and *Virtus* are joined

454 See: Ripa, Padua 1611, chapter "Honore" (four versions, A–D), 218–219.

455 *Honos* belongs to the category of Roman deities that emerged from the glorification of moral and ethical values, related to the ideas of military valor, heroism, honor, dignity, chivalry, justice (especially in terms of fair and honorable fight), military glory, and sound reputation. The oldest temple of *Honos* in Rome is documented in the third century BC. Although *Honos* was venerated as an independent deity, the temples were usually dedicated to him in tandem with *Virtus*. The two deities complemented each other, and the ancient Romans naturally associated one with the other, as is also apparent from the development of their cult. In Antiquity, there were several variations to their visual representation, and it is worth noting that *Virtus*, albeit a female deity, could also be depicted as a warrior. See: Bieber, 1945, 25–45; Schaffner, 1998, 713.

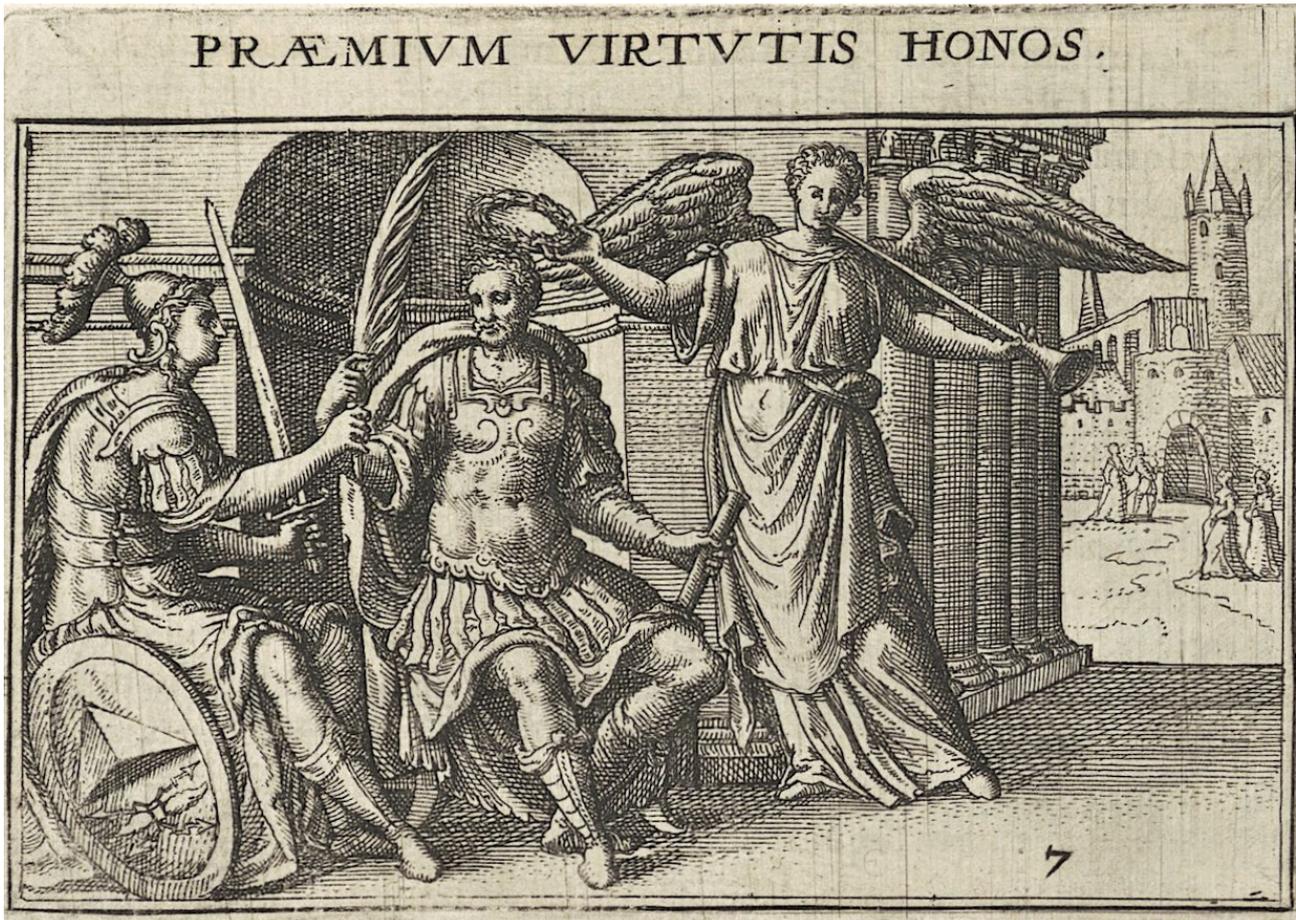
456 "...E perche nel Tempio dell'Honore non si poteva entrare, se non per lo Tempio della Vertù, s'impara che quello solamente è vero honore, il quale nasce dala Virtù" (Ripa, Padua 1611, 219).

