



LIBRO

De diuersos Animales, Aues
Peces, y Reptiles,

QUE EL EMPERADOR
CARLOS V.

MANDÒ DIBUJAR A SU PINTOR
Lamberto Lombardo.

En Bruselas.

AÑO

MDXLII.

A Spanish Album of Drawings of Animals in a South-Netherlandish Context: a Reattribution to Lambert Lombard*

• MARRIGJE RIKKEN •

In 1952 the Rijksmuseum bought an album of drawings of animals.¹ The book has a striking title page written in Spanish (fig. 1); a golden eagle holds a goatskin cartouche containing the inscription *LIBRO | De diversos Animales, Aves | Peçes, y Reptiles, | QUE EL EMPERADOR | CARLOS V | Mandò dibujar à su pintor | Lamberto Lombardo | En Bruxelas | Año MDXLII*. According to the text the album was made around 1542 by Lambert Lombard (Liège 1505–Liège 1566) by order of the Habsburg emperor Charles V (1500–1558). However in the past sixty years several art historians have cast doubt on the attribution of the animal drawings to Lombard as well as on the date of the drawings. Until now there has been no definite answer to the question as to who made the drawings in the album and when.

This article will not immediately settle the debate about the attribution of the drawings and the date of the ‘Spanish Album’ either. But by asking new questions we can reconstruct the context in which the album was compiled and – more importantly – was used in the second half of the sixteenth century. Given the differences between the watermarks in the drawings themselves and those in the pages on which they are mounted, the drawings in the album were put together at a later point. But when was the

Fig. 1
ANONYMOUS,
Title Page, c. 1585.
Pen and red and black
ink, watercolour on
paper, 420 x 332 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-T-1952-345.

album compiled and by whom? And what is the significance of the fact that many of the precise motifs in the album are to be found in other albums? This, to my mind, gets to the heart of the matter. The presence of the motifs in Antwerp-made albums indicates that the album was used there. Furthermore, various clues lead to a possible key figure – the Antwerp-born humanist, Abraham Ortelius.

Lambert Lombard becomes the Lombardy School

Immediately after the museum purchased the album, questions were raised about the attribution to Lombard, and these were voiced in the Rijksmuseum’s 1952 annual report:

An acquisition, also of importance to the history of biological science, is the collection of drawings of animals, which according to the title on the preserved old vellum binding and the later Spanish title page was supposedly commissioned by Emperor Charles V and made in Brussels in 1542 by Lambert Lombard. The only date that appears on it, 1570, conflicts with this; watermarks in the paper also point to its creation around 1570. It has been established that the depiction of an elk was copied from a drawing by A. Dürer and other

sheets may also have been copied from lost examples. The majority, however, give the impression of being original work of high quality. The assumptions are that only the cut-out and newly mounted drawings belonged to Lombard's book for Charles v and were supplemented around 1570 or – entirely to the contrary – that an artist from Lombardy made all of the drawings for the emperor or one of the archdukes around 1572. In the latter case the attention turned to such figures as Francesco Terzio, who in 1573 became the last painter to be paid by order of the emperor in Vienna and who is recorded in Spain in 1577.²

The attribution is called into question because the date 1570 is written on a stone in a drawing of a roe deer (fig. 2), and Lombard was already dead by then. As the annual report states, most of the drawings are pasted in. The watermark in the paper on which the

roe deer is drawn is a crescent moon that can be dated to 1562. The watermark in the sheets of paper on which the drawings are mounted is an eagle, which was dated to around 1570 in the annual report. The title page is also on paper with this latter watermark and is therefore of a later date than 1542. In other words the drawings appear to have been put together and supplemented (again) around 1570. If this is the case, the then owner probably knew who had made most of the drawings and who the client had been.

This presupposes that Lombard and Charles v really were involved in the making of most of the drawings in the album. We know of no other drawings of animals by Lombard, so linking his name to this album would not have been an obvious thing to do if he had had nothing to do with it. In 1542 Charles v was Lord of the Netherlands (1515-55) and King of Spain (1516-58). He owned several menageries in the Southern Nether-



Fig. 2
ANONYMOUS,
Roe Deer, 1570.
Pen and brown
and grey ink, water-
colour on paper,
199 x 269 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1952-350A.

lands, in Ghent, Louvain, Brussels and elsewhere.³ During his reign the menagerie in Louvain included civet cats and badgers, which are also featured in the album. Although there is no known direct contact between Lombard and Charles v, Lombard could easily have journeyed from Liège, where he chiefly worked, to one of the menageries to study animals.

