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Relationship between *Libri Picturati* A. 16–30 and printed Renaissance botanical work; some new data on *Clusius Codex* and the mycological *Cesi Codex*

(1) The use of drawings from *Libri Picturati* A. 16–30 in printed botanical works

The *Libri Picturati* A. 16–30 today at the Jagiellonska Library, Cracow (Zemanek & De Koning, 1998) has been recognised at least since the 1930s (Wegener, 1936) as one of the largest and most important collections of botanical and zoological watercolours. Since that period it has also been more or less generally accepted that the famous Netherlandish botanist Carolus Clusius or Charles de l'Ecluse (1526–1609), was closely involved in the creation of this collection (Aumüller, 1983). Some recent researches pointed out other names beside or instead of Clusius' one, such as Dirck Cluyt or Clutius (1546–1598) keeper of the Leiden botanical garden (Swan, 1998, 2000) and Charles de Saint Omer (1533–1569) one of Clusius' first patrons (Wille, 1996, 1997; De Groote's website, 2003–2006, http://www.tzwin.de), and Karel van Arenberg (1550–1616) eminent amateur botanist (Ramòn-Laca, 2001; Egmond, 2005) made a critical evaluation of the literature and available evidences up to the moment].

The analysis of the watermarks shows that 1115 out of the total of 1400–1500 sheets of paper in this collection bear the same watermark [1] (an arrows-and-star) (Ramòn-Laca, 2001). A group of some 400–500 botanical and animal watercolours shares the same watermark and within this set the botanical group may have been painted after herbarium. They match the engravings in some of Clusius' publications.

The collection as a whole has not been published for different reasons. On the one hand the political context of the 1560s and 1570s in the Southern Netherlands was one of warfare, of civil war and religious strife (Egmond, 2005). This was the main cause also of the demise of the Laurinus'[2] printing press which should have published the collection. The early death of Saint Omer prevented him from completing and possibly publishing his albums. For a long time the collection was hidden and the *Libri Picturati* watercolours came into the possession of the Duke of Arenberg in the 1590s. On the other hand the annotations on the drawings in *Libri Picturati* point to an interest of the medicinal use of plants only in a very few cases, while botanical books, printed in the 2nd part of the 16th century, for editorial reasons already dealt with plants having practical, mainly medicinal uses (Zemanek *et al.* (2005).

Although the famous Flemish printer Plantin played an important part in using the collection as a source for woodcuts. As it is well known, all famous sixteenth century Flemish botanists such as Clusius, Dodonaeus, Lobelius, published with Plantin, and the recycling and exchange of woodblock and watercolours was a normal practice at the time. In this way 91 of 233 tables in Clusius' flora of Spain and Portugal (1576) are reproduced from *Libri Picturati*. The pictures in the *Libri Picturati* must have been the model for some woodcuts in Clusius' translation *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum* (1579) of Garcia da Orta's work. There are 51 figures in his *Rariorum Plantarum*

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[1] This watermark testifies that this paper was produced in Fabriano, Italy, starting in 1554. Thus the bulk of the sheets of watercolours in the *Libri Picturati* belongs together and originated as a sixteenth-century collection.

[2] One of the Laurinus (or Laurin) brothers in Bruges had a garden and was interested in botany and was in contact with Clusius since the 1560s and later on with Saint Omer.

Historia (1601) and some others in Clusius' *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605) reproduced from *Libri Picturati*.[3] There are 51 images also in Matthias Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (1581) and so on.

Some figures from *Libri Picturati* have been copied by other editors than Plantin. For example the "Draco arbor" is reproduced in M. Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (1581: p.272), in Dalechamps' *Historia Generalis Plantarum* (1586–87: p. 1847); in Clusius' *Rariorum Plantarum Historia* (1601: p. 1), all are Plantin editions, but occurs also in Gerard's *Herball* published in London (1597: p. 1123), (which combines the "Draco arbor" of *Libri Picturati* with the image of the fruits taken from Monardes' book printed by Plantin in 1574). However a first investigation demonstrated that only around one-third of the botanical watercolours in the *Libri Picturati* formed the bases for woodcuts in printed work by Clusius, by Lobelius and by Dalechamps (Ramon Laca, 2001).

Not only plants and animals but also fungi are present in *Libri*. For example,[4] the "Fungi spongiosi species" (vol. A 22. f. 17–18) are reproduced in Clusius' *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia* published as an attachment to his *Rariorum Plantarum Historia* (1601, p. 288) and in Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (1581, II/310).

