THE HIEROGLYPHS OF KINGSHIP:
ITALY'S EGYPT IN EARLY TUDOR ENGLAND
AND THE MANUSCRIPT AS MONUMENT

Sonja Drimmer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Inhabitants of early quattrocento Rome witnessed the unraveling of enigmas in their own backyard. Scattered across the Roman cityscape were monumental plinths, overgrown with moss and dormant as Ozymandias's "trunkless legs of stone." An anonymous author of ca. 1415 summarized a commonly held belief on the imperial origins of these monoliths, writing that one built "in the great forum under the Capitol . . . had been erected with the ashes and bones of Julius Caesar."[1] But little else about the monuments was surmised.[2] Then, in a momentous discovery, a manuscript that would help to demystify the inscriptions on these ancient monuments was found on the island of Andros by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1419.[3] A fourteenth-century copy of what purports to be an ancient dictionary in Greek of 189 hieroglyphic symbols, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo, was shepherded back to Italy, where it made the rounds among Florentine humanist circles.[4] It was only then, with the *Hieroglyphica* as their guide, that quattrocento Italians turned their newly educated eyes to the symbols on those inert monoliths, recognizing their Egyptian provenance.[5] What followed was a period of zeal for hieroglyphs, fueled by the conviction that they were the long sought-after universal language knowable to all enlightened minds.[6]

[1] *Alio vero fuit posita in foro maiori sub Capitolio . . . cum cinere et ossibus Iulii Caesaris posita fuit*. Text and translation in Curran 2007, 53 and 308 n. 10.

[2] There are thirteen ancient obelisks in Rome, eight of Egyptian and five of Roman origin. See Iversen 1968; Roullet 1972; D'Onofrio 1992.

[3] Weiss 1964.

[4] Although believed in the Renaissance to have been of ancient origin, the *Hieroglyphica* was composed in the fourth or fifth century A.D. The manuscript found by Buondelmonti is now Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Cod. Plutei 69.27. It is a paper codex copied in the fourteenth century and contains, in addition to the *Hieroglyphica*, texts by Philostratus and Proclus. It has been fully digitized and can be found at: <<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.jsp>>. On the history of this manuscript and its early circulation, see Giehlow 1915; Sider 1986b. The introduction to an edition and translation in Spanish contains a comprehensive discussion of the text, the history of its transmission, as well as the historiography of its study by modern scholars: Horapollo 1991. For a translation into English, see Boas 1993.

[5] The authenticity of the manuscript was, in the opinion of fifteenth-century scholars, affirmed through comparison to references to both obelisks and their inscriptions in Ammianus Marcellinus's *Rerum Gestarum Libri*. Incidentally, the Ammianus manuscript was found by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, not long before Cristoforo Buondelmonti discovered the *Hieroglyphica* (Sabbadini 1967, 2:191–193). For a summary of his life and works, see Petrucci 1971; and for a brief discussion of his hieroglyphic studies, see Giehlow 1915, 16–19.

[6] For the seminal works on the history of Renaissance

Fig. 1. Royal Hieroglyphicon, *epigraph in praise of a king, London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 19v (photo © The British Library Board).*

Fig. 2. Royal Hieroglyphicon, *landscape with blank tablet, London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 8v (photo © The British Library Board).*

      The subject of this essay is a product of that giddy first century of Egyptology, as archaeologically audacious, as intellectually innovative, and as artistically experimental as any of its better-known masterworks: an illuminated manuscript in the British Library (Royal MS 12 C iii), which combines a dictionary of pseudo-hieroglyphs with a series of epigraphs designed to flatter the volume's intended royal recipient (fig. 1).[7] My main objective is to show that this manuscript (henceforth, the Royal *Hieroglyphicon*),[8] was a prospective gift from the aspiring humanist Filippo Alberici to King Henry VII of England and is in turn one of the earliest known attempts to illustrate the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo.[9] In addition to establishing the history of the manuscript, I will discuss the significance

hieroglyphic studies, see Giehlow 1915; Iversen 1958; 1993, 57–87; Dannenfeldt 1959; Wittkower 1977, 113–128. Since the middle of the twentieth century, countless studies have been devoted to this topic. For overviews, see Dempsey 2000; Curran 2007, 51–63, 89–105, and 177–187.

[7] The entire manuscript has been digitized and can be found at: <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>>.

[8] I have opted for this title in order to suggest the relationship between the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo and this book while distinguishing between the two. The "icon" suffix reflects the pictorial emphasis in the manuscript.

[9] There is a (slightly earlier) manuscript that contains illustrations for seven entries of the *Hieroglyphica* (Vatican City, MS Vat. lat. 3898), though one will often encounter

of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* as a parchment monument and an inaugural effort to export Italy's homegrown Egyptology to an island unfamiliar with its allure.[10]

1. The Royal Manuscript and Its Sources

In many ways, the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* has all the inscrutability that the obelisks had for quattrocento humanists.[11] The manuscript lacks any indications of authorship or characteristic features that might identify the scribe beyond a humanist script in an informal Italian hand. No evidence of the original audience exists within the manuscript, which contains only later marks of ownership—by the Englishmen Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1512–1580); his son-in-law, John Lord Lumley (1533–1609);[12] and Charles II.[13] While Latin translations of the *Hieroglyphica* did circulate in fifteenth-century Italy, the translation in the Royal manuscript is unique, and its pictorial program does not follow a pattern known in any other source.[14]

In general terms, the manuscript comprises two parts: in the first is an illustrated dictionary of fifty-seven symbols; and in the second is a series of eight laudatory and cautionary epigraphs on royal power, which are confected from those same symbols and addressed to a king. Exceptions to this illustrative schedule include a half-page miniature illustrating the story of the cornucopia, a full-page miniature illustrating the concept of *Deus* (God) (fig. 2), a full-page miniature for each of the four seasons, and an image of a hellscape. Although lacking a descriptive dedication or any prefatory material, the manuscript does open with an INDEX *rerum quae ab Egytiis* [sic] *quondam hierogliphis scribebantur* ("an index of things that were once written by Egyptians in hieroglyphs) (fol. 2r).[15] This opening statement is significant insofar as it lays out the author's premise: what follows

references to Albrecht Dürer's drawings for the Willibald Pirckheimer translation in a manuscript of ca. 1512 as the earliest known illustrations for the text of the *Hieroglyphica* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 3255). The entire manuscript has been digitized and can be found online at: <<http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/hschrift.htm>>. See Gielhow 1915, 170–218.

[10] In 1549, the first description of the obelisks in Rome was published in English by William Thomas (Wortham 1976, 13).

[11] On this manuscript, see Warner and Gilson 1921, 2:22. It is also mentioned in Sider and Obrist 1997, 77; Sider 1990a, 325; and Drimmer 2011b.

[12] Both the names of Lumley and Arundel are written on fol. 2r. The manuscript is referred to in the catalogue of the Lumley Library as "*Hieroglyficae notae scribendi quae in usu fuerunt apud Aegiptias, cum figuris pulchre expressis.* Manuscript" (Jayne and Johnson 1956, 216). In 1557, the library of Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, was merged with that of his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley, who eventually gave (or possibly sold, although there is doubt on this point: Jayne and Johnson 1956, 14–15) the collection to Prince Henry sometime before his death in 1609. For a brief account of the Lumley collection, see Jayne and Johnson

1956, 2–7. I have been unable to determine where Henry Fitzalan acquired the book. While he amassed a large collection of manuscripts, outside of his possession of Thomas Cranmer's library, there is no known account of where he made his acquisitions (Jayne and Johnson 1956, 3–4). The only detailed study devoted to Henry Fitzalan addresses the contents of the earl's library at length, including a number of acquisitions—Boyle estimates 10 percent of the earl's total collection—made during his journey to the north of Italy from 16 March 1566 to 17 April 1567. These acquisitions, however, appear to have been almost exclusively printed books (Boyle 2003, 148–151, 162–185).

[13] At the back of the manuscript is written, "the king's book, anno dom. 1680" (fol. 25v). A further mark of ownership includes the monogram of "G R" (which appears to have been written over "J L") and the phrase from Isaiah 24:16 *Secretum meum mihi* (fol. 1r).

[14] There are five known Latin translations of the *Hieroglyphica* that predate the Pirckheimer manuscript of 1512. See Sider 1986b, 18–20 and Seng 2013, the latter of which includes a list of all known manuscript translations of the *Hieroglyphica*.

[15] As I discuss below, the manuscript shows many signs of haste in its execution. The scribe did write *Egyptiis* correctly farther on in the manuscript (fol. 12v).

is hieroglyphic, and it is of ancient Egyptian provenance. As we shall see, its authenticity—even within the early modern understanding of hieroglyphs—is questionable.

The correlations between the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo and the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* amount to a modest proportion of the entire manuscript. Of the fifty-seven items included in the Royal manuscript, fifteen translate into Latin entries from the first book of the *Hieroglyphica*. The items include, for example, *Mensis* (month), which is represented by a palm branch,[16] as well as *sol* (sun), *sanguis* (blood), *nobilitas* (excellence), *cor* (heart; soul), and *sup[er]bia* (haughtiness), which are represented jointly by a hawk.[17] The description that follows is worth quoting in full as an example of the author's adaptation. He writes:

> *Ampla quidem apud eos fuit Accipitris significatio. Huius siquidem effigies solem denotabat quoniam longeuum est animal et multam gignit prolem est etiam acutissimi uisus et solis radios patitur intuitu. Quas proprietates soli competere cognoscimus eternus quidem est. Omnia gignit et ab antiquis dei oculus omnia uidens existimabatur. Sanguis aut[em?] ideo accipitre denotatur quia nunquam aquam sed solum sanguinem bibit et sanguine et cede continuo delectatur. Cor etiam significat quia devicta preda cor primum efodit. Anima in co[r]de ex accipitris figura dicitur quia hoc nomen baieth quod apud egyptios accipitr[em] significat, diuisum apud eosdem ide[m] vult quod anima et cor. Est aute[m] quoddam accipitris genus quod sacrum dicit[ur?] et Itali materna lingua hieraticu[m] falcone[m] voca[n]t quod grecis sonat sacrum. Hec sola ex avi[bus] deprehensa est recto ascensu ad coelos euolare: quum alie non nisi per girros ascendant. Pingebant [ergo] hunc sursum tendentem nobilitatem i[n]nuentes aut superbia[m] descendens uero humilitatem denotabat. Victoriam quoque indicabant ipso corpore supino depicto et unguibus ad bellum paratis. Quum enim se in bello agnoscit ancipitem hoc modo se aptat et facile uictoriam consequitur.* (fols. 18r–v)

Indeed, among them the sign of a hawk was important. Accordingly, its portrayal indicated the sun since the animal is long-lived and bears many offspring, it is of sharp sight, and it endures the rays of the sun when looking at it. We recognize that these properties are applicable to the sun. Indeed, it is eternal. It brings forth all, and it was considered by the ancients [to be] the all-seeing eye of God. Blood is also denoted by a hawk for this reason: because it only drinks blood, never water; it is unrelentingly delighted by both blood and slaughter. In addition, it signifies the heart because it first digs the heart out of conquered prey. The spirit in the heart is designated from the figure of the hawk because this name Baieth—which among the Egyptians signifies the hawk—means, if divided, the same thing among the same people, as the spirit and the heart. Moreover, there is a certain kind of hawk which denotes the sacred, and the Italians, in their mother tongue, call it the hieratic falcon, which sounds sacred to the Greeks.[18] This is the only bird of which it is observed to fly up to the sky by means of a straight ascent; while others ascend by no means other than circles. Therefore they painted this [bird] pressing upwards, signifying either nobility or haughtiness; descending, however, it denoted lowness. Likewise they indicated victory by its very body depicted supine and talons ready for combat. In fact, when it recognizes that it is uncertain in combat, it readies itself in this way facing two directions, and achieves victory easily.[19]

[16] Boas 1993, 1.03 and 1.04.