Why the annual report suddenly suggests that the maker might be an artist from Lombardy remains unclear.⁴ The title page explicitly attributes the drawings to Lambert Lombard and not to an artist from Lombardy. What is more, the said Francesco Terzio (Bergamo 1523-Rome 1591) worked at the court of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529-1595) and Emperor Maximilian II (1527-1576) and not at the court of Charles v.⁵ We also know of no animal drawings made by him. This attribution consequently has few supporters, but it did set the trend of doubting Lombard's involvement.

In the 1978 collection catalogue of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish drawings, Karel Boon also stated that the attribution to Lombard is incorrect.⁶ This former director of the Rijksmuseum Print Room believed that the album is a collection of drawings from different periods because watermarks in a number of drawings vary in dating from around 1512 to 1580.⁷ Lombard was not seen as a likely candidate, not even for a small number of the drawings with the earliest watermarks. And here again we see a possible involvement of the Lombardy School. A number of drawings show a shadow that is reminiscent of animal drawings which are attributed to the Lombardy School, but Boon did not go as far to also attribute these drawings of animals in the 'album of Charles v' to this school.⁸ He ultimately made no judgement as to who made the drawings, or even to which school the maker may have belonged.

Boon did, though, correct the date of the watermark of the pages on which the drawings are mounted. The mark should be dated to around 1585, not 1570.⁹ And although the title page is drawn on sixteenth-century paper, he argues that the drawing style looks eighteenth century.¹⁰ The question as to why someone in the eighteenth century would have drawn a title page on sixteenth-century paper, with moreover – in Boon's opinion – an incorrect attribution to Lombard, once again remains unanswered. It is possible, however, that the album did not initially contain a title page, and that this one was made on a blank flyleaf in the eighteenth century. The context in which the album was created and was used at the end of the sixteenth century may explain why a title page was originally deemed unnecessary.

But before I examine this context further, a last statement by Boon should be discussed. He argued that the molluscs and the crustaceans look very much like drawings from an album in Stuttgart, which was previously attributed to Joris Hoefnagel (Antwerp 1542-Vienna 1600).¹¹ Despite the fact that this attribution is no longer maintained, Boon argued that Hoefnagel could have contributed to the Spanish album. He believed that it may well have been made for Charles v originally, but was augmented at a later date – at least until 1575.¹²

Boon also stated that Hoefnagel worked in Spain between 1561 and 1567 and later in Munich and Vienna, where he made four albums of animal drawings for Rudolph II.¹³ Although he certainly did work in those places, Boon ought to have added that Hoefnagel came from Antwerp and worked there in the 1570s; it was where he began to work on his four albums of animal drawings.¹⁴ This Antwerp context is important since I believe that Charles v's animal album was put together and used there in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Motifs from Charles v's Album in Antwerp

As we have seen, watermarks in the paper of the cut-out animal drawings themselves date to between 1512 and 1580. Even though a number of drawings that must also have been in the album are no longer traceable, it seems – in view of the watermarks – that the majority of those that have survived were made between the 1550s and 1570s.¹⁵ During this period Antwerp was an important centre for artists who specialized in depicting the animal kingdom.¹⁶ Aside from the similarity to a drawing previously attributed to Hoefnagel, which Boon referred to, there are several other animal motifs in the Spanish album that are almost identical to drawings by other South Netherlandish artists who were also active in Antwerp. Although Lombard worked mainly in Liège, he did also operate in the intellectual and humanist circles in Antwerp. His work – and the album in particular – could therefore well

have been familiar to the Antwerp animal specialists in the second half of the sixteenth century.

One of the Antwerp artists who appears to have been aware of the Spanish album was Hans Verhagen, about whom we know next to nothing, except that he made drawings of animals. In 1554 and 1555 he is mentioned in the *Liggeren*, the membership lists of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke, as a pupil of Anthoni Bessemers, and in 1572 he got married in the city.¹⁷ Only twenty-seven drawings have been attributed to him, all featuring animal motifs. Four of them bear the inscription *Hans Verhagen den stomme van Antwerpen*, from which we may infer that he was a deaf mute.¹⁸ None of the drawings is dated, but watermarks in the paper of Verhagen's drawings indicate a date between 1547 and 1568. In combination with his apprenticeship and the year of his marriage it seems likely that the drawings were made in the 1560s and 70s.¹⁹