457 The motto is probably taken from Cicero: "*Cum honos sit praemium virtutis...*" (Brutus, 281). However, the same thought can also be found in Cicero's letter to Lucius Munatius Plancus, the governor of Gaul: "*Quare, sit modo aliqua res publica, in qua honos elucere possit, omnibus, mihi crede, amplissimis honoribus abundabis; is autem, qui vere appellari potest honos, non invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuae virtutis est praemium*" (Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* X, 10. 2).

453 In the catalogue, the term *corona* is translated as a wreath (Kastelic, 2001, 247); however, because the entry page displays a crown, the term 'crown' is a more appropriate translation. This solution seems even more appropriate by alluding to the academican's high noble status, because the depicted crown is identical to the count's coronet in the Auersperg's coat of arms.



Simon Thaddeus Grachower, *Entry page of Count Carl Auersperg, 1759*,
Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 359r.



Personification of military honor with the motto "Praemium virtutis honos," Jean-Jacques Boissard, Emblematum liber, Frankfurt am Main 1593, emblem VII.

by the personification of Glory (Lat. *Fama*). Boissard's emblematic image features *Honos* in battle dress, holding a shield and a marshal's baton, as well as receiving the palm branch of triumph from *Virtus*, while *Fama* places a laurel wreath on his head. The epigram and the prose interpretation expand the meaning of *Honos*, endowing it with the universal value of honor, virtue, and dignity.⁴⁵⁸

In depicting the personification of Honor, Grachower draws on the Roman soldier, using the attributes of the shield, the helmet, the sword, and the palm branch. The shield, held between *Honos* and *Iustitia*, figures prominently in the composition. The sun, the palm branch, and the sword depicted on its polished surface make it the core of the allegorical meaning of the group in the foreground and give it a central

458 "Laudatos quoties sapiens admittit honores,
Praemia virtuti debita iure petit.
Nutrit honos artes, & virtus crescit honore:
Laudibus & dignum fit sine honore nihil"
(Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblematum liber*, Frankfurt am Main 1593, emblem VII). Due to its emphasis on moral and ethical virtues, Boissard's book was widely distributed and frequently reprinted. Valvasor also had a copy in his library (BV 314). The personification of Glory, along with *Honos* and *Virtus* can also be found in monumental painting. A particularly fine example is Guercino's ceiling painting in Villa Boncompagni Ludovisi in Rome (Casino dell'Aurora, 1621), to which he further added the personification of the

Love of Virtue (*Amor di Virtù*) in the form of a *putto* with a golden crown and a wreath in his hands. It should be noted that, although directly drawing from the Roman tradition, Ripa understood *Virtus* in the broader sense of the term, i.e., as a human virtue (or a set of virtues), rather than as a predominantly masculine virtue of heroism and bravery. In his *Iconology*, he devotes more attention to the concept of virtue (*Virtù*) than the notion of honor and presents several different personifications of Virtue, which he defines in detail (Ripa, Padua, 1611, 537–542). Due to the tremendous influence that the *Iconology* had on artists and commissioners, Virtue is predominantly depicted as a woman in Renaissance and Baroque art.