[17] British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fols. 12v–13r.

[18] This particular clause has been difficult to translate. However, the Greek word for "falcon" (as written, for example, in Aristophanes's *The Birds*) is ἱέραξ, and the word for "holy" is ἱερός. It appears that *hieraticum* is playing on both—that is, that the word sounds like both "falcon" and "holy" in

Greek. I am grateful to Charley McNamara for untangling the complexities of this sentence for me.

[19] My translation. The corresponding section in the original Greek reads:

Τι δηλουσιν ιερακα γραφοντες.

Θεον βουλομενοι σημηναι η υψος η ταπεινωσιν η υπεροχην η αιμα η νικην {η Αρεα η Αφροδιτην} ιερακα ζωγραφουσι. θεον μεν δια το πολυγονον ειναι το ζωον και πολυχρονιον · ετι γε μην,

Given the textual correlation as well as the correspondence between the ekphrastic text of the *Hieroglyphica* and the marginal images that appear in the Royal manuscript, it is probable that the source for the images was indeed the *Hieroglyphica* itself, the Greek *editio princeps* of which was printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1505.[20]

Further inferences about the origins of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* can be made from the manuscript's illustrations, which were extracted from a quarry of northern Italian sources. The vast majority of hieroglyphic images in this manuscript—thirty-four, to be precise—derive from the 1499 edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.[21] The first illustrated book to come off the Aldine press, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*—or *Poliphilo's Strife of Love in a Dream*—relates the adventure of a youth who pursues his beloved through a hallucinogenic dreamscape. Along the journey, he encounters numerous so-called hieroglyphs, which he deciphers for the reader.[22] The Royal manuscript is a veritable collage of images from the *Hypnerotomachia*, and just a few examples suffice

επει και δοκει ειδωλον ηλιου υπαρχειν, παρα παντα τα πετεινα προς τας αυτου ακτινας οξυωπουν, αφ' ου και ιατροι προς ιασιν οφταλμων τη ιερακια βοτανη χρωνται, οθεν και τον ηλιον, ως κυριον οντα ορασεως, εσθ' οτε ιερακομορφον ζωγραφουσιν. υψος δε, επει τα μεν ετερα ζωα εις υψος πετεσθαι προαιρουμενα πλαγιως περιφερεται, αδυνατουντα κατευθυ χωρειν, μονος δε ιεραξ εις υψος κατευθυ πετεται · ταπεινωσιν δε, επει τα ετερα ζωα ου κατα καθετον προς τουτο χωρει, πλαγιως δε καταφερεται, ιεραξ δε κατευθυ επι το ταπεινον τρεπεται · υπεροχην δε, επειδη δοκει παντων των πετεινων διαφερειν · αιμα δε, επειδη φασι τουτο το ζωον υδωρ μη πινειν, αλλ' αιμα · νικην δε, επειδη δοκει τουτο το ζωον παν νικαν πετεινον. επειδαν γαρ υπο ισχυροτερου ζωου καταδυναστευηται, το τηνικαυτα εαυτον υπτιασας εν τω αερι ως τους μεν ονυχας αυτου εν τω ανω εσχηματισθαι, τα δε πτερα και τα οπισθια εις τα κατω, την μαχην ποιειται · ουτω γαρ το αντιμαχομενον αυτω ζωον το αυτο ποιησαι αδυνατουν εις ητταν ερχεται.

Πως δηλουσι ψυχην.

Επι γε μην και αντι ψυχης ο ιεραξ τασσεται εκ της του ονοματος ερμηνειας. καλειται γαρ παρ' Αιγυπτιοις ο ιεραξ βαιηθ, τουτο δε το ονομα διαιρεθεν ψυχην και καρδιαν · εστι γαρ το μεν βαι ψυχη, το δε ηθ καρδια, η δε καρδια κατ' Αιγυπτιους ψυχης περιβολος, ωστε σημαινειν την συνθεσιν του ονοματος ψυχην εγκαρδιον · αφ' ου και ο ιεραξ δια το προς την ψυχην συμπαθειν υδωρ ου πινει το καθολου, αλλ' αιμα, ω και η ψυχη τρεφεται.

"When they would signify God, or height, or lowness, or excellence, or blood, or victory, (or Ares, or Aphrodite) [Hor or Hathor], they delineate a Hawk. They symbolize by it God because the bird is prolific and long-lived, or perhaps rather because it seems to be an image of the sun, being capable of looking more intently toward his rays than all other winged creatures: and hence physicians for the cure of the eyes use the herb hawkweed: hence also it is that, under the form of a Hawk, they sometimes depict the sun as lord of vision. And they use it to denote height because other birds, when they would soar on high, move themselves from side to side, being incapable of ascending vertically; but the hawk alone soars directly upward. And they use it as a symbol of lowness because other animals move not in a vertical line but descend obliquely; the hawk, however, stoops directly down upon anything beneath it. And they use it to denote excellence because it appears to excel all birds—and for

blood, because they say that this animal does not drink water but blood—and for victory because it shows itself capable of overcoming every winged creature; for when pressed by some more powerful bird, it directly turns itself in the air upon its back and fights with its claws extended upward and its wings and back below; and its opponent, being unable to do the like, is overcome.

"Moreover, the Hawk is put for the soul, from the signification of its name; for among the Egyptians the hawk is called Baieth: and this name in decomposition signifies soul and heart; for the word Bai is the soul, and Eth the heart; and the heart, according to the Egyptians, is the shrine of the soul; so that in its composition the name signifies soul enshrined in heart. Whence also the hawk, from its correspondence with the soul, never drinks water but blood, by which, also, the soul is sustained" (Boas 1993, 1.06–1.07).

[20] *Vita & fabellae Aesopi cum interpretatione Latina Gabriae . . . Ori Apollinis Niliacihieroglyphica*, 1505. On Aldus Manutius and his press, see Lowry 1979; Marcon and Zorzi 1994; Bigliazzi et al. 1994; Dionisotti 1994; Davies 1995; and Zeidberg 1998.

[21] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* 1499. For a modern edition, see Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964. For a modern translation into English, see Godwin 1999. As the Aldine edition lacks original pagination, all of my direct references to images and text correspond to pages in the Pozzi and Ciapponi edition.

[22] The book was written anonymously, and the debate over the identity of its author continues, although there does seem to be a general consensus that it was the Venetian Francesco Colonna (d. 1527). Important discussions regarding the authorship can be found in Calvesi 1980; 1996; Brown 1997, 686–705; and Curran 2007, 142–146. The bibliography on this book—arguably the most famous illustrated book of the Renaissance—is vast. Notable studies devoted to its hieroglyphic images include Giehlow 1915, 46–79; Pozzi 1982; Curran 1998; 2007, 133–158; and de Girolami Cheney 2007.

Fig. 3. Royal Hieroglyphicon, *pseudo-hieroglyphs representing "patience" and "protection," London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 7v (photo © The British Library Board).*

to illustrate their debt to and departures from the 1499 edition.[23] The hieroglyphs representing *patientia* (patience) and *custodia* (protection) are a bovine skull ornamented with hammers and a duck, respectively (fig. 3).[24] The same two symbols, carved in the porphyry base of an obelisk, are encountered by Poliphilo, the protagonist of the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 4).[25] While he deciphers them to mean *labore* (from labor) and *custodiam* (guidance), a bovine skull appears farther on in the book, this time paired with the word *patientia*.[26] Later in the tale, while Poliphilo and his beloved, Polia, await an audience with the God of Love, Polia encourages her admirer to study the dilapidated monuments that surround them. Picking his way among the ruins, Poliphilo inspects a number of epitaphs, among which are several *hieroglyphi aegyptici i[n]sculpto* ("inscribed in

[23] The so-called hieroglyphs from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* inspired numerous works of art, including a manuscript of the *Traité des vertus, de leur excellence, et comment on les peut acquérir* dedicated to Louise of Savoy and made in Paris ca. 1515 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 12247). See Gombrich 1951; Szepe 1992.

[24] *Custodia* appears twice in this manuscript, represented first by a dragon (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 4r)

and second by a duck (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 7v). See below for a discussion of the dragon.

[25] Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:33.