One of Verhagen's drawings is of a black rat on a wooden plank (fig. 3). Exactly the same rat, but with a somewhat darker coat, can be found in Charles v's album (fig. 4). The watermark in the paper of the drawing from the Spanish album has a crowned 'L' and can be dated between 1512 and 1561. It is therefore possible that this drawing was made by Lombard. On the basis of the scant information about Verhagen's apprenticeship and the date of his marriage it seems that Verhagen was a lot younger than Lombard. This makes it likely that, as the younger artist, Verhagen took the subject from the older Lombard.²⁰ And even if the drawing in the Spanish album is not by Lombard, it would be logical to assume that Verhagen copied the rat from the album.

Nevertheless doubts have been raised as to whether the drawing of the rat – and a number of other drawings in Charles v's album – were actually Verhagen's models. The art historian

Fig. 3

HANS VERHAGEN,
Rats and Mice, c. 1565.
Watercolour on
paper.
Berlin, Staatliche
Museen, Kupferstich-
kabinett, inv. no. KdZ
26213.
Photo: BPK/
Kupferstichkabinett,
Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin/Volker-H.
Schneider





Peter Dreyer believes that the artistic quality of the animal drawings in the Spanish album lags far behind Verhagen's drawings, leading him to conclude that Verhagen's drawings were the original versions, which were copied by an unknown – and not all that skilful – artist for Charles v's album.²¹ Indeed in the two drawings of the rat it can be seen that Verhagen was the better artist (figs. 5, 6). The paws of the rat drawn by Verhagen are longer and show the characteristic phalanges. Of course this does not necessarily mean that his drawing is the original; a talented artist may have improved on an example. It seems to me, however, that Dreyer's idea that the Spanish album can be used to reconstruct Verhagen's oeuvre, because all the motifs in the album are copies after Verhagen, is unjustified. What is more, the different watermarks and styles in the album indicate that the drawings

Fig. 4
LAMBERT LOMBARD,
Rats and Mice, c. 1560.
Pen and brown ink
and watercolour on
paper, 182 x 277 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1952-359.



Fig. 5
HANS VERHAGEN,
*Detail of Rats and
Mice* (fig. 3)

Fig. 6
LAMBERT LOMBARD,
Detail of Two Rats
(fig. 4)



Fig. 7

JORIS HOEFNAGEL,
Armadillo (Terra 41),
 c. 1575. Watercolour
 and gouache on
 vellum, 142 x 184 mm.
 Washington DC,
 National Gallery
 of Art, inv. no.
 1987.20.6.42.



Fig. 8

LAMBERT LOMBARD,
Armadillos, c. 1560.
 Pen and brown and
 grey ink and water-
 colour on paper,
 184 x 271 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-T-1952-356.



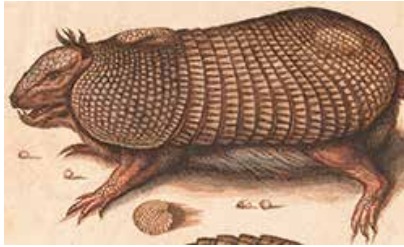
Fig. 9

JORIS HOEFNAGEL,
Detail of Armadillos
(fig. 7).



Fig. 10

LAMBERT LOMBARD,
Detail of Armadillos
(fig. 8).



were made over a prolonged period, so the notion that all the copies are of the work of one artist is anything but self-evident.²²

In Charles v's album there are also motifs that appear in albums by other artists who were active in Antwerp in the 1570s. This strengthens the hypothesis that this album was available in Antwerp then and served as a source for other artists. Thirteen motifs from the Spanish album can also be found in the albums of animal motifs classified according to the *Four Elements* by Joris Hoefnagel, which we referred to briefly above.²³ These motifs are distributed over three of his four albums: six in the *Terra* (earth) album, in which quadrupeds are depicted, five in the *Aqua* (water) album, which features a selection of fish and aquatic animals, and two in the *Aër* (air) album, which contains all kinds of birds. None of the motifs in *Ignis* (fire), the fourth album containing insects, is also found in Charles v's album. The three surviving pages showing insects from Charles v's album and Hoefnagel's *Ignis* album are some of the earliest true-to-life depictions of the insect world.²⁴