role in the emblematic message. Symbolizing triumph (the palm branch and the sword) and justice (the sun), the shield complements the ideal of military honor based on classical ancient values. The motif displayed on the shield has its roots in the same historical milieu as *Honos*: the deity *Sol invictus* (The Invincible Sun) was particularly venerated in the Roman army and retained its popularity during the late period of the empire. In 274 AD, Emperor Aurelian even declared the worship of the Invincible Sun as a state cult. For the connection with the Christian tradition, it is important to note that the Invincible Sun was ardently worshipped by Constantine the Great, who signed an edict of tolerance and embraced the Christian faith before his death. The fourth century witnessed an intensive iconographic fusion between the representation of the ancient sun deity and Christ, referred to in early Christian writings as the Sun of Justice (*Sol iustitiae*), the New Sun (*Sol novus*), and the True Sun (*Sol verus*).⁴⁵⁹ The notion of the Invincible Sun, closely associated with the imperial cult in Ancient Rome, persisted through Christian transformations in sovereign iconography during the Medieval and Early Modern Periods. It achieved its greatest level of sophistication in the seventeenth century at the court of Louis XIV, the Sun King, who purposefully built his cult of an absolute monarch on the ancient concept of a just and triumphant emperor. The motif of an ideal sovereign (one of major themes in early modern didactic literature) naturally blended with the notion of an ideal Christian soldier, also attaining notable representation in emblematics, where it became closely associated with the symbolism of the sun.

In Grachower's rendition, the ancient ideal of military honor personified by *Honos* is based on established iconography and slightly modified according to the academician's wishes. Rather than appearing alongside *Virtus*, *Honos* is portrayed standing next to the

⁴⁵⁹ Although Theodosius I prohibited the cult of the Invincible Sun in 389 and declared Christianity as the sole state religion, its popularity persisted for a long time to come. In visual art, the blending of classical and Christian traditions is expressed, among other things, by depicting Christ as Helios driving a quadriga or as a beardless Christ with golden locks and radiant face resembling that of Apollo. Christ as the New Sun, the Sun of Justice, and the True Sun merges with the ancient conception of the Invincible Sun and becomes the embodiment of all the key aspects of Christological solar iconography. See especially: Wallraff, 2001.

personification of Justice. Their powerful interaction is symbolically enhanced by the sun shield, which unites them both visually and in terms of meaning. Count Carl Auersperg, the hereditary provincial marshal and chamberlain in Carniola and Windic March, clearly wanted to highlight justice as the virtue inseparably connected to his honor and public activity. In iconographic terms, the change did not lead to a significant shift from the classical tradition, because *Honos* was already associated with justice in Ancient Rome.

The central scene of the bull and the lion is an original take on the depiction of the heraldic aurochs fighting off its attackers on the entry page of Paul Alois Auersperg, although here it is depicted engaging a much more formidable opponent. Given that the heraldic aurochs of the Counts of Auersperg represents the academician, it clearly possesses a positive symbolic value in the emblem, even though the historical overview of the motif shows that the epic clash is usually won by the lion.

The confrontation between the lion and the bull is an ancient representation that can be traced as far back as Sumerian art (the oldest monuments being signet rings dated to the third millennium BC) and later to various Middle Eastern civilizations. In European iconography, it is relatively uncommon and usually encountered in Greek and Roman art. It has been preserved in two basic forms: featuring the lion's victory over the bull or as a battle of two equals. The scene of the two beasts clashing is hardly ever featured in emblematics. In terms of the impact that the compendium *Mundus Symbolicus* had on the *Dismas Chronicle*, it is therefore even more significant to note that it contains the emblem with the motto *His securus*, in which the bull is attributed positive symbolic traits (Pic., I, 5, embl. 644; 424). According to the interpretation of the emblematic image, the bull successfully fends off any attacker with its magnificent horns, which symbolize power and wealth, while the bull represents a courageous man who serves his homeland with all his wealth and might.

It is therefore precisely in the context of emblematics that the key iconographic elements on Carl Auersperg's entry page combine to form an integral emblematic message. The chosen motto *For the crown* speaks to the allegorical value of the confrontation,

whereas the heraldic aurochs and the academician's membership name (*The Militant One*) reveal that the count will use all his power to defend his country and take on even the most daunting opponent for the glory that belongs to the winner. *Honos* and *Iustitia* in the foreground of the illumination state that the noble academician's actions are guided by honor and justice. The shield with the sun, the palm branch, and the sword probably acts like the attribute of Honor, while also alluding to the ideal of a virtuous and just prince. Such an interpretation is most clearly confirmed by the inscription *Emulating his example* lining the edge of the shield.

With a carefully designed composition, Grachower visually accentuates all the essential bearers of the allegorical message while cleverly determining the outcome of the titanic clash: the mighty aurochs charging from top of the hill holds the advantage. The crown in the sky is on its side, as are Honor and Justice. Even the sword in *Iustitia's* hands points towards the bull and her weaponry is arranged to form a whole with the symbolically relevant shield held by both personifications.