[26] Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:61. Here I translate *custodiam* as "guidance," following the English translation of the phrase in which it is encountered in the *Hypnerotomachia* (Godwin 1999, 41).
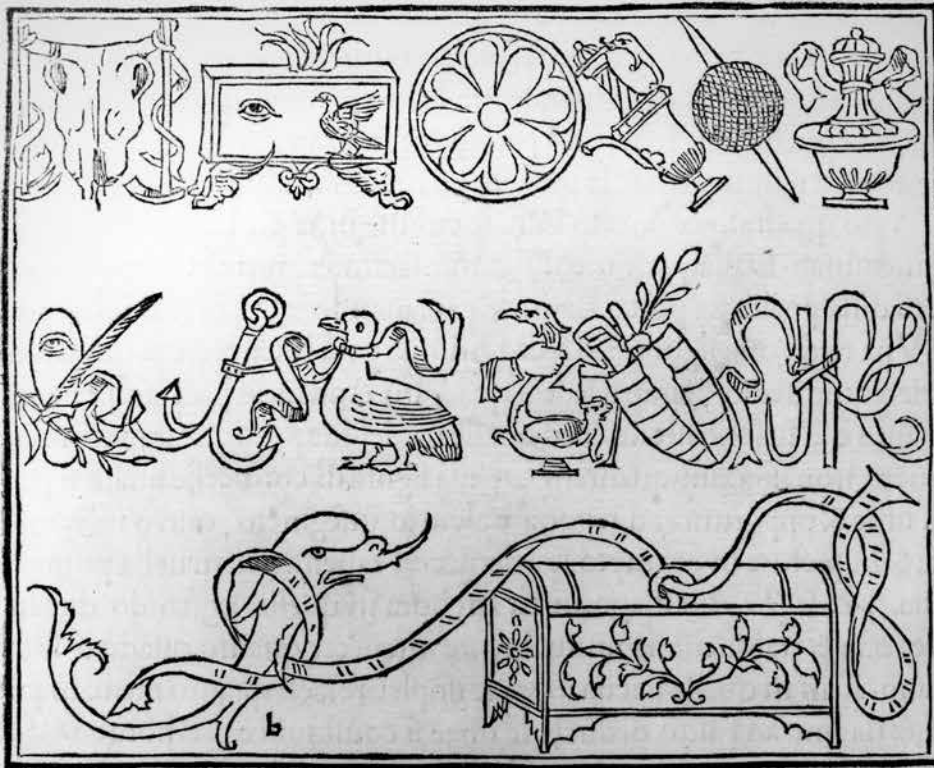
Fig. 4. Pseudo-hieroglyphs, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, *2nd ed. (Venice 1545) fol. c. i-r,*
Marquand Library, Princeton University, SAPX NE 910 I8C6. 1545q (photo courtesy of Marquand Library).
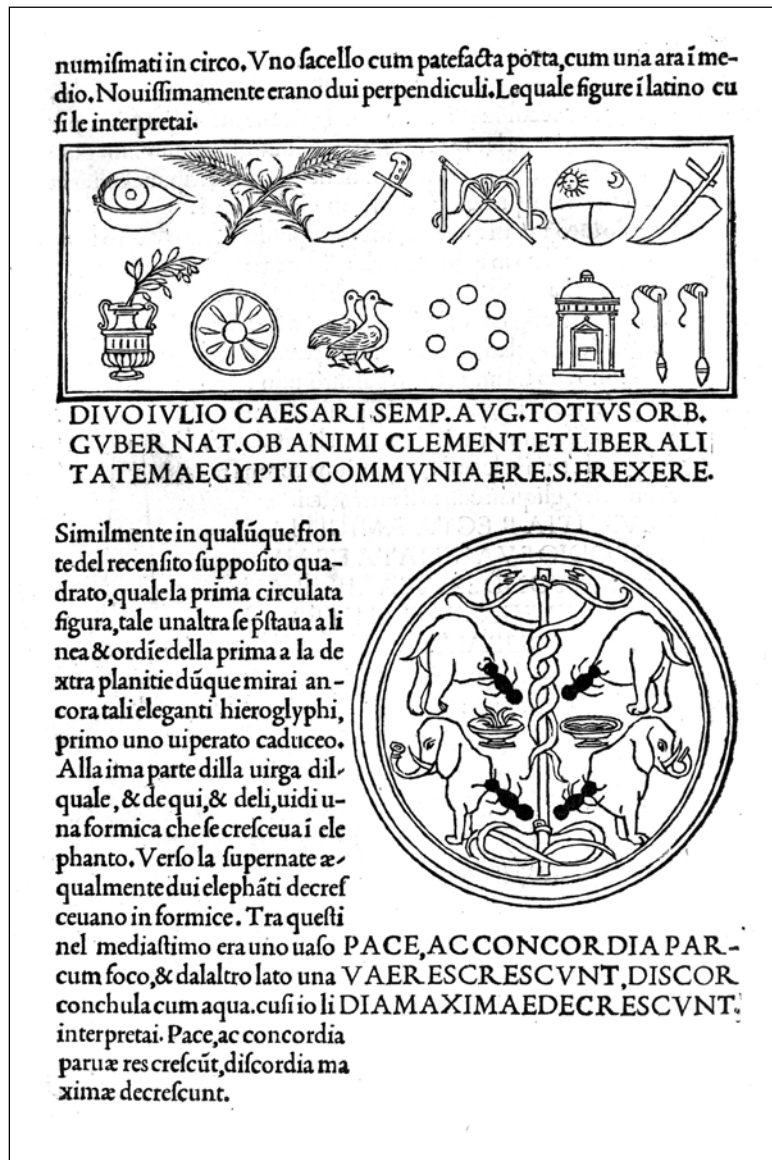
Egyptian hieroglyphs").[27] From two of the accompanying illustrations (figs. 5 and 6),[28] the author of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* plundered no fewer than nine of his hieroglyphs, among which are *liberalitas* (generosity), represented by a wheel; *calcat* (treads), represented by a footprint; and *cedes* (slaughter), represented by a sword; *rector* (guide or ruler), represented by a ship's prow; and *celer* (swift), represented by two arrows pointing in opposite directions (figs. 7 and 8).[29] As with

---

[27] Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:255.

[28] Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:238 and 256.

[29] The others are: *vita* (life), represented by an oil lamp (fol. 3v); *coniungo* (I connect), represented by a bow (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 10v); *mundus* (world), repre-

sented by a tripartite globe (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 11v); and *direxit* (directs or guides), represented by a plumb-line (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 12r). Note, also, on the page showing *rector* is a dolphin wrapped around an anchor, taken from the *Hypnerotomachia* but which also became the Aldine imprint.
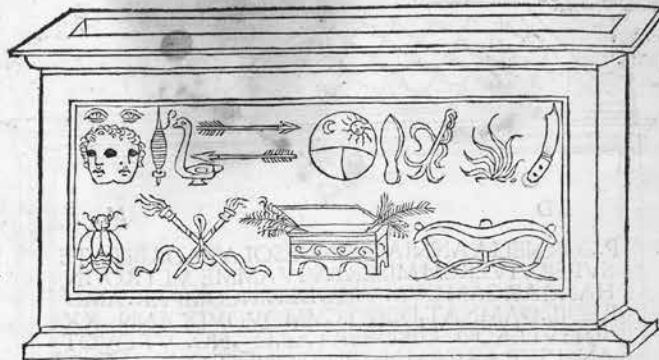
DIIS MANIBVS MORS VITAE CONTRARIAET VELO
CISSIMA CVNCTA CALCAT. SVPPEDITAT. RAPIT
CONSVMIT. DISSOLVIT. MELLIFLVE DVOS MVTVO·
SE STRICTIM ET ARDENTER AMANTES, HIC EXTIN
CTOS CONIVNXIT.

Lætificato cum incredibile folacio, per tanta uarietate di antiquarie ,&
magnifice opere, ancora fencia dubio mi accrefceua lanimo infaciabil·
mente piu luftrabondo altre nouitate iueftigare. Dique & fi prima lachry
mabondo me excitaua lo epitaphio græco degli dui miferabili amáti di
íedia mortui, molto piu etiam mi fe aprefentoe uno fpectatiffimo, ma mi
ferando monumento, di dualtri infœliciffimi amanti, in uno magno fa‐
xo extante, cum tale liniamento expreffo. Vno quadrato per il
diagonio fubleuato, cótiniua in fe dui pillaftrelli
cú una coronula & femihemicyclo di‐
fopra. Tra gliqli, dagli anguli dillar
culo pro pédeua una tabella, nel
laquale legiendo uidi ta
le miferofo epigram‐
ma.

Fig. 6. Pseudo-hieroglyphs from a sarcophagus, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili *(Venice 1499) fol. p. viiir,*
*Marquand Library, Princeton University, SAPX NE 910 I8C6. 1499q (photo courtesy of Marquand Library).*
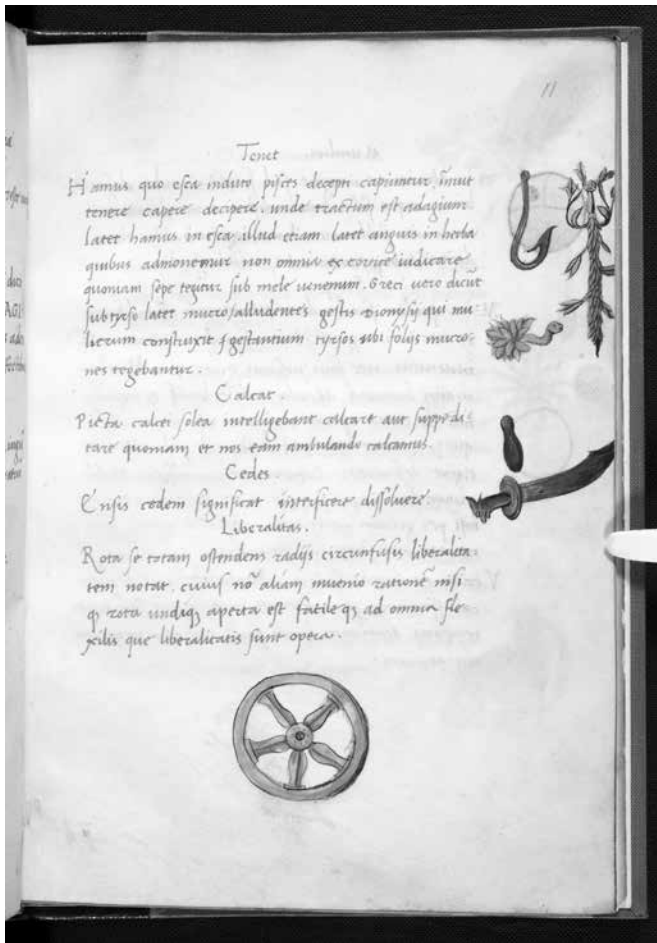
Fig. 7. Royal Hieroglyphicon*, pseudo-hieroglyphs representing "generosity," "treads," and "slaughter," London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 11r (photo © The British Library Board).*

Fig. 8. Royal Hieroglyphicon*, pseudo-hieroglyphs representing "guide" or "ruler" and "swift," London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 9r (photo © The British Library Board).*

the bovine skull, the author has approached his material with some freedom, replacing a number of Poliphilo's Latin words with synonyms, as in the case of the sword, which in the *Hypnerotomachia* is deciphered to mean *dissoluit* (destroys or dissolves) but which in the Royal manuscript is defined as *cedes* (slaughter). By and large, however, the author's attitude to the hieroglyphs in the *Hypnerotomachia* is conservative, and his debt to them straightforward.

In a smaller number of instances, images culled from the *Hypnerotomachia* have been pruned or grafted into larger compositions to suit the Royal author's own agenda. Interrupting the sequence of hieroglyphs is a series of four full-page miniatures, each devoted to a season of the year and accompanied by a full-page explanatory text (fig. 9).[30] Both the idea for representations of the seasons, as well as elements in them, were evidently informed by a similar sequence seen by Poliphilo during his voyage.[31] Yet in the Royal manuscript, the seasons are not portrayed as personifications but rather as full landscape scenes, each appropriate to the time of year depicted. Perhaps even more

[30] British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fols. 14r–17v

[31] Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:186–188.

Fig. 9. Royal Hieroglyphicon*, spring landscape, London,*
British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 14r
(photo © The British Library Board).

Fig. 10. Royal Hieroglyphicon*, Jove as an eagle abducting*
Ganymede, London, British Library Royal MS
12 C iii, fol. 6r (photo © The British Library Board).

interestingly, in the entry for *Deus* (God) the author of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* acknowledges that the hieroglyph typically used to represent this figure is an eye—as is the case in the *Hypnerotomachia*; however, rather than represent an eye, the manuscript features a full-page miniature of a landscape, with a blank tablet suspended from a tree in the center (see fig. 2).