Hoefnagel stayed in Antwerp from 1570 until 1577 and started his albums there.²⁵ Given that Hoefnagel chiefly

copied motifs from other sources for his quadruped, fish and bird albums and devised few motifs himself, Charles v's album must also have been in Antwerp during those years, when Hoefnagel saw it there.²⁶ In miniature 41 in the *Terra* album there are two armadillos and a marmoset – a marmoset (fig. 7). The two armadillos, at the top a nine-banded armadillo and below a three-banded variety, appear in exactly the same poses in Charles v's album (fig. 8). The topmost has an elongated body; Hoefnagel's creature is slightly more elongated than in Charles v's album, and the armadillo below has its back more curled. Even the light spots on the shell of the nine-banded armadillo immediately above the front legs and by the tail are identical in the two albums (figs. 9, 10). Hoefnagel probably borrowed the marmoset from Hans Bol (Mechelen 1534–Amsterdam 1593), since this motif can also be found in one of the three animal albums that Bol made and from which Hoefnagel copied many motifs.²⁷ Van Mander maintained that Bol also made the animal albums in Antwerp, where he was working between 1572 and 1584.²⁸ However it is not inconceivable that the motif of the marmoset also appeared in Charles v's album, since many sheets from the album have not survived.

It also appears that Hans Bol, too, knew Charles v's album. Eight motifs from the Spanish album are found in Hans Bol's albums: four in his album of quadrupeds, three in his bird album and one in his fish album. Five of these eight motifs do not feature in Hoefnagel's albums, which suggests that Bol likewise saw the Spanish album itself. One of these motifs, a civet cat, is a good example for revisiting the chronology and sequence of the copying and to establishing what the pictorial source was.

The civet cat in Charles v's album is rendered entirely in profile and stands in a quite stiff, static pose (fig. 11), a



Fig. 11

ANONYMOUS,
Civet Cat, c. 1572.
 Pen and brown and black
 ink, watercolour on paper,
 176 x 294 mm.
 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. RP-T-1952-358.

Fig. 12

HANS BOL,
Civet Cat (Quadruped
 Album 52), c. 1575.
 Watercolour on vellum.
 Copenhagen,
 Royal Library, GKS 3471.



characteristic we have already encountered in other drawings in the album. The civet cat in Bol's album of quadrupeds stands in a slightly more relaxed pose; it has its neck and head slightly turned as though it is aware of the viewer (fig. 12). The tail of Bol's civet cat is also curled.²⁹ Bol's civet cat is so similar to the one in Charles V's album, that one of them must have been derived from the other. In the first place the collar confirms that it is the same example. The similar pattern of the coat, such as the three horizontal stripes above the back legs, also suggests that one was the source for the other. The watermark in the paper of the civet cat in the Spanish album is a dog and indicates a date between 1567 and 1571.³⁰ This date rules Lombard out as the maker, but does not help to establish which civet was drawn first.

The same civet cat features in miniature 10 in Hoefnagel's *Terra* album with a lion in the foreground

(fig. 13). His version is closer to the civet in Charles v's album than the one in Bol's album, in view of the strong *en profil* in which he depicted the animal. However he adjusted two conspicuous elements. The collar is missing; this is explained by the fact that he attempted to portray the civet cat in its natural habitat, where a sign of captivity did not belong. The ears have also been placed differently, much further back. This may have to do with the omission of the collar, but does provide a less accurate rendering. Given the differences and similarities, the civet cat in Charles v's album appears to have been the source for both Bol's and Hoefnagel's civet cat.

But this is not the end of it. The civet cat was drawn by yet another artist, and this may shed new light on the chronology of the motif. The civet cat can be found at the bottom on the right in a small panel with sixteen animal motifs by Ludger tom Ring the Younger (Münster 1522-Braunschweig 1584) (fig. 14). Once again the animal is shown in strong profile. Tom Ring's civet cat is also very much like the civet cat in Charles v's album. But here, too, we must ask what the source was. The animal panel is not dated. Some of the



sixteen animals can also be found in Tom Ring's kitchen scene the *Wedding at Cana* of 1562. The animal panel may have been used as a preliminary study for it, which provides a *terminus ante quem*. Tom Ring also turns up as an artist in the *Liggeren* of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke in 1553, while he did not settle in Braunschweig until 1569.³¹ The panel would have been made in Antwerp and was probably left there when Tom Ring left the city, where it then served as the source. In view of the similarities and differences between the various drawings, and because the watermark of the civet cat

Fig. 13

JORIS HOEFNAGEL,
Lion and Civet Cat,
(Terra 10), c. 1575.
Watercolour and
gouache on vellum,
143 x 184 mm.
Washington DC,
National Gallery
of Art, inv. no.
1987.20.6.11.
Photo: RKD –
Netherlands Institute
for Art History,
The Hague.