3.41 Entry Page of Baron Franz Rudolph Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 369r)

Baron Wolkensperg's entry presents a full-page open emblem featuring a mountain landscape with the highest mountain peaks piercing a thin veil of clouds. On one of the peaks is an eyrie with an eaglet, and somewhat closer to the viewer, an adult eagle is depicted flying away from the nest. High in the sky, a ring of clouds encases the sun with the eye of God drawn into it, indicating its Christian symbolism. Above the eaglet spreading its wings in the nest and raising its head towards sunlight, the motto is written in a straight line leading towards the sun: *Auxilium de coelo* (*Help from the sky*). In the foreground of the miniature, two women identified by their attributes as the personifications of Justice and Glory stand next to the academician's coat of arms and the cartouche with his entry details. Glory, shown particularly prominently, holds a wide banner with the baron's membership name: *Der Verlassene und doch Beglückte* (*The Deserted but Nevertheless Fortunate One*).

The image, the motto, and the academic nickname present an original take on the motif of an eaglet learning to fly. In Grachower's miniature, the parent has already flown from the nest, providing an example to its offspring. However, the chick does not follow, as one would expect based on the established type of visual realizations in emblematics.⁴⁶⁰ "Abandoned" in the nest, it raises its head towards the sun, as if asking for help from above. The painter emphasizes this visually and substantively by depicting the parent as it distances itself from the nest, thus heightening the dramatic suspense. Moreover, he inserts the inscription in a way that allows him to establish a compositional connection between the chick and the sun. The viewer can easily understand that the eaglet, not brave enough to follow its parent, is about to receive confidence from God and is going to soar in the skies any moment now. It is interesting to note that Johann Ludwig Schönleben, in his already mentioned interpretation of the allegory about the eagle teaching its

offspring to fly, explicitly emphasizes "help from the sky," the love and grace of God, which elevates the spirit. It also speaks of encouragement and empowerment, citing passages from St. Bernard's Sermon on the Ascension of Christ and the sermon on the same topic written by his disciple Abbot Gueric d'Igny.⁴⁶¹

Baron Wolkensperg's emblem centers on trust in God, who lovingly cares for his "children," encourages them, and shows them the way. The personifications in the foreground complete the image conveying that the path to eternal glory is paved by justice and love of the truth. Such an understanding of the emblematic message is confirmed by the position of the personifications and the way they are depicted: Justice, man's guiding principle in life, leans against the baron's coat of arms, fixing her gaze on it, while Glory looks towards the sky, where the banner with the membership name stretches out. The fact that the figure is barefoot, dressed in a simple white robe and standing on an earthly sphere reveals that it represents not an ordinary idea of glory but the Christian embodiment of eternal glory. As in the emblem of his father, Franz Anton Wolkensperg (TM, fol. 229r), the cloud-covered mountain peaks allude to the family name, and equally indisputable is the link between the Wolkenspergs' heraldic eagle and the eagle featured as the central motif in the emblematic image.

⁴⁶⁰ Kastelic adds that the eagle is descending on prey in the valley (2001, 252), even though there is no iconographic basis for such an interpretation and no parallel in emblematics in general.

⁴⁶¹ The sermon repeats the phrase "*sursum corda*," which regularly appears in Christian liturgy (Schönleben, 1670, 11). Christian writers most often use the expression in their sermons in the context of empowering believers with courage.



Auxilium de Cælo

Der Verlassene und
Doch beglückte.

Franz Rudolph
Freyherr von Wol-
kensperg, kaysl. königl.
Land Rath in Crain
einverleibt den 10. May
Anno 1760.

Simon Thaddeus Grachower, Entry page of Baron Franz Rudolph Wolkenberg, 1760, *Theatrum Memoriae, ARS, Ljubljana, AS 1073, I/1, fol. 369r.*

Summary

The *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum* or the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas* (Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, AS 1073, Zbirka rokopisov, I/1) is an invaluable Baroque manuscript book most famous for its hand-painted emblems created for the members of the Noble Society of St Dismas or the *Academici Uniti*, as they called themselves. The manuscript was inaugurated in 1688 as an academic memorial book for the fellows of the first Carniolan academy (*Academia Unitorum*), who thus followed the example of some famous Italian Renaissance academies. The individual entries with personal emblems were painted by several miniaturists, whose work on the manuscript spans more than a hundred years (1689–1801) and the result of their skill is one of the most lavishly decorated academic memorial books of the Early Modern Period. Due to the variety and originality of its emblems, the *Ljubljana Theatrum Memoriae* is also an exclusive and exceptionally interesting emblem book.