    In addition to the images drawn from the *Hypnerotomachia*, other depictions in the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* were modeled on sources that help to characterize the author and date the manuscript. To the term *Imperator* the author assigns the symbol of an eagle, which, he writes, appears in a marble incising only recently rediscovered in Rome (fig. 10). While, he goes on to claim, the image can be seen here (that is, directly below on the manuscript page), the depiction that appears is instead a free-hand copy from a far more portable source: a print by the North Italian engraver and friend of Aldus Manutius, Giulio Campagnola (ca. 1482–1515), generally dated to ca. 1500 (fig. 11).[32] This

---

[32] On Campagnola, see Hind 1938–1948, part II, 5:189–205, and 7:pls. 770–786; and Brown 2010, esp. 85–86. The print has even greater interest in the context of its reproduction in

the Royal manuscript, given its own replication of elements in Albrecht Dürer's engraving of the *Madonna with the Monkey*, ca. 1498 (Brown 2010, 85).

Fig. 11. Giulio Campagnola,
Rape of Ganymede, *London,*
British Museum (photo ©
Trustees of the British Museum).

Fig. 12. Eagle, Santi Apostoli, Rome
(photo Jordan Love).

Fig. 13. Royal Hieroglyphicon, *device accompanying the pseudo-hieroglyph for "war and peace,"*
London, British Library Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 4v
(photo © The British Library Board).

Fig. 14. Silver coin of Galeazzo Maria Sforza from Milan, 1466–1476, London, British Museum (photo © Trustees of the British Museum).

fib is revealing because not only does it hint at the northern Italian milieu of its author, but it also suggests that the intended recipient of the manuscript was not someone who was either native to Rome or likely to venture there. For if she or he had, the recipient would have seen that the Roman eagle was the figure at Santi Apostoli (fig. 12), installed there by Giuliano Della Rovere, later Pope Julius II (1443–1513) between 1477 and 1481.[33] It bears little affinity with the image that purports to be a copy of it.[34] Similarly, a visual and textual tribute to Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–1476), "former" Duke of Milan (*Galea[zzo] Sfortia quondam Mediolensium dux*) tinkers with the source to which it refers. An image beneath the entry for *bellum et pax* (war and peace) features two burning logs crossed and hung with water pails (fig. 13), a modification of Galeazzo's "favourite device of flaming sticks and buckets" (fig. 14).[35] While the inclusion of this emblem is unlikely to reveal anything substantial about the identity of the manuscript's author, it does expand the repertory of the manuscript's northern Italian sources.

[33] If, as I discuss below, the author of the manuscript was indeed Filippo Alberici, then the reference to the Santi Apostoli eagle could strengthen the case for Alberici's status as a papal emissary (see n. 52 below).

[34] I am indebted to Berthold Kress, who drew my attention to the Santi Apostoli eagle. See Magister 2002, 569–571.

[35] Jacobson 1974, 92.

As with the illustrations, the texts upon which the author drew were cultivated from a field of volumes printed in northern Italy. The *auctores* cited by the author encompass Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*, and *Remedia Amoris*), Virgil (*Aeneid* and *Georgics*), and Germanicus by way of Lactantius, as well as the less popular Pseudo-Cato (*Carmen de moribus*) by way of Aulus Gellius. For example, a long entry accompanies the symbol for *copia* (plenty), which is illustrated not only by the so-called hieroglyph of a horn of plenty but also by a half-page miniature showing the story of Amalthea and the origins of the cornucopia.[36] In the explanatory text, the author writes:

> *Rigidum fera dextera cornu*
> *Du[m] tenet infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit.*
> *Naiades hoc pomis, et odoro flore repletum*
> *Servarunt: dives que meo bona copia cornu.*[37]
> *fabula Germanicus i[n] Arato ait. Illa putatur*
> *Nutrix esse Iovis. Si vere Iuppiter infans*
> *Ubera Crethee mulsit fidissima capre.*[38]
> *Sydera nutricem nutricis fertile cornu*
> *Fecit: quod domine nu[n]c quoque nome[n] habet*[39]
> *Placuit autem hic eius fabulam in picturis subdere.*[40]

> While he held my stiff horn with his fierce right hand,
> he broke it and tore it from my mutilated forehead.
> The Naiads filled it with fruit and fragrant flowers
> and protected it: and *bona copia* is wealthy because of my horn,
> as Germanicus said in his Aratus. She is believed
> to be Jove's nurse, if indeed the child Jove suckled at the most faithful teat of the she-goat of Crete.
> He made his nurse and her horn of plenty into stars: the horn still keeps its mistress's name.
> Moreover it was pleasing to supply this story below in a picture.

A concatenation of Ovid and Germanicus, this excerpt is one of several such instances in the manuscript in which the author incorporates *auctoritates* and classical references to embellish the pedigree of his own dictionary.[41] Every one of these texts had been printed by Aldus Manutius prior to 1505, and given the use of Aldine editions in the creation of images, it seems reasonable to believe that volumes from his press provided the material for these excerpts.[42] Indeed, in the case

---

[36] British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fols. 6v–7r.

[37] Compare to Ovid 1984, 9.85–88. The English translation below is from this edition, with my own modifications following the altered word ("servarunt") in the Royal manuscript.

[38] Although the author attributes these lines to Germanicus's *Aratea*, his actual source was Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum*, 1.21 which (mis)quotes the Germanicus line as *illa putatur* when it should read *una putatur*. Numerous editions of Lactantius had been printed in Venice by 1500. I have consulted the following three: Lactantius 1493; 1494; and 1497. Of the three, the 1497 edition appears to have been the most likely source for the Royal manuscript, as it quotes the verses using the same lineation as Royal, and it refers to the text as *arato* as opposed to *arateo*. The translation below is my own.

[39] Compare to Ovid 1931, 5.127–128.

[40] British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 7r.

[41] In the entry for *custodia* (protection), which is represented by a dragon, the author cites "ancient poets," who told of the guardian dragon that defended the Garden of the Hesperides (fol. 4r). In a long entry on *fama* (fame), which is represented by a winged trumpet (fols. 9v–10v), the author quotes both Virgil 1999 (*Aen.* 4.174–183, skipping lines 178–180; and, separately 4.184, 4.164–165) and Ovid 1984 (12.46–47 with some errors). For *annus* (year), which is represented by the figures of Isis, a star, a snake, and a sun (fols. 12v–13r), the author quotes Virgil 1999 once again (*G.* 2.402).

[42] Ovid 1502a; 1502b; 1503; Virgil 1501. While volumes of both Germanicus and Aulus Gellius were available in Venice by 1505, as I discuss below, excerpts from both appear to derive from different sources (see n. 45 below).

of the quotation from Pseudo-Cato, it is almost certain that the author of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* extracted it not from the volumes of Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*, in which it was for the most part disseminated, but rather from a prefatory text written by Aldus Manutius himself.[43] Under *vita* (life), the author cites "Cato" as having written, *optime humanam vitam prope uti ferrum esse dixit: quam si exerceas consumitur: si no[n] exerceas rubigine inficitur* ("indeed, Cato says that human life is very like iron: which, if you use it, it is expended: if you do not use it, it is corrupted by rust").[44] While this quotation takes a number of liberties with the original, these liberties share enough with Aldus Manutius's own loose quotation to suggest strongly that the printer, rather than Aulus Gellius, was the author's ultimate reference.[45] Surveying the manuscript's sources together, it seems reasonable to conclude that its author had some relationship with northern Italy, unsurprising in light of "the taste for symbols and devices [which] had deep roots in the chivalric traditions of the northern Italian courts at Ferrara, Mantua, and elsewhere."[46]

Notwithstanding the absence of a dedication, everything about the manuscript intimates its identity as an occasional production and the first of its kind—in other words, that it is not a copy of a preexisting text. The hand is in a humanist cursive, not by a trained professional but rather an amateur, who appears to have been pressed for time, as indicated by the unruled text, uneven application of ink, and often rushed ductus. It even appears that there had been an original plan to precede each entry with a large colored or decorated capital, but that by folio 6v this plan was abandoned. Perhaps more tellingly, infelicities in the Latin are not the telltale errors produced by scribes during the process of copying.[47] This, together with the other indications noted, suggests the scribe and author are, in fact, one and the same.[48]

A Latin translation of the *Hieroglyphica* was not printed until 1517, and there are no substantial verbal parallels between the Royal manuscript and that 1517 edition.[49] In the printed edition, the

[43] Constantinus Lascaris 1495.

[44] British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 4r. My translation.

[45] As quoted by Aldus Manutius: *Na[m] (ut inquit Cato) Vita homnis prope uti ferrum est. Ferrum si exerceas conteritur si non exerceas tamen rubigo interficit. Ita si se homo exercet consumitur, si non exerceat torpedo plus detrimenti affert quam exercitatio* (Constantinus Lascaris 1495). As quoted by Aulus Gellius: *Nam vita inquit humana prope uti ferrum est. Ferrum si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen rubigo interficit. Item homines exercendo videmus conteri. Si nihil exerceas, inertia atque torpedo plus detrimenti facit quam exercitio* (11. ch. 2; punctuation added). I have consulted two incunable editions of this text, printed in Venice, and they both use the wording as quoted above (Aulus Gellius 1472; 1493). It is the use of *consumitur* in particular—shared by Aldus and the Royal manuscript but not by Aulus Gellius—which suggests strongly that the author of the Royal manuscript made use of Aldus's text.

[46] Curran 2007, 75

[47] Parkes 2008, 66–69. For example, there are no duplicated words, missing words, or confused minims. Rather, the Latin of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* is that of an author who shows grammatical reticence at times, hesitating over a word's case and occasionally debating as to the suitability of an "i" or a "y."

A particularly odd transcriptional error is even more suggestive of the originality of this text. According to the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo, a depiction of the goddess Isis denotes a year (Boas 1993, 1.03). While the Royal manuscript does include, in the margin under the heading of *annus* (year), the figure of a woman upon a pedestal, and does refer to her as a goddess (*dea*), her name is written as *Ibis*, an unlikely but nevertheless possible confusion from Ισις. The remainder of the entry remains faithful to the text of the *Hieroglyphica*, yet the scribe—presumably confused as to why the goddess would have the same name as a bird—goes on to expand the dictionary entry in order to square its meaning with his mistake. Appended, along with a marginal image of a bird, is the following: *ibis quoque avis annum volebat et preter hoc egyptam significabat* ("the ibis bird also signified the year, and in addition to this it signified Egypt"). A rationalization such as this seems more attributable to an author than to a scribe himself.

[48] A further indication here that the manuscript represents a direct translation from a Greek text (and was produced in haste, without the benefit of a working copy or a rough draft) is the following phrase, which includes a direct strike through the (unfinished) word *grec*: *Ibis dea depicta annum dicit sive stellam qua[n]dam quam ~~grec~~ Egyptiis Ibim esse existimabant* (British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 12v).

[49] Fasanini 1517. On this translation and for a translation into English, see Drysdall 1983. For the full text, see <<http://

author, Filippo Fasanini, speaks of the desirability of illustrations, writing: "I resolved, since models are more effective, to attach engraved figures and signs of similar type to each chapter and symbol of the work. . . . But because this was apparently rather more work and [would take] more time . . . I did not want to delay the job in any way when it was begun, and spend a lot of time on things which everyone can supply for himself."[50] One inference that I think we can make from this statement is that Fasanini was writing for an Italian audience, one that he presumed would be able to inspect the very hieroglyphs that his translation defines. Unlike Fasanini, our author did take the time. And the images he supplied for his translation present an inventive version of a hieroglyphic dictionary.