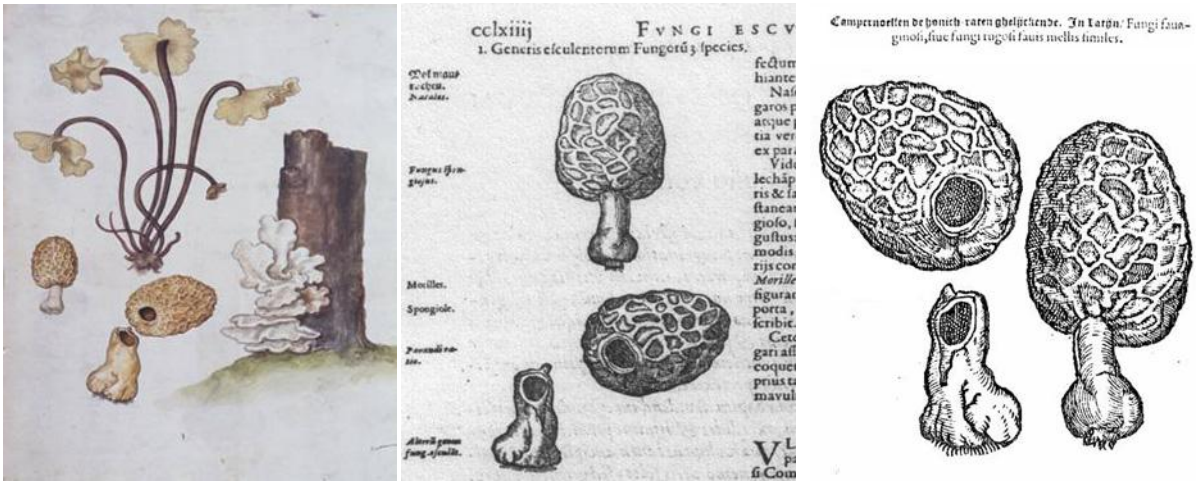

Figure 1: Morchella esculenta L. from *Libri Picturati* (A 22 19v, Jagiellonska Library, Cracow) reproduced in Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (1581 II p. 308 Fungi favaginosi) and in Clusius' *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia* in *Rariorum Plantarum Historia* (1601 p. 264).

(2) Copies of the *Clusius mycological codex*

The above mentioned Clusius' *Fungorum Historia* (1601) is the first mycological monograph of a geographical area in the history of natural sciences and one of the most valuable results of his stay in Hungary. Clusius[5] compiled this work in Leiden in 1597 on the basis of mycological research carried out on Batthyány's[6] estates. In order to increase the quality level of the investigation on mushrooms

[3] The plant species illustrated in *Libri picturati* from a biogeographical point of view are spontaneous in South, West and West-Central Europe (Zemanek A. et al., 2005) and for this reason could not be used for the Clusius' *Rariorum aliquot stirpium, per Pannoniam, Austriam, & vicinas quasdam prouincias* published by Plantin in 1583.

[4] Other examples are the fungi in *Libri Picturati* (vol. A 22 f 19) copied into Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (1581, II/306). This is interesting to see that images of Coprinus micaceus from *Libri picturati* A 22 f. 19 occur also in a painting of religious subject (see de Groot's website, 2003-2006).

[5] As Clusius himself explains in his *Fungorum Historia*, he started studying mushrooms because of the frequent presence of edible mushrooms at the table of his Hungarian maecenas and because of the wide variety (today called biodiversity) of mushrooms growing on the lands of Batthyány (Istvànffi, 1900; Aumüller and Jeanplong, 1983).

[6] Balthazar Batthyány (1543-1590), a well-educated humanist, was related to one of the oldest distinguished Hungarian magnate families, and a hero of battles against Turks occupying Hungary.

collected in Hungary, Batthyány also invited a 'French' painter[7] from Vienna. The mycological drawings, together with some notes, constitute the so-called *Clusius Codex* of mushrooms, which remained unpublished during Clusius' lifetime. In fact, Clusius believed this album was lost following Batthyány's death in 1590 and in consequence the *Fungorum Historia* was not illustrated with these drawings but with figures taken from other Plantin printings. The unpublished mycological collection was discovered in the mid-19th Century in the Library of Leiden University (today *Icones fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum*, Codex BPL 303). The Hungarian botanist Istvànffi published it in 1900 at his own expense in a facsimile edition with 90 illustrations in order to celebrate the tercentenary of the publication of Clusius' *Rariorum plantarum historia*. He also discussed the similarities between the Codex and a considerably later mycological publication by Franciscus van Sterbeeck's (1675) *Theatrum fungorum*, which has often been regarded as one of the earliest European works on mushrooms. Sterbeeck stated in his work (*Theatrum fungorum* 1675, II p. 5–12) that he had in his hands the *Clusius Codex* in 1672 in Arnoldus Seijen's, a professor of botany in Leiden, private library, and from it prepared the copper plates for his publication (1675) and made also a watercolour copy of the *Clusius Codex* for himself. This copy, vaguely mentioned by Kickx (1842),[8] has been '(re)discovered' (thanks to the collaboration with Michiel Verweij, Manuscript Department, Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels) at the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR MS 15475).