The illuminated entries designed for the members of the St Dismas Society not only represent a unique group of quite sophisticated emblems, but also form a sort of picture gallery offering a valuable overview of painting in Carniola from the late Renaissance and early Baroque style to high Baroque and Rococo. The folios of the *Ljubljana Album* reflect the Carniolan cultural milieu and the changes in artistic taste of the United Academicians over the course of decades. At the same time, they show the miniaturists' great inventiveness in the creation of evocative images which express the message of personal emblems in the most adequate way. In accordance with the tradition of academic memorial books, the ideal concept and the basic form of personal emblems were pre-determined by more or less strictly applied academic rules. In case of the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas* these were also specified by the model examples devised by Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, the first secretary of the St Dismas Society and its *spiritus agens*. His sketch book (preserved in the Ljubljana Seminary Library) is of vital importance for the understanding of the genesis of the *Theatrum Memoriae*. Nevertheless, the

variety of imaginatively painted pages in the *Ljubljana Album* show that the members quite often opted for new designs and concepts proposed by miniaturists who proved to be well versed in the art of emblems.

Due to the fact that it is the first academic memorial book in Carniola, and due to its emblematic character, the manuscript is of great value as a document of Ljubljana's cultural climate in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, showing the many faceted intellectual horizons of the *Academici Uniti* as well as their specific interest in emblems. The *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas* is not unique, as was generally accepted in the past, because it is so different from other academic memorial books created in the Early Modern Period. Its uniqueness is rather the result of the resourcefulness of the United Academicians (and the miniaturists who worked for them), who were obviously familiar with many Renaissance and Baroque emblem books. They read them not only for pleasure but also to find inspiration while devising their own emblems. It is true that sometimes they simply adopted an emblem which they had found particularly interesting and in tune with their own ideas. However, they usually followed only the basic structure of the chosen emblem or its *pictura*, making various visual as well as textual changes in line with their personal likes, interests, social position, etc. Also, the existing emblems quite often served solely as a stimulus or encouragement to create a new, original emblem.

Although the present research focuses on the iconography of animals in the emblems of the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas*, it nevertheless addresses several other aspects of this unique book of emblems. Among other things, the study tries to answer some open questions regarding the ideals and ambitions of the first Carniolan academicians as initiators of the prestigious hand-painted memorial book. It is also a first attempt to contextualize the manuscript in the framework of early modern emblem book production in Europe, and to identify possible sources for its concept, as well as potential models for members' personal emblems.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part the origin of the *Theatrum Memoriae* is outlined, together with a short description of the manuscript book and its characteristics, its illuminations, and the typology of emblems. There is also a brief report on provenance and the present state of the manuscript. Some possible prototypes for the *Ljubljana Album* are also identified. The first chapter outlines the *status quaestionis*: both the earliest mentions of the manuscript in the 19th century and all the relevant recent publications. There then follows a short presentation of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St Dismas and its guiding principles. The description of the manuscript, its content, structure, and above all the beautiful miniatures with emblems focuses on the pivotal features relevant for iconographic and iconological analyses, which form the core of the research. From the perspective of new findings regarding the historical context of the *Ljubljana Album*, the most interesting chapter is the one dealing with the prototypes that might have inspired the *Academici Uniti* in the process of devising their memorial book.

The examination of Renaissance and Baroque emblem books from the period between 1531, when Alciato's incunabula *Emblematum liber* was published in Augsburg, and 1689, the year of the first individual entries of the Carniolan academicians in the *Ljubljana Album*, reveals that they modelled their memorial book on exemplars produced by Italian Renaissance academies. An immediate model for the *Ljubljana Theatrum Memoriae* is the famous *Memorie, imprese, e ritratti de' signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* by Valerio Zani (Bologna, 1672). The newly established *Accademia Unitorum* was actually directly related to the *Accademia dei Gelati* in Bologna: Johann Gregor Thalnitscher, *its first secretary and the leading authority in the whole project, was a member also of the Bologna academy*. The concept and execution of illuminations in the *Ljubljana Album* point to yet another source of inspiration: namely the *alba amicorum* or *libri amicorum*, a genre of usually hand-painted memorial books, which were very popular among university students, academicians and learned nobility in the Early Modern Period. On the other hand, the personal emblems of the *Academici Uniti* are usually inspired by a variety of popular emblem books, among which Alciato's *Emblemata* is predominant.