To summarize the preceding points: the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* combines an independent translation of a Greek ekphrastic text with a unique improvisation inspired by the same source, parts of which are addressed to a king. It is written in an Italian humanist cursive by an amateur scribe and is based upon textual and visual sources of northern Italian origin, for the most part printed by Aldus Manutius between 1499 and 1505. And yet, the images look decidedly French, typical of Parisian illumination from the first decade of the sixteenth century.[51] Furthermore, the manuscript bears evidence of English ownership from shortly after the time of its production. Extraordinarily, there exists in the British Library another manuscript that shares every single one of these features with the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* and that allows us to identify its author and the date of its production. It is to that manuscript that I now turn.

2. Filippo Alberici and His English Enterprise

In 1506, a Servite monk from Mantua named Filippo Alberici (ca. 1470–1531) journeyed from his hometown of Mantua to Cambridge via Paris.[52] While in Paris Alberici commissioned illuminations for a manuscript that he himself had authored and scribed—an original Latin metrical recreation of

---

reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10150820_00005.html>>.

[50] *. . . animus mihi fuerat, quando exempla magis mouent: figuras, notasque simili forma unicuique capiti et symbolo opusculi huius sculptas adfigere, ut et sensu uisuque: non minus quam ex auditu et lectione res ista perciperetur maiorque cum uoluptas tum utilitas lectoribus compararetur. Sed quia res paulo operosior et longioris temporis apparebat, nullo pacto coeptum opus differre, et in rebus: quas sibi quisque per se parare semper poterit: non multum immorari uolui"* (Drysdall 1983, 146–147). This text appears in the original on XLVIIIIr–v.

[51] The observation ("written in an Italian hand but the illustrations are rather French in style") was first recorded by Warner and Gilson 1921, 2:22

[52] Alberici was born ca. 1470 in Mantua, the son of Amabilia (née Fiera) and the nephew of the scholar and physician Battista Fiera. All that is known of his life and literary output is as follows: in 1507, Alberici traveled to Paris, where he had printed a book he composed: *Carmen de sacratissimo Cristi corpore* (Alberici 1507). It has been proposed that he was a papal emissary to Julius II, but this has not been corroborated. While in Paris he also associated with the scholar

Jérôme Hangest, who dedicated a book to Alberici (Hangest 1507). During the summer of the same year, Alberici was in Cambridge, where he conversed with the king's physician, Giovanni Boerio, and presented a manuscript (British Library, Arundel MS 317) to Joachim Bretoner, seneschal of King's Hall. After returning to Paris that year, Alberici composed a dedication to Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, for the second edition of his uncle's book (Fiera 1508). In 1509, he authored another text, *De homine condito* (Cambridge, Queens' College, MS 298), which he presented to Richard Fox. In May 1509, Alberici returned to Italy and participated in a dispute with Hieronymus Castro of Piacenza, and he was in 1515 elected the vicar general of the Servite Order. In the following year, he published a history of the Servite Order, dedicated to Cardinal del Monte (Alberici 1516a), as well as *Exordium Religionis fratrum Servorum beatae Mariae* (Alberici 1516b). By 1526, Alberici served as the order's commisarius at the Papal Court, and it was in 1531 that he died while founding a Servite House in Naples. The preceding information is synthesized from: Giani 1719–1725, 2:35, 62, 88, 101; Morini and Soulier 1899, 3:53–80; Allen and Allen 1929, 41–42; Carlson 1993, 20–23, 187–190; and Rundle 2005, 138–139. On Battista Fiera, whose *De iusticia pingenda* gained him wide recognition, see Fiera 1957; Dionisotti 1958; Rhodes 1986; Chambers and Martineau 1982, 153–155.

Fig. 15. Filippo Alberici, Tabula Cebetis and Other Poems*, frontispiece and dedication to Henry VII, British Library, Arundel MS 317, fols. 2v–3r (photo © The British Library Board).*

the Greek text Κεβητος πιναξ (*Tabula Cebetis*; British Library MS Arundel 317).[53] This manuscript has received extensive attention from David Carlson, Sandra Sider, and David Rundle, all of whom refer to it as the first illustrated copy of the *Tabula Cebetis*.[54] In producing an illustrated Latin translation of this learned text, Filippo Alberici hoped to attract the attentions and patronage of Henry VII, intercepting the king on a visit to Cambridge in July 1507.[55] The frontispiece (fig. 15), dedication, and additional poem in praise of the king all testify to its original intended destination; but, as misfortune would have it, Henry VII never received this manuscript. Rundle has proposed that the reason for this failure may simply be that Alberici never gained an audience with the king. Whatever the reason, Alberici, foiled in his ambitions, deleted the arms of the king from the manuscript and cut his losses: he penned a new dedication for another poem in the manuscript (*De mortis effectibus*)

[53] The entire manuscript has been digitized and can be found at: <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>>. See Lutz 1986, 6:1–14; Sider 1986a, 7:299–300.

[54] Sider 1990b; Carlson 1993, 20, 22–36, 167–168, 171–174;

Rundle 2005. See also Drimmer 2011a.

[55] Henry VII is well known for his patronage of Italian scholars and poets. On which, see Backhouse 1995; Lecuppre 2001; Rundle 2003; Wyatt 2005; Scott 2007.

and presented it in full to Joachim Bretoner, seneschal of King's Hall Cambridge—a decidedly less exalted figure than the king.[56]

In textual content, pictorial matter, and codicology, the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis* shares so many features with the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* as to exceed coincidence. Both manuscripts are codices made of parchment with a similar texture and color. They are likewise of small dimensions: the Royal manuscript measures 220 × 145 mm, while the Arundel shows evidence of overzealous trimming and now measures 205 × 140 mm.[57] The length of each is also similar, amounting to twenty-five and thirty folios, respectively. Finally, each manuscript is, for the most part, comprised of ternions, which, while not rare, are still distinctive enough to bear mentioning within the context of the books' similar profiles.[58] When viewed alongside each other, the two manuscripts are a congenial match, easy to envision as a pair or once bound together.

There are also numerous parallels between the contents of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* and those of the *Tabula Cebetis*. The latter is, in effect, an extended ekphrasis, relating the story of Cebes's encounter with a mystifying tablet on the wall of the Temple of Saturn. During the course of the narrative, a wise old man interprets and draws morals from the paintings on the tablet, which depict the three circles of human life, each one a different struggle between vice and virtue. The work's Greek pedigree and its openness to Christian allegoresis made the *Tabula Cebetis* a favored instructional tract throughout Europe from the end of the fifteenth century. And like the *Hieroglyphica*, the *Tabula Cebetis* was aided in its popularity by its appearance in two printed editions before 1505, one by Aldus Manutius.[59] As several scholars have noted, the particular rendition of the *Tabula* in Arundel MS 317 is distinguished by its illustrative program and by its amplification of the text: both of which serve to enlist the *Tabula's* lessons into royal rapport, transforming its moral commendations into a treatise on princely education.[60] Thus, while both the *Tabula* and the *Hieroglyphica* in their original form are ekphrastic, the versions that appear in Royal and Arundel take pains to relate this ekphrastic content to royal themes. On Alberici's translation, Carlson has remarked that it "puts [him] in the avant-garde of European (not only English) humanism,"[61] and I think it fair to say the same of the author of the *Hieroglyphicon* for many of the same reasons.

Furthermore, the pictorial content of the two manuscripts is entirely compatible. In addition to similarities in style, color palette, and frames, repeated across the two manuscripts are distinctive images that lend the volumes visible coherence. Notably, the tablet, slung from a branch by a ribbon (figs. 2 and 16), punctuates both manuscripts as a motif. In addition, festooning miniatures

---

[56] All of this information is given in detail in Rundel 2005. As Rundle goes on to discuss, Alberici continued to pursue royal patronage after his initial failure by courting Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester (Rundel 2005, 146–150). The only evidence that the manuscript was given to Bretoner is internal to the manuscript itself since no documents testify to its presence in any libraries at Cambridge. I think we can accept that Bretoner did receive the manuscript and then, given its later provenance within England (for which, see Drimmer 2011a), left it behind when he departed for Italy in 1511 (Rundle 2005, 150).

[57] Trimming is especially apparent on pages where it has encroached on the illumination (e.g., fol. 2v). The text space in each manuscript is much more similar, coming in at 130 × 95 mm in Arundel and 135 × 105 mm in Royal.

[58] Both manuscripts were rebound, rather tightly, and I am

grateful to Joanna Frońska for assisting me in examining them. Any errors in characterizing the manuscripts are my own.

[59] While the *editio princeps* is generally believed to have been printed by Lorenzo di Alopa in 1496, it may not have been produced until 1517. The Aldine edition was published sometime between 1501 and 1503 and was reprinted with minor edits in 1512. See Sider 1979, 3. For an English translation, see Fitzgerald and White 1983.

[60] Sider 1990b, 12; Carlson 1993, 28–31. It is worth mentioning, as Helmut Seng kindly pointed out to me, that the final section (on fols. 23r–23v), a free addition to the paraphrase, is directed to Prince Henry (later Henry VIII).

[61] Carlson 1993, 25.

Fig. 16. Filippo Alberici, Tabula Cebetis and Other Poems*, Allegory of the Path to Virtue, British Library, Arundel MS 317, fol. 18v (photo © The British Library Board).*

in the two manuscripts is a distinctive laurel wreathe, which was modeled very closely on one that appears in the *Hypnerotomachia*.[62] While the images in each manuscript were not produced by the same hand,[63] they were created by artists trained in the same milieu and who were laboring under an encroaching deadline: the slapdash nature of the miniatures' frames and the summary application of paint to backgrounds, for example, insinuate haste. With little time between his stop in Paris and his journey to Cambridge, Alberici appears to have contracted the artist of the *Tabula Cebetis* to complete his commission as a rush order, and the Royal manuscript bears similar signs of expedition.[64]

[62] Arundel MS 317, fol. 2v; Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 23r ; and Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:258.

[63] *Pace* Sider and Obrist, who report that this information was provided by Janet Backhouse (Sider and Obrist 1997, no. 147). Perhaps Backhouse suggested that the hands are very similar; there are simply too many stylistic variations to attribute these images to the same artist.