The 'Steerbeck-Clusius' Codex in Brussels (KBR MS 15475) lacks a title page and comprises 149 pages preceded by a brief biography of Sterbeeck in French written by Charles van Hulthen. A short note on its first page by van Hulthen dated 7 October 1831 at Ghent reads:

> *Franciscus Van Sterbeeck de Fungis, ou Recueil de Champignos* (sic!) *trouvés par François Van Sterbeeck, pretre d'Anvers, dans les excursions botaniques et peints par lui-meme avec leurs couleurs naturelles. Il y a joint les Champignons que Clusius avoit peints d'après nature dans un volume que le Docteur Syen, professeur de Botanique à l'universitè de Leyde avoit dans sa Bibliothèque, et dont Van Sterbeeck fit l'acquisition en 1672.*

The Brussels album contains pictures of mushrooms copied by Sterbeeck from the *Clusius Codex* (up to page 60r) and original drawings of fungi made by Sterbeeck. A comparison between this Brussels album and the original *Codex* in Leiden shows that the album copied the shape of the mushrooms from the *Clusius Codex*, but the lay-out is modified. The figures are concentrated to fill-up the empty space on the sheets and/or mixed with respect to the arrangement of the *Clusius Codex*.

Figure 2: Table n. 6 and n. 10 of the *Clusius Codex* in Leiden (Universitatsbibliothek Leiden Codex BPL 303). The figures condensed are copied to form page n. 7 in the *Sterbeeck Codex* in Brussels (Royal Library of Belgium, KBR MS 15475). Page n. 6 of the *Clusius Codex* in Oxford (University of Oxford, Plant Sciences Library, Sherard MS 43).

[7] This painter, Esaya le Gillon (Clusius' nephew on his sister's side) was probably the person who made the coloured drawings of mushrooms during his stay in Vienna (Ubrizsy Savoia, 1978).

[8] Kickx's comment has been quoted by Istvànffi, 1900.

However, there is one more copy of the *Clusius Codex*. This album is not mentioned in any studies about Clusius. University of Oxford (Plant Sciences Library) owns an interesting manuscript, catalogued as '*Watercolours of fungi, Caroli Clusii'* (Sherard MS 43). It bears the following title:

> *Liber fungorum depictorum Caroli Clusii Quem ab Arnoldo Syen per Adrianum David communicatum habuit Franciscus Sterbeeck. Cui ipse, tanquam basi, Theatrum suum Fungorum superstruxit; ut apparet ex Theatri dicti pag 27 & p. 168. Conferantur utrinque figurae, praecipue Sterb. p. 269, hujus vero p. 69 & ultim. vid. & Clusii Hist. CCXCII.* The top of the title page shows the following note in French: '*Peint et dessigné par un stable Peintre de Vienna avec freis et depars de Balthazar de Batthyany, seineur M.ta Viennae et Ami di Clusius. p. 262 de Theatrum'* .

The 'table Peintre de Vienna' must refer to Esaya le Gillon. The comment by Stephen A. Harris, Curator of Oxford University Herbaria about how this manuscript reached the library was:

> Sherard MS 43 is part of a collection of books and manuscripts that was left to the Department in 1719 on the death of Jacob Bobart the Younger (1640–1719). Bobart succeed his father (Jacob Bobart the Elder) as Hortus Praefectus of Botanic Gardens in Oxford and is most famous for his completion of volume III of Robert Morison's "Historia Oxoniensis" in 1699. It is unclear how he acquired this material. We know that Bobart the Younger got half of his father's books when he died in 1680, so it is possible that the book was originally acquired by his father. As far as I know there was no list of his father's books.

From the title (if it is contemporary to the drawings) and from this comment we can suppose that the album was prepared between 1675 (date of publication of *Theatrum*) and probably 1680, but surely before 1719. A comparison between this manuscript *Liber fungorum depictorum Caroli Clusii* at Oxford and the *Clusius Codex* in Leiden shows that the Oxford manuscript is an exact copy of the Leiden original. The illustrations are in watercolour, and the names of the depicted mushrooms mentioned in the *Clusius Codex* have all been copied, even those in Hungarian, which contain many mistakes since the person who copied them clearly did not know the language. Between the Oxford album and the Leiden original Codex there are some differences only in the use of colours of the drawings.