Amongst other important sources Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus*, a famous encyclopaedia of emblems (first Italian edition 1653, first Latin translation 1681), is the most prominent.

The second part of the book comprises two large chapters. The first addresses two issues: why authors of Renaissance emblem books so eagerly embraced animals as protagonists of their emblems and which were the main written sources for their knowledge of animals – their appearance, nature, characteristics, and most of all, their symbolism. The author examines three fields of key importance:

- Renaissance zoology, which includes both the legacy of classical knowledge of animals, and the rich tradition of medieval understanding of animals and their complex symbolism,
- the prolific tradition of Aesopic fables with animal protagonists who, by acting in the witty stories which have a clear moral, acquire allegorical values and symbolic meanings,
- medieval and early modern heraldry with a coats of arms, abundantly populated by all manner of real and mythical beasts, which develop diverse and easily readable symbolic meanings. These are often combined with the nobleman's *motto* and thus come close to Renaissance *impresa*.

The second chapter is dedicated to animal motifs in the emblems of the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas*. It discusses various roles and meanings of animals that appear in the album miniatures, mostly from the perspective of animal iconography in early modern emblematics, thus establishing a broader interpretative framework for their iconographic analysis. The examination of animal motifs in illuminated pages of the *Theatrum Memoriae*, with special focus on their position and function in the structure of personal emblems, shows that animals fit into several distinctive categories:

- animals without any symbolic meaning, who clearly do not participate in the allegorical message of the emblem,
- animals that play the role of a collective protagonist in the *pictura* without discernible individual symbolism,
- animals as the attributes of various personifications without additional symbolic elements,

- animals with an evident symbolic meaning clearly defined by the firmly established iconographic context,
- animals that display elaborate symbolism which, together with other structural parts of the emblem, forms the heart of the emblem's allegorical message.

The detailed iconographic analyses of animal motifs in the emblems of the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas* form the third and the most extensive part of the book. More than forty illuminated entries, presenting personal emblems of the Carniolan academicians with animals as their protagonists, are carefully examined and interpreted. The series of individually studied emblems is actually the first attempt of a systematic survey of animal symbolism in the *Ljubljana Album* which addresses all relevant contexts: the intellectual circle of the earliest Carniolan academy, its structure, rules, purpose and ambitions; the concept of the academic memorial book, its form and historical evolution; the specific interests of the members as patrons of the individual entries with personal emblems, etc. A comprehensive study sheds a new light on the iconography of miniatures in the *Theatrum Memoriae*, presents the most up-to-date facts and provides original interpretations. It also rectifies some mistakes and misinterpretations that appear in older studies. Here, it is worth noting that the majority of misreadings and flaws in iconographic interpretations by earlier authors originate in insufficient knowledge of animal iconography.

The results of the present study are not limited to the clarification of iconographic enigmas and a better understanding of the emblems in the *Ljubljana Album*, nor is the identification of the literary sources its final aim. Among the significant achievements of the research is a clearer insight into the creation of personal emblems in the *Theatrum Memoriae* against the backdrop of the well-established tradition of Renaissance emblem books. More important still, the analysis of emulations, modifications, and creative transformations of the already existing emblems, which in the entries of the *United Academicians* acquire new forms, fresh interpretations, and individual iconographic content, reveals the main criteria for their adoption. It is obvious that while implementing the popular emblems in the context of their memorial

book, the members respected the principles and rules of the academy. They also followed (at least in the early phase) the prototypes designed and recommended by Johann Gregor Thalnitscher. However, they were open to innovation and often welcomed the fresh ideas and suggestions of the skilful miniaturists. The process is significant in understanding the considerations, choices, and prerogatives of Carniolan intellectual elite regarding their self-presentation in the *Theatrum Memoriae*. According to the tradition of academic memorial books, the key-note of the vast majority of members is a desire to emphasize their virtues, erudition, and the results of their intellectual work. Equally important is the idea of working for common good, and acting as promoters of progress, as well as benefactors of the arts and sciences. The repeating elements of self-presentation include the member's social status, public merit and standing, education and important positions in public service. Often, more personal traits, such as private interests and inclinations, character and family background, are included.