[64] An additional coincidence concerns the presence of macabre images in both manuscripts. An added frontispiece miniature to *De mortis effectibus* in Arundel MS 317 is, while appropriate to the poem it precedes, entirely disparate from the main pictorial matter of the book; and it was produced by a different artist (British Library, MS Arundel 317, fol. 25r). See Rundle 2005, 144. This image owes a substantial debt to the image of decaying ruins in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. See Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:232 and 254. A counterpart in the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* (Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 22r) likewise draws on elements from the *Hypnerotomachia* in order to envisage an underworld scene (Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964, 1:245). On the whole, it is a grim montage and one that is

Finally, Filippo Alberici's hand appears to be evident in both manuscripts. David Rundle has argued convincingly that Alberici was himself the scribe of Arundel MS 317, and that a number of sections that show haste in composition were written after Alberici failed to present the volume to the king: the *argumenta*, which were very clearly added to the manuscript after the *Tabula Cebetis* was completed; and the dedication to the seneschal of King's Hall Cambridge.[65] The Royal manuscript likewise shows alternations in pace in its production, with some pages tidy and measured in their execution and others rushed to the point of disarray. However, the manuscripts share more than inconsistencies in their production: compare, for example, the hand on fol. 24v of the Arundel manuscript to that on fol. 10v in the Royal *Hieroglyphicon*. On each page, the scribe alternates between a dot and a sharply angled line above the "I"; he finishes with an exaggerated upstroke or serif for "a" and "e" when they occur at the end of a word; and the lobe to his "a" is consistently compressed and often detached from the subsequent downstroke. Another indication that the two manuscripts share the same scribe is the incidence in both of his replacing an "i" with a "y."[66] Scribal connoisseurship is admittedly a precarious undertaking, which "cannot be pressed to the point of absolute forensic proof."[67] And it would be inadequate to establish the companionship of the two manuscripts concerned; but when considered alongside the other features they share, the correspondences in script seem all the more likely to be attributable to the same hand.

Absent such hard internal evidence as a dedication or a colophon, the abundance and nature of similarities between the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis* and the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* provide sufficient grounds for the argument that they share authorship by Alberici, were produced concurrently in 1507, and were both destined originally for Henry VII. Indeed, the absence of a dedication from the Royal manuscript favors this conclusion. If, as Alberici had intended, the Arundel manuscript had gone to Henry VII, then the text of *De mortis effectibus* would have been included within the volume without a dedication: the preliminary dedication on the frontispiece would have served for the entire book. As it stands, the dedication to Joachim Bretoner was shoehorned into the remaining space between the end of the poem in praise of the king and the introductory miniature to *De mortis effectibus*, which itself commences on the following verso. Perhaps, as was the case with *De mortis effectibus*, Alberici held off on adding an opening miniature to the *Hieroglyphicon*, and in the event of his failure never included one at all. This chronology accords with "the gradual development of [Arundel MS 317]"[68] and even further with the frustration of its author's ambitions. An alternative possibility is that Alberici, in the expectation of winning the king's attention, had prepared the *Hieroglyphicon* as a complementary gift for a later occasion, planning to complete it upon arrival in England. Relevant here is Carlson's description of the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis*, which, he claims, comprises a collection of Alberici's writings, rather than a single item, and this feature shifts the focus of attention, subtly perhaps but still sensibly, from the occasion of the presentation to the idea of a literary career. The manuscript is not a production for the nonce, speaking only to the immediate occasion and its political circumstance, as do many contemporary literary presentations; rather, by virtue of its inclusion of a series of writings, it pretends to represent Alberici's capabilities beyond

---

somewhat at odds with the otherwise celebratory content of the book. However, in the company of the Arundel death-scape, it might constitute a "subplot" or morbid theme that would tie together even further the two books.

[65] Rundle 2005, 143.

[66] E.g., Royal MS 12 C iii, fol. 11r (*subtyrso*); and, e.g.,

Arundel MS 317, fol. 27r (*Phyli*).

[67] Fletcher 2007, 598. For more general reservations about the reliability of scribal attribution, see Hanna 2013. I thank Tony Edwards for these references.

[68] Rundle 2005, 144.

the particular moment, his accomplishment as a whole,[69] and, in turn, his viability as a scholar worthy of patronage. The inclusion or eventual presentation to the king of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* could only showcase Alberici's prolific output and prodigious achievements. Paired with the texts in the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis*, it rounds out a luscious portfolio of a humanist for hire.[70]

3. The Manuscript as Monument

So much for the "what," the "who," and the "when." It is the "how" of the Royal manuscript—that is, how it stages an appeal to a royal audience—that makes this object an ingenious artistic precursor to both Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* and the emblematic arts of the later sixteenth century.[71] As I noted above, the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* presents a highly selective abbreviation of and improvisation on the Greek original. The bias that drove this selection was single-minded. It was geared toward assembling a rudimentary vocabulary necessary for the culmination of the manuscript's illustrative cycle: its hieroglyphic epigraphs, each one an encomium to royal power or a caution against its abuse.

The full-page miniature on folio 19 exemplifies Alberici's method (see fig. 1). Against an imperial purple ground are golden hieroglyphs, arranged into orderly rows that assimilate a syntactical structure.[72] And beneath, the resulting epigraph is translated into Latin to read, *Perpetuo incolumem vitam in pace custodias. Et prudenter te in mundo gubernes. Amore divino retentus. In bello victor longanimis. Ac dives. Semper deo protegente invictus* ("May you continually keep an uninjured life in peace. And may you prudently conduct yourself in the world. May you be upheld by divine love, the victor in war, patient. May you also be rich. May you always be invincible with God protecting"). One of the more clever features of Alberici's—or perhaps the illuminator's—hieroglyphic language is its invention of visual conjugation.[73] For example, while in the preceding dictionary section, *tenet* (holds) is represented by an upright fishhook, the glyph in the epigraph is conjugated into *retentus* (upheld) by its horizontal position. Clunky and dysfunctional as it is, Alberici and the illuminator have collaborated to resuscitate what was otherwise a comatose symbolic code.

Alberici's handling of hieroglyphs is entirely in keeping with both the armchair archaeology and inventive epigraphy of Renaissance humanists. In his extensive scholarship, Brian Curran has identified two attitudes toward hieroglyphic study in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the

---

[69] Carlson 1993, 22.

[70] Given that the Royal manuscript shows evidence of English ownership from the sixteenth century, it seems that, as with the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis*, Alberici left the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* in Cambridge. As mentioned above (see n. 56), the only evidence that the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis* was left in Cambridge is internal to the manuscript itself. What makes locating both it and the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* within Cambridge collections so difficult—if they were ever recorded within catalogues or inventories at all—is that King's Hall (of which Joachim Bretoner was the seneschal) was shortly thereafter absorbed along with Michaelhouse into the newly instituted Trinity Hall. As Philip Gaskell has noted, "[t]here are no records of donations [of books to King's Hall] in the early sixteenth century" and "[w]e know very little about what Trinity inherited from the libraries of Michaelhouse or the King's Hall, and there is no catalogue of Trinity Library that gives a clear idea of its contents before the end of the

[sixteenth] century" (Gaskell 1981). See, also, the following, which contain no mention of either a *Tabula Cebetis* or a book of hieroglyphs that matches the description of either Arundel MS 317 or Royal MS 12 C iii: Norton 1958; Gaskell 1983; and Leedham-Green 1987.

[71] For the relationship between the rediscovery/revival of hieroglyphs and the development of emblematics, see Volkmann 1923; and for more summary treatments, see Russell 1986; Cavell 1990.

[72] In other instances, the hieroglyphs are placed in a less orderly structure and are meant to be read spatially rather than temporally (British Library, MS Royal 12 C iii, fols. 21r, 22v, 23r).

[73] A similar grammatical inventiveness occurs in the *Hypnerotomachia*, where a hieroglyph is, for example, illustrated twice in order to form the plural (Curran 1998, 171).

archaeological and the creative. The former is characterized by an interest in authentic hieroglyphs and a concomitant trepidation in deciphering (incorrectly) their meaning, while the latter disregards authenticity in favor of reviving hieroglyphic communication, often for politically motivated purposes.[74] What makes the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* such an unusual object is its reconciliation of the two approaches, embodied in its amalgamation of a code with its cipher: the dictionary that occupies the first part of the manuscript expounds on the meaning and origin of hieroglyphic symbols in nominally academic fashion; the epigraphic section, on the other hand, takes up Alberti's lead in resuscitating the pictorial language of the ancients, doing so with the brio of a poet rather than the circumspection of a scholar.[75] If Alberici's idea for the epigraphs was informed by the fantasies of the *Hypnerotomachia*,[76] then their execution was in the studious spirit of Cyriacus of Ancona,[77] Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini,[78] and others.

The manuscript, moreover, registers a subtle distinction between natural and conventional symbolism.[79] Illustrating the dictionary section are colored, relatively naturalistic images as well as textual etiologies that relate the objects represented to the meanings that their representations denote (for example, from the passage quoted above, a hawk signifies blood because it only drinks blood). In contrast, the epigraphic section presents the same images in a more recognizably symbolic form: rather than pictures, they now resemble pictograms in their increased schematization and uniformity in color. Where previously concepts or things were denoted by images likened to natural objects, in the second section, for the purposes of epigraphs, those objects slough off their natural form and are transmuted into glyphs.[80] Renaissance humanists, following a Neoplatonic line of thought, prized Egyptian hieroglyphs because of their visual proximity to the natural world and thus to pure communication.[81] The Royal *Hieroglyphicon*, in illustrating two levels of its own

[74] Curran 1998–1999. Curran explores these two facets of Renaissance hieroglyphic study throughout *The Egyptian Renaissance*.

[75] In *Anuli*, Alberti concocts a number of symbols inspired by hieroglyphs, effectively an early attempt to create modern hieroglyphs (Sansoni 1890). See Marsh 2007; 2003. Much has also been made of Alberti's winged eye emblem, which is believed to have been inspired by hieroglyphs. See Gielhow 1915, 35–37; Watkins 1960; Schneider 1990.

[76] On the epigraphs in the *Hypnerotomachia*, see Griggs 1998; Furno 2003.

[77] For Cyriac's life as well as his interest in Egyptian antiquities and epigraphy, see Ziebart 1902; MacKendrick 1952; Van Essen 1958; Bodnar and Mitchell 1976; Lehmann 1977; Solin 1998; Bodnar 2003.

[78] On Ferrarini, see Oliveri 1979; Franzoni 1999; Franzoni and Sarchi 1999; and Curran 2007, 99–105. The entire manuscript containing Ferrarini's epigraphic studies as well as his copies of hieroglyphs has been digitized and can be found at <<http://panizzi.comune.re.it>>.

[79] Gombrich differentiates between these two forms as "analogical symbolism" and "the mystical image" or as "essential" and "conventional" (Gombrich 1972, 123–195 and 146–160). The idea that there exists a symbolic order in nature has a long history in the West, encapsulated roughly on either side of the Middle Ages in Augustine's "The very countenance of creation is a great book" and Galileo's "Philosophy is written in this grand book—I mean the universe—which stands continually open to our gaze" (Augustine 1966, 224; Galilei 1960, 183–184). For the origins of the emblematic arts in natural symbolism, see Harms 1985; Ashworth 1990. Interestingly enough, the 1505 edition of the *Hieroglyphica* included Aesop's *Fables* (see n. 20 above), suggesting a sixteenth-century alignment between the moralizing view of nature in the *Fables* and the natural symbolism in the *Hieroglyphica*.

[80] Giancarla Periti makes a similar argument regarding the work of Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini, whose epigraphic studies in writing attempted at times to recapture the form of lapidary inscription and at others make no attempt at "transcending the flatness of the paper." The footnotes to her essay also offer a comprehensive bibliography on the history and historiography of Renaissance epigraphy (Periti 2008).