The Oxford manuscript obviously differs from the already mentioned Brussels album. The Brussels copy, made by Sterbeeck as the basis for his printed work on mushrooms, differs from both the Oxford and Leiden albums.

(3) Copies of drawings from Cesi mycological codex

Clusius was the greatest "imperfect plant" authority of all for the young members of the Accademia dei Lincei, (Lyncean Academy, the name 'Lincei' recalls to the lynx, known for its sharpness of sight), founded by the prince Federico Cesi (1585–1630) in 1603. Clusius had been contacted in 1604 to help them "to learn the discipline of the differences of plants". Clusius' *Rariorum Plantarum Historia*[9] and especially the chapter *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis historia* served them as the main source. Only a few decades later, between 1625 and 1630, Federico Cesi, attempted to record fungal diversity. For his studies he used an instrument that Galileo gave to the Lynceans in the autumn of 1624 including 'microfungi' (Myxomycetes, lichenized fungi etc.), and called 'microscope' by Johannes Faber, one of the members of the academy.

Besides some short references in Lincei's publications and occasional allusions in the Lyncean correspondence, there is no printed text referring to the study on 'Imperfect Plants' carried out by Cesi. There was only a late testimony by two scholars, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and Giovanni Maria Lancisi, given in the *Dissertatio epistolaris de ortu, vegetatione ac textura fungorum* (1714) containing a letter from Lancisi entitled *De generatione fungorum*, on a mycological codex in three volumes due to Cesi and seen by them in Rome in Albany Palace. This treasure was hidden in the private library of the pope Clement XI (Albani) in Rome since 1703. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century several

[9] Cesi himself knew only the printed version of Clusius' works, and he owned a copy of the *Rariorum Plantarum historia*.

historians, mycologists and botanists on the basis of Lancisi's — Marsigli's and Jean-Jacques Paulet[10] texts made fruitless search for the Cesi mycological codex owned by Albani. Giuseppe Gabrieli, the indefatigable most erudite researcher on Cesi's lifework, and the mycologist Pier Andrea Saccardo hoped to recognize the missing *Cesi Codex* in a two folio volume of coloured drawings of fungi in the library of the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew acquired in 1845 (MSS *Icones Fungorum Ineditorum* vol. I–II), but this turned out to be a later copy. The two Kew volumes bear the seal of Leone Strozzi (1657–1722) known also for his rich collections and library in Rome.

In 1979 I had the chance to discover and identify as the original collections of Cesi's drawings in the manuscript labelled *Fungorum genera et species* vol. I–III, MS 968–970 at the Library of Institut de France in Paris (Ubrizsy, 1980). The three mycological volumes consisting of 584 folios of drawings, together with the five volumes of *Plantae et flores* (vol. I–V MS 974–978 in the Institut de France) were sequestered from the Albani family by the Napoleon French revolutionary army occupying Rome in 1797 and were taken to Paris (Ubrizsy, 1980). There they belonged to the famous baron Benjamin Delessert library but the codex and the name of Cesi got forgotten (Ubrizsy, 1980; Ubrizsy Savoia, 2006a).

This discovery and identification of the three volumes of mycological drawings by Cesi in Paris allowed recognizing the first representations of microscopic images of fungi in the history of the sciences and, amongst others, to assume that the above mentioned two Kew volumes consist mostly of copies after the Cesi manuscript by means of some reordering and bringing together similar-looking species. Also blank spaces were eliminated and figures were condensed in Kew volumes, which were supposed to be made by Bruno Tozzi (1656–1743) (Ainsworth & Ubrizsy Savoia, 1981; Gabrieli, 1989). This benedictian monk from Vallombrosa (Tuscany, Italy) reproduced some Cesi's drawings also in his manuscript *Sylva Fungorum* of 1724 today in Florence National Library (BNCF, C.S., A.5.1097). Well, something similar happened to this mycological drawings' collection already seen in the case of *Clusius Codex*.

Cesi's mycological collection finally had been edited this year by David Pegler and David Freedberg (2006). This edition would exhaustingly consider the strictly connected sources too, such as the Kew volumes and mentioned the Tozzi's manuscript in Florence. Even though the publication had overlooked, had missed to consider and take into comparative examination two other manuscripts by Bruno Tozzi strictly linked to Cesi's mycological drawings. These are the Sherard MS 192 and Sherard MS 197 at the University of Oxford, Plant Sciences Library, not really too far from Kew. 18 pages of the first one contain only a few drawings copied from Cesi, as a comparison with the Parisian volumes confirms. The provenance from Cesi's drawings could be assumed in some cases also by the caption.