It can therefore easily be understood why the members of the St. Dismas' Society so eagerly embraced the well-settled tradition of academic memorial books in which the academicians are represented not only by short texts describing their life and work, but also by a witty emblem that often adds extra layers of meaning. In the case of the *Ljubljana Album*, the role of an emblem is far greater than in the majority of Renaissance academic memorial books: the emblems are lavishly painted in bright colours and gold, and in many cases cover the whole page. The practice of the *Academici Uniti* of looking for inspiration in popular emblem books when considering the choice of their personal emblem is significant in understanding the broader picture: it proves that most of them were familiar with a number of emblem books and obviously shared the enthusiasm for this genre so fashionable among the European intellectual elite of the time.

The number and variety of animal motifs clearly reflect the interest of Carniolan academicians in animal symbolism. In this, too, they follow the mainstream of early modern emblematics, where animals prove to be an extremely popular motif. One of the reasons for their attractiveness is their predominantly positive symbolism and its complexity. In the case of academic

memorial books, animal motifs have yet another, very specific appeal: several animals have symbolic meanings that perfectly match the ideas and principles of early modern academicians. It is thus not surprising that in the *Ljubljana Album* animal motifs feature so prominently. The members of the St Dismas Society skilfully used the animal iconography in their personal emblems also to individualize themselves in a distinctive way: the noblemen preferred emblems with the animal motif that featured their heraldic animal. By contrast, the non-noble members of the academy, who according to the rules of *Academia Unitorum* were entitled to an academic coat of arms (due to their university degree and erudition), practised the opposite. The animal protagonist of their personal emblem was usually also adopted as the “heraldic” animal in the design of their coat of arms. There is another significant phenomenon that illustrates the enthusiasm of Carniolan academicians for animals: the academic rules explicitly required that the personal emblems of academicians should include an image of a stylized red heart, which was chosen as a common symbol of the *Academia Unitorum*. Yet many members ignored this imperative and opted for an animal instead.

The focus on animal iconography in the study has a well-thought-out *raison d'être*: due to the complexity of animal symbolism and its prominent role in the *Theatrum Memoriae*, this topic comprises a wide-ranging thematical spectrum and addresses a variety of relevant issues vital to the comprehension and appreciation of this unique manuscript book. It also provides a better insight into the cultural context of the foundation of the first Carniolan academy and the origins of its memorial book. The research into the multifaceted animal iconography that was so enthusiastically embraced by the members of the St Dismas Society also shows how profound their knowledge of emblematics was. Furthermore, it confirms that the *Album of the Ljubljana Society of St Dismas* is not an isolated phenomenon, as was believed, but a manuscript book that follows the established tradition and can justly be regarded as one of the most exquisite examples of early modern emblem books.

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Information on the Rendition of the Ljubljana Academicians' Personal Names and Noble Titles, Citation of Sources and Pictorial Material, as well as on Intellectual Property Rights Concerning Pictorial Material

The names of the Ljubljana academicians are rendered in their original form as they appear in the *Album*. However, because a single name can appear in several versions within the manuscript itself, the study follows the formats that were used by Marijan Smolik in his membership list ("The Members of the Society of St Dismas in Ljubljana," *Spominska knjiga II*, 291–303).

The scholars' complete names, along with their noble titles, are fully presented only in the titles of chapters and captions to the illustrations. The names and formal noble titles, as well as their informal variants used in the text for brevity's sake (e.g. omission of personal names, the predicate von, or the noble title), follow the formats that the translators of the *Dismas Chronicle* deemed the most appropriate (see the chapter: "Introductory Explanation," *Spominska knjiga I*, 10).

Standardized readings (classical authors, early Christian writers, the Bible, etc.) are referenced in abbreviated form in the text (e.g., *Iliad*, III, 1–6).

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Early prints, often characterized by extremely long titles containing the author's name in the genitive case, are listed in the bibliography using the established method of citation: the name and surname of the author in the original form are provided in the nominative case, followed by the full or reasonably

abbreviated title of the work, the publisher, along with the year and place of publication. The place of publication is stated in English, wherever universally accepted (e.g. Venice instead of *Venezia* or *Venetia*).