[81] This conception is voiced explicitly, for example, by Marsilio Ficino, "[t]he Egyptians imitated the very nature of the universe and the work of the gods; they also showed the images of the mystic and hidden notions in the form of symbols, in the same way in which nature too expresses occult causes in apparent forms or in symbols, as it were, and the gods explain the truth of the ideas of manifest images" (Ficino 1962, 2.2:1901). For overviews of the Neoplatonic understanding of hieroglyphs, see Gombrich 1972, 146–160; Håkansson 2001.

symbolic forms—naturalistic and pictographic—records the slight remove from nature to language. This facet of the pictorial program suggests that behind it lay at least some contemplation on the nature of visual semiosis. Representations of actual, perishable things have no place in the system of eternal communication; but the stylized pictograms that are derived from them do.

One way in which this portion of the manuscript presents itself, then, is as a portable collection of monuments, poised somewhere between the literal in stone and the metaphoric in letters.[82] Its gestures toward the monumental are exemplified on folio 19, where the frame for the epigraph resembles contemporary sculpted memorials and wall cenotaphs. And the stylized nature of the hieroglyphs themselves heightens the lapidary effect: the impression of bas relief is simulated through application of gold paint, linearity, and near-flatness. A comparison might be made to Boccaccio's "virtual epigraphy" insofar as, like Boccaccio, Alberici is creating new, rather than copying preexisting, epigraphs;[83] but Alberici gives an antiquarian inflection to this idea by including an architectural apparatus in paint for the display of his hieroglyphic epigraphs.[84] From contemporary readings of Pliny and Ammianus, humanists understood graven obelisks as "quintessentially royal monuments, whose original production (by the pharaohs) and later appropriation (by the Ptolemies and Roman emperors) . . . [were] a sequence of engineering challenges that [were] confronted and eventually—triumphally—fulfilled."[85] The very fact that they could enlist the resources necessary to meet these engineering challenges testified to their greatness. Alberti, in *On the Art of Building*, even goes so far as to read hieroglyphs as precursors to the stone monuments of ancient Rome: both forms of "sculpted histories," they use pure form to praise in perpetuity the noblest achievements of mighty men.[86] In the reading that I am advocating, the Royal manuscript represents an artistic solution to the problem that England had no magnificent obelisks to praise its own mighty kings. What Alberici masterminded is a comparable monument made *vade mecum*.

It is here where an analysis sensitive to the materials from which this manuscript was "made" proves useful. The very idea of portable monumentality arises—whether consciously or simply out of necessity—from the portable models used in its production. In isolating the elements used to confect the manuscript, my aim above was not simply to support an argument in favor of its companionship with the Arundel *Tabula Cebetis*. In addition, my intention was to show that the entirety of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon*'s program derived from easily transportable sources—even when the author claims otherwise. Whether an engraving by Giulio Campagnola, a coin impressed with a Sforza emblem, or printed books from the Aldine press, every one of these could have fit in the trunk of a traveling cleric with scholarly ambitions. What is significant is that the technology of print writ large (in which I include minting) had put signs and symbols wrested from their Egypto-Italian home at the relatively convenient disposal of Alberici and his illuminator. These they reconstructed and monumentalized in miniature within a luxuriously illuminated manuscript. In transporting a hieroglyphic monument from Italy to France to England, Alberici endeavored to prove that the

[82] The comparison of literary elegies and eulogies to monuments is a common trope that extends back to classical Latin poetry, at least. See Usher 2007; see also, for a discussion of "paper monuments," Wood 2008, 225–229. For an important collection of essays that deal explicitly with themes of portability and mobility in the exchange of cultures, and in particular architectural artifacts, see Payne 2014. I am grateful to the anonymous reader who brought this collection to my attention.

[83] Usher 2007, 18 and 25. Usher argues that Boccaccio

makes this allusion through the use of Rustic capitals in the manuscript copies of his inscriptions.

[84] Alberici's method here is comparable to Ferrarini's (see n. 78 above).

[85] Curran 2007, 56. The most relevant passages are in Pliny 1962, 36, ch. 14; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1937, xvii.

[86] Alberti 1988, 256.

greatness of his belletristic achievements matched those of the emperors who imported hieroglyphic monuments from Egypt to Rome. In turn, the king who would patronize their maker would be worthy of equal praise.

Although the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* never made it to its intended destination, it certainly found an invested audience early in its life. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the manuscript was in the hands of Henry Fitzalan, who eventually passed it with the rest of his library to his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley. Annotations in a sixteenth-century hand (perhaps one of theirs?) pepper the index, as well as the main text; and a later hand added Latin translations of the epigraphs where they were either never completed or at risk of disappearing through abrasion. Both sets of annotations betray an interest in preserving the usefulness of the manuscript as a guide to hieroglyphic communication.

And while it was not until the 1580s that England could claim an Egyptianesque monument of its own, it seems a fitting epilogue that the owner of the Royal *Hieroglyphicon* was he who commissioned it. Sometime during that decade, Lumley constructed a "pyramid" on the garden grounds of Nonsuch Palace.[87] A forerunner to many others that followed, the Nonsuch obelisk testifies to England's awakening to the arts of ancient Egypt, an awakening that may have been roused by Lumley's encounter with the "Egyptian monument" in his own library.[88]

---

[87] Biddle 1999, 146; Evans 2010, 51–53; fol. 29r.

[88] Never having traveled to Italy, Lumley "could have been inspired by the secondary sources available to him in England, often in his own library" (Barron 2003, 125). The impulse gained further momentum in the following century by his grand-nephew, Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel. See Chaney 2011.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript

Alberici, F., *Hieroglyphicon*, London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C iii.

——, *De homine condito*, Cambridge, Queens' College MS 298.

——, *Tabula Cebetis*, London, British Library, Arundel MS 317.

Pirckheimer, W., and A. Dürer, *Hieroglyphica*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 3255.

Traité des vertus, de leur excellence, et comment on les peut acquérir, Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS français 12247.

Print

Alberici, F., *Carmen de sacratissimo Cristi corpore* (Paris 1507). Universal Short Title Catalogue (hereafter USTC) 180259.

——, *Coena Saluberrima* (Paris 1508). USTC 180307.

——, *Institutio Congregationis fratrum Servorum beatae Mariae Observantium* (Venice 1516a). USTC 808222.

——, *Exordium Religionis fratrum Servorum beatae Mariae* (Venice 1516b). USTC 808221.

Alberti, L. B., *On the Art of Building*, trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavernor (Cambridge, MA 1988).

Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds., *Letters of Richard Fox, 1486–1527* (Oxford 1929).

Ammianus Marcellinus, trans. J. C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (London 1937). Loeb Classical Library.

Augustine, "Sermon on Matthew 11.25–26," *Selected Sermons of Augustine*, trans. Q. Howe, Jr. (New York 1966).

Boas, G., *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo* (rpt. Princeton 1993).

Bodnar, E. W., ed. and trans., *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (Cambridge, MA 2003).

Evans, M., ed., *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarborough* (Arundel, UK 2010).

Fasanini, F., trans., Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica hoc est De sacris Aegyptiorum literis libelli duo de Graeco in Latinum sermonem a Philippo Phasianino Bononiensi nunc primum translati* (Bologna 1517). USTC 835844.

Ficino, M., *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Basel 1576; rpt. Turin 1962).

Fiera, B., *Coena saluberrima lautius ab ipso nuper instructa et multo sale condita* (Paris 1508). USTC 180307.

——, *De iusticia pingenda: On the Painting of Justice: A Dialogue between Mantegna and Momus*, trans. J. Wardrop (London 1957).

Fitzgerald, J. T., and L. M. White, eds. and trans., *The Tabula of Cebes* (Chico, CA 1983).

Galilei, G., *The Assayer*, in *The Controversy on the Comets of 1618*, ed. S. Drake and C. D. O'Malley (Philadelphia 1960).

Gellius, A., *Noctes Atticae* (Venice 1472). USTC 994776.

——, *Noctes Atticae* (Venice 1493). USTC 994772.

Godwin, J., ed. and trans., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (London 1999).

Hangest, J., *Problemata exponibilium* (Paris 1507). USTC 143296.

Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, ed. J. M. González de Zárate and M. J. García Soler (Torrejón de Ardoz 1991).

Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice 1499). USTC 995631.

Lactantius, *Opera* (Venice 1493). USTC 993700.

——, *Opera* (Venice 1494). USTC 993699.

——, *Opera* (Venice 1497). USTC 993698.

Lascaris, C., *Eretomata*, etc. (Venice 1495). USTC 761235.

Ovid, *Metamorphoseon libri XV* (Venice 1502a). USTC 845656.

——, *Heroidum epistolae. Auli Sabini. Epistolae tres. P.O.N. Elegiarum. Libri tres. De arte amandi. Libri tres. De remedio amoris. Libri duo. In Ibin. Liber unus. Ad Liviam epistola de morte Drusi. De nuce. De medicamine faciei* (Venice 1502b). USTC 845646.

———, *Quae hoc in libello continentur. Fastorum. Libri VI. De tristibus. Libri V. De Ponto. Libri IV* (Venice 1503). USTC 845661.

———, *Fasti*, trans. J. G. Frazer (Cambridge, MA 1931).

———, *Metamorphoses*, trans. F. J. Miller, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA 1984).

Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. D. D. Eichholz, vol. 10 (Cambridge, MA 1962).

Pozzi, G., and L. Ciapponi, eds., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 2 vols. (Padua 1964).

Sasoni, G. C., ed., *Leon Battista Alberti Opera inedita et pauca separatim impressa* (Florence 1890).

Virgil, *Vergilius* (Venice 1501). USTC 862688.

———, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, trans. H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA 1999).

Vita & fabellae Aesopi cum interpretatione Latina Gabriae . . . Ori Apollinis Niliacihieroglyphica (Venice 1505). USTC 807828.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Ashworth, W. B., Jr., "Natural History and the Emblematic World View," in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. D. C. Lindberg and R. S. Westman (Cambridge 1990) 303–332.

Backhouse, J., "Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of His Immediate Family," in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. B. Thompson (Stamford 1995) 175–187.

Barron, K., "The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley [c. 1535–1609]," in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. E. Chaney (London 2003) 125–158.

Biddle, M., "The Gardens of Nonsuch: Sources and Dating," *Garden History* 27 (1999) 145–185.

Bigliazzi, L., A. Dillon Bussi, G. Savino, and P. Scapechi, eds., *Aldo Manuzio tipografo, 1494–1515* (Florence 1994).

Bodnar, E. W., and C. Mitchell, eds., *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444–1445* (Philadelphia 1976).

Boyle, A., "Henry Fitzalan, Twelfth Earl of Arundel: Politics and Culture in the Tudor Nobility" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford 2003).

Brown, D. A., "Giulio Campagnola: The Printmaker as Painter," *Artibus et historiae* 61 (2010) 83–97.

Brown, P. F., *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven 1997).