Figure 3: The fungi of c. 9 MS Sherard 192 (University of Oxford, Plant Sciences Library) are present on different pages of the *Cesi Codex* (Institut de France, Paris): those in the middle in MS 968 c. 195v, MS 970 c. 29; and MS 970 c. 54, — these are not present in the Kew volumes; while the larger fungi are present on MS 969 c. 84 and copied in the Kew's volumes (vol. I c. 72) and on page n. 90 in *Sylva Fungorum* by Tozzi in Florence (BNCF, C.S., A.5.1097)

There is a large amount of drawings copied from Cesi in the Oxford album Sherard MS 197, and the index of which attached at the end of the volume indicates 67 cases with the note "Ex codici Caesiis". This manuscript was acquired from William Sherard when he died in 1728. Sherard was a correspondent of Tozzi and presumably he gave his album to Sherard (Stephen A. Harris, 2004, personal communication). The Tozzi's Oxford MS 197 entitled *Sylva Fungorum* bears very nice front pages, similar to those of the Florence copy of *Sylva Fungorum* and both are dated 1724.[11] Attached to this Oxford volume there is a modern manuscript with a detailed study, including a taxonomical interpretation, most probably from the 1960s written without doubt by John Ramsbottom, former Keeper of Botany at the British Museum (Natural History).

[10] In the *Traité des champignons* (1793) J.-J. Paulet testified the location of the Cesi Codex in the Albani library still in 1785.

[11] For a preliminary comparison between the Kew volumes and the Tozzi's *Sylva Fungorum* at Florence see Guerrieri Borsoi, 2004; Ubrizsy Savoia, 2006b; Pegler & Freedberg, 2006.

A preliminary comparison of these two Tozzi's *Sylva Fungorum* shows that they are not the exact copies of one another. The captions collected (in a separate volume — BNCF C.S. G.9.1099 — in the case of the Florence manuscript) at the end in the index (in the Oxford volume) sometimes are different in the two, Florence and Oxford Tozzi's manuscript.

The comparison to champion of the corresponding images in the Kew Tozzi's Codex and Tozzi's *Sylva Fungorum* in Oxford shows differences too, as well as in the captions and the lay-out of the pages. But the watermark with Fleur de lys occurs in both Tozzi's copy.

Figure 4: Xilaria digitata in the *Cesi Codex* (Institut de France, Paris, MS 968, c. 5) in *Sylva Fungorum* by Tozzi (University of Oxford, Plant Sciences Library, Sherard MS 197 c. 301; the figure with number 5 in the middle is taken from Cesi's MS 968 c. 21 which in the Kew volume occurs in vol. II c. 9; the figure with number 6 is copied after Cesi's MS 968 c. 25, and the figure with number 7 is copied after Cesi's MS 968 c. 24), in Tozzi's *Sylva Fungorum* in Florence (BNCF, MS 1097 c. 425; concerning the figures not present on the original: the lichen down on the left is copied after Cesi's MS 968 c. 9 and the lichen on the right is copied after Cesi's MS 968 c. 8) and in the Kew Codex (Botanical Garden Library, Kew, vol. I, c. 2; the other species, upside on the right is taken from Cesi's MS 968 c. 6 and down from Cesi's MS 968 c. 7).

All these differences indicate different ways, times and places of copying after the Cesi drawings by Tozzi.

(4) Conclusions

In conclusion we can assume that both the *Clusius Codex*, and the slightly later mycological collection of Federico Cesi have remained hidden for a long time from scholars and historians of botany and of mycology who regarded Sterbeeck as the founder of mycology. Thanks to these rediscoveries the *Clusius Codex* turned out to be representing the first example of a monograph of larger fungi referring to a geographical area but the *Cesi Codex* includes in a similar type of study microfungi too. These lost, or better, believed-lost original mycological volumes suffered a long lasting isolation in private libraries. In consequence they had no influence supposed. The recent (or relatively recent) discovery of the original manuscripts and their modern taxonomical interpretation is similar to the two collections. The recent (or relatively recent) discovery of the copies of them, made a century later, is also a fact happened to both the *Clusius* and the *Cesi Codex*. These copies demonstrate that the original manuscripts despite this segregation were known and used (copied), even if by only a very few scholars, and in consequence they influenced the mycological studies. In some way the copies of Clusius and Cesi mycological codices had a meeting point at Oxford University, Plant Science Library.

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