All reproductions of illuminations from the *Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas* are taken from the original manuscript (digital copies), kept in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. For brevity's sake, captions to the visual content from the manuscript only contain the essential details, while using the abbreviated version *Theatrum Memoriae* instead of the full title of the manuscript book. For the same reason, no indication is given of the painting technique (all miniatures were produced using the gouache technique, which could further incorporate gilded accents) and the size (the folios were subsequently trimmed and currently measure 303 x 220 mm on average). The indication of the year refers to the academician's inscription into the *Album*, and the issues of dating the illustrations of the entry pages are discussed in the chapter "The Production, Design, and Illumination of the *Album*."

Comparative printed or painted visual material is from publicly accessible online collections, digitized manuscripts, and early prints. The only comparative manuscript material that is not publicly available in digitized form is Thalnitscher's *Concept Book*, kept by the Seminary Library in Ljubljana. The captions to the comparative manuscript material and early modern printed volumes provide all standard details in accordance with the rules of citing. For frequently cited works, abbreviations and acronyms used in parentheses and footnotes see below.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms of Frequently Cited Works and Locations

Alc. – Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber (Emblematum)*; specific editions in the abbreviations are identified with the year of publication.

Bosc. – Jacob Bosch, *Symbolographia sive De arte symbolica sermones septem...*, Johann Caspar Bencard, Augsburg/ Dillingen 1702.

Cam. – Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae tres. I. Ex herbis & stirpibus. II. Ex animalibus quadrupedibus. III. Ex volatilibus & insectis... Accessit noviter centuria IV. Ex aquatilibus & reptilibus*, Typis Voegelinianis, Leipzig 1605.

Gessn. – Conrad Gessner, *Historiae animalium*, Christopher Forschauer, Zurich 1551–1587; editions of individual volumes are indicated using Roman numerals and the year of publication.

Hohb. – Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg, *Lust- und Artzeney-Garten des Königlichen Propheten Davids...*, Georg Sigmund Freisinger, Regensburg 1675.

Phys. – *Physiologus* (Greek redaction with Fr. transl. and annot. by Arnaud Zucker): *Physiologos. Le bestiaire des bestiaires*. Texte traduit du grec, établi et commenté par Arnaud Zucker, Éditions Jérôme Millon, Paris 2005.

Pic. – Filippo Picinelli, *Mundus symbolicus: in emblematum universitate formatus, explicatus, et tam sacris quam profanis eruditionibus ac sententiis illustratus...*, Hermann Demen, Cologne 1681.

Typ. – Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana...*, I–III, Prague 1601–1603.

ARS – Archives of the Republic of Slovenia.

BV – Bibliotheca Valvasoriana; L. Gostiša, B. Kukulja and V. Magić (eds.), *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana, katalog knjižnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja*, Valvasor Board at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana/National and University Library, Zagreb 1995.

CB – [Thalnitscher, Johann Gregor] *Concept Book (Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum...)*, 1688–1719, Seminary Library, Ljubljana, Ms 6.

DP – *Disma-Philologia*, Johann Georg Mayr, Ljubljana 1708.

MHK – *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereines für Krain*.

PR – *Protocollum Almae ac Nobilissimae Societatis Unitorum...*, Archdiocesan Archives Ljubljana, KAL fasc. 229/2.

TM – *Theatrum Memoriae Nobilis ac Almae Societatis Unitorum...*, ARS, AS 1073, Zbirka rokopisov, I/1. (All references to folios in the manuscript follow the foliation carried out by Nataša Golob and used in both the transcription of the original and studies accompanying the *Album's* facsimile edition.)

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The Iconography of Emblematic Animals in The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas offers an extremely detailed and insightful analysis of hand-painted emblems in one of the most important Baroque manuscripts produced in the territory of present-day Slovenia. The iconographic research of the emblems on the entry pages of the *Album*, along with the context of their genesis, sources of inspiration and models, reveals their complexity, and significance in a wider cultural milieu.

Prof. Marina Vicelja Matijašić, PhD,
Faculty of Arts, University of Rijeka



The Iconography of Emblematic Animals in The Album of the Ljubljana Noble Society of St. Dismas is a groundbreaking study of the illuminations in one of the most remarkable monuments of European emblematics, as well as an inquiry into the operations and significance of the oldest academy in Ljubljana. By correcting a number of misreadings in the existing academic literature, the monograph also sets a strong foundation for further research into emblematics, the Society of St. Dismas, Baroque art, and culture in general in Slovenia.

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