Calvesi, M., *Il sogno de Polifilo prenestino* (Rome 1980).

———, *La "pugna di amore in sogno" di Francesco Colonna Romano* (Rome 1996).

Carlson, D. R., *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475–1525* (Toronto 1993).

Cavell, R., "Representing Writing: The Emblem as (Hiero)glyph," in *The European Emblem. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11–14 August 1987*, ed. B. Sholz, M. Bath, and D. Weston (Leiden 1990) 167–185.

Chambers, D., and J. Martineau, eds., *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (London 1982).

Chaney, E., "Roma Britannica and the Cultural Memory of Egypt: Lord Arundel and the Obelisk of Domitian," in *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, ed. D. Marshall, S. Russell, and K. Wolfe (London 2011) 147–170.

Curran, B., "The Hypnerotomachia and Renaissance Egyptology," *Word & Image* 14 (1998) 156–185.

———, "'De Sacrarum Litterarum Aegyptiorum Interpretatione.' Reticence and Hubris in Hieroglyphic Studies of the Renaissance: Pierio Valeriano and Annius of Viterbo," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 43/44 (1998–1999) 139–182.

———, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago 2007).

Dannenfeldt, K., "Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959) 7–27.

Davies, M., *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London 1995).

de Girolami Cheney, L., "Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: A Garden of Neoplatonic Love," in *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays*, ed. D. Mansueto and E. L. Calogero (Geneva 2007) 157–184. Glasgow Emblem Studies 12.

Dempsey, C., "Renaissance Hieroglyphic Studies: An Overview," in *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*, ed. J. Whitman (Leiden 2000) 365–379.

Dionisotti, C., "Battista Fiera," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 1 (1958) 401–418.

———, *Aldo Manuzio, umanista e editore* (Milan 1994).

D'Onofrio, C., *Gli obelischi di Roma: storia e urbanistica di una città dall'età antica al XX secolo* (Rome 1992).

Drimmer, S., "Filippo Alberici, *Tabula cebetis*, *De mortis effectibus*, and Other Poems," *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, ed. S. McKendrick, J. Lowden, and K. Doyle (London 2011a) no. 110.

———, "Filippo Alberici(?), *Hieroglyphica*," in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, ed. S. McKendrick, J. Lowden, and K. Doyle (London 2011b) no. 111.

Drysdall, D. L., "Filippo Fasanini and His 'Explanation of Sacred Writing' (Text and Translation)," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1983) 127–155.

Fletcher, A. J., "The Criteria for Scribal Attribution: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 244, Some Early Copies of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, and the Canon of Adam Pynkhurst Manuscripts," *Review of English Studies* 68 (2007) 597–632.

Franzoni, C., "Gli stdui antiquari di Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini," in *"Il Portico dei Marmi": le prime collezioni a Reggio Emilia e la nascita del Museo Civico* (Reggio Emilia 1999) 25–37.

Franzoni C., and A. Sarchi, "Entre peinture, archéologie e muséugraphie: l''Antiquarium' de Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini," *Revue de l'Art* 125 (1999) 20–31.

Furno, M., *Une "fantasie" sur l'antique: le goût pout l'épigraphie funéraire dans "l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" de Francesco Colonna* (Geneva 2003).

Gaskell, P., *Trinity College Library: The First 150 Years* (Cambridge 1981).

———, "An Early Inventory of Trinity College Books," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1983) 334–341.

Giani, A., *Annalium sacri ordinis Fratrum Servorum B. Mariae Virginis . . .* , 2nd ed., 3 vols., ed. A. M. Garbi (Lucca 1719–1725).

Giehlow, K., "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 32 (Vienna 1915) 1–218.

Gombrich, E., "Hypnerotomachiana," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951) 119–125.

———, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford 1972).

Griggs, T., "Promoting the Past: The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili as Antiquarian Enterprise," *Word & Image* 14 (1998) 17–39.

Håkansson, H., *Seeing the Word: John Dee and Renaissance Occultism* (Lund 2001) 139–157.

Hanna, R., Review of L. Mooney and E. Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375–1425* (York 2012), *Times Literary Supplement* (14 June 2013).

Harms, W., "On Natural History and Emblematics in the 16th Century," in *The Natural Sciences and the Arts: Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century*, ed. A. Ellenius (Uppsala 1985) 67–83.

Hind, A., *Early Italian Engraving*, 7 vols. (London 1938–1948).

Iversen, E., "Hieroglyphic Studies of the Renaissance," *Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958) 15–21.

———, *Obelisks in Exile* (Copenhagen 1968).

———, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ 1993).

Jacobsen, M. A., "A Sforza Miniature by Cristoforo da Preda," *The Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974) 91–96.

Jayne, S., and F. R. Johnson, eds., *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609* (London 1956).

Lecuppre, G., "Henri VII et les humanistes italiens: elaboration d'une legitimite princière et emergence d'un foyer culturel," in *Rapporti e scambi tra umanesimo italiano ed umanesimo europeo: "L'Europa è uno stato d'animo,"* ed. L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan 2001) 51–64.

Leedham-Green, E. S., *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1987).

Lehmann, P. W., *Cyriacus of Ancona's Egyptian Visit and Its Reflections in Gentile Bellini and in Hieronymus Bosch* (New York 1977).

Lowry, M., *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford 1979).

Lutz, C. E., "Pseudo-Cebes," *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. V. Brown, P. O. Kristeller, and F. E. Cranz, 9 vols. (Washington, DC 1986).

MacKendrick, P., "A Renaissance Odyssey: The Life of Cyriac of Ancona," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 13 (1952) 131–145.

Magister, S., *Arte e politica: la collezione di antichità del Cardinale Giuliano della Rovere nei Palazzi ai Santi Apostoli* (Rome 2002).

Marcon, S., and M. Zorzi, eds., *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano, 1494–1515* (Venice 1994).

Marsh, D., "Visualizing Virtue: Alberti and the Early Renaissance Emblem," *Albertiana* 6 (2003) 7–26.

———, "Alberti and Symbolic Thinking: Prolegomena to the Dialogue Anuli," in *Leon Battista Alberti: teorico delle arti e gli impegni civili del "De re aedificatora,"* ed. A. Calzona, F. P. Fiore, A. Tementi, and C. Vasoli (Florence 2007) 13–31.

Morini, A., and P. Soulier, eds., *Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae*, 20 vols. (Brussels 1899).

Norton, F. J., "The Library of Bryan Rowe, Vice-Provost of King's College (1521)," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1958) 339–351.

Oliveri, L.T., "Notizie su Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini Umanista e Antiquario e sulle vidende del codice autografo di Reggio Emilia C 398," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979) 513–524.

Parkes, M. B., *Their Hands before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot 2008).

Payne, A., ed., *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence* (Leiden 2014).

Periti, G., "Epigraphy and the Semiotics of the Line in Late Quattrocento Italy," in *LINEA I. Grafie di immagini tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. M. Faietti and G. Wolf (Venice 2008) 191–210.

Petrucci, A., "Poggio Bracciolini," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13, ed. A. M. Ghisalberti (Rome 1971) 640–646.

Pozzi, G., "Les hieroglyphes de l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in *L'Emblème à la Renaissance*, ed. Y. Giraud (Paris 1982) 15–27.

Rhodes, D. E., "The Early Editions of Baptista Fiera," in *Book Production and Letters in the Western European Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Conor Fahy*, ed. A. Lepeschy, J. Took, and D. E. Rhodes (London 1986) 234–245.

Roullet, A., *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden 1972).

Rundle, D., "Polydore Vergil and the *Translatio Studiorum*: The Tradition of Italian Humanists in England," in *Polidoro Virgili e la cultura umanistica europea*, ed. R. Bacchielli (Urbino 2003) 53–74.

———, "Filippo Alberici, Henry VII and Richard Fox: The English Fortunes of a Little-Known Italian Humanist," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005) 137–155.

Russell, D., "Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms," *Emblematica* 1 (1986) 227–244.

Sabbadini, R., *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' scoli XIV e XV: edizione anastatica con nuove aggiunte e correzioni dell'autore*, 2 vols., rev. E. Garin (Florence 1967).

Schneider, L., "Leon Battista Alberti: Some Biographical Implications of the Winged Eye," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990) 261–270.

Scott, K. L., "Manuscripts for Henry VII, His Household and Family," in *The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. S. Panayotova (London 2007) 279–286.

Seng, H., "Eine Horapollon-Übersetzung in Codex Magl. XXX 3 der Biblioteca Nazionale zu Florenz," in *Ermetismo ed esoterismi. Mondo antico e riflessi contemporanei*, ed. P. Scarpi and M. Zago (Padua 2013) 91–108.

Sider, S., *Tabula Cebetis: Facsimiles of the Greek Text, and of Selected Latin, French, English, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Polish* (New York 1979).

———, "Addenda to Ps. Cebes," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, 9 vols., ed. V. Brown, P. O. Kristeller, and E. Cranz (Washington, DC 1986a) 7:299–300.

———, "Horapollo," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, 9 vols., ed. E. Cranz and P. O. Kristeller (Washington, DC 1986b) 6:15–29.

———, "Horapollo: Addenda et corrigienda," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, 9 vols., ed. V. Brown, P. O. Kristeller and F. E. Cranz (Washington, DC 1990a) 7:325–326.

———, " 'Interwoven with Poems and Picture': A Protoemblematic Translation of the Tabula Cebetis," in *The European Emblem: Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11–14 August 1987*, ed. B. F. Scholz, M. Bath, and D. Weston Brill (New York 1990b) 1–17.

Sider, S., and B. Obrist, eds., *Corpus librorum emblematum: Bibliography of Emblematic Manuscripts* (Kingston 1997).

Solin, H., "Ciriaco e l'epigrafia dell'Italia meridionale," in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanesimo*, ed. G. Paci and S. Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia 1998) 185–196.

Szepe, H., "The Poliphilo and Other Aldines Reconsidered in the Context of the Production of Decorated Books in Venice" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University 1992).

Usher, J., "Monuments More Enduring than Bronze: Boccaccio and Paper Inscriptions," *Heliotropia* 4 (2007) 1–30.

Van Essen, C. C., *Cyriaque d'Ancône en Egypte* (Amsterdam 1958).

Volkmann, L., *Bilderschriften der Renaissance: Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkung* (Leipzig 1923).

Warner G. F., and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London 1921).

Watkins, R., "L. B. Alberti's Emblem, the Winged Eye, and His Name, Leo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florence* 9 (1960) 256–258.

Weiss, R., "Un umanista antiquario: Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Lettere italiane* 16 (1964) 105–116.

Wittkower, R., *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London 1977).

Wood, C., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago 2008) 225–229.

Wortham, J. D., *British Egyptology: 1549–1906* (Norman, OK 1976).

Wyatt, M., *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge 2005) 15–61.

Zeidberg, D. S., ed., *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy* (Florence 1998).

Ziebart, E., "Cyriacus von Ancona als Begründer der Inschriftenforschung," *Neue Jahrbücher* 1 (1902) 214–226.