Fig. 14

LUDGER TOM RING
THE YOUNGER,
Animals, c. 1560.
Oil on panel,
37,5 x 58 cm.
Münster, LWL –
Museum für
Kunst und Kultur,
inv. no. 1761 LM.

in Charles v's album indicates a date from 1567 onwards and the fact that Hoefnagel returned to Antwerp in 1570 and Bol moved there in 1572, Tom Ring's civet cat appears to have been the source for the other three.

But how, then, did the artists encounter the animal panel at a time when Ludger tom Ring had already left again? And how is it that all these artists copied motifs from one another, when we know of no sources suggesting that the artists were in direct contact with each other?³² In my view there was a key figure in Antwerp – the cartographer and humanist Abraham Ortelius (Antwerp 1527–Antwerp 1598) – who not only showed the artists each other's animal motifs, but probably also encouraged them to produce their drawings and paintings of animals. By studying Ortelius's association with the artists against the background of their animal motifs, Lambert Lombard's contribution to the album can be made more convincing and a hypothesis can be advanced for the use of Charles v's album in the first decades after its completion.

Charles v's Album in Ortelius's Network

Although at first sight it may seem illogical that a cartographer and humanist would have encouraged various artists to make drawings and paintings of animals and initiate a new genre in art, Ortelius was just the person to do it.³³ He began his career in cartography as an 'afsetter van carten', someone who coloured in geographical maps, and in 1547 he is listed as such in the *Liggeren* of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke.³⁴

In this guild he undoubtedly met many fellow artists and he may well have got to know Ludger tom Ring the Younger, who was admitted as a master six years later, in 1553. We know that they were acquainted. Tom Ring painted a portrait of Ortelius in 1566, and in a letter from the antiquarian

bookseller Hubert Goltzius to Ortelius written in 1570, he sends greetings from Ludger tom Ring.³⁵

Verhagen also became a member of the Guild of St Luke as he is recorded in the *Liggeren* as an apprentice in 1554 and 1555. Hans Bol was admitted in 1574 and could also have come into contact with Ortelius this way. Joris Hoefnagel was first and foremost a merchant; he was not trained as an artist and was not a member of the guild, but other sources reveal that he too knew the humanist. In Ortelius's *album amicorum*, a friendship book in which friends and colleagues wrote short messages or made drawings for the owner, there is a contribution by Hoefnagel written in 1574. At that time the two had already known one another very well for some years. Before Hoefnagel settled in Antwerp in 1570 he had travelled through France and Spain and spent some years in England, where he moved in the same circles as Ortelius.³⁶ In 1577 the two took a trip to Italy together; Hoefnagel must have taken his albums of animal drawings with him as the dates in the albums show that he continued to work on them. Van Mander writes in his *Schilder-boeck* of 1604 that Hoefnagel, who did not describe himself as an artist, was encouraged by Ortelius to ask for money for his miniatures during this trip.³⁷

Many contributions by other artists can also be found in Ortelius's *album amicorum*.³⁸ Some of them worked primarily in Antwerp, like Maerten de Vos (Antwerp 1532–Antwerp 1603), others worked elsewhere. Even artists who generally lived abroad signed the album, among them Cornelis Cort (Hoorn 1533–Rome 1578). Lambert Lombard features in it too; not with his own contribution, but in a posthumous commemorative text that Ortelius dedicated to him – a sign that he thought highly of him (fig. 15). Lombard's biography – written by his pupil Lampsonius – also reveals that



Fig. 15
 ABRAHAM ORTELIUS,
 Portrait of Lambert
 Lombard, in
 Abraham Ortelius,
Album Amicorum,
 fol. 50r.
 Cambridge,
 University Library,
 MS 2.113.

he was in contact with the humanist.³⁹ In 1579 Ortelius sent this biography to Francesco Soranza, the Venetian ambassador in Spain;⁴⁰ in other words he was still promoting the artist long after his death.

The fact that Ortelius was linked to the Antwerp Guild of St Luke as a master was not the only reason why he knew many artists. Three years after his admission to the guild he inherited the family business, an international

concern that traded in prints, maps and antiquities.⁴¹ He was also a collector himself. In the 1560s he acquired an enormous collection of Dürer's engravings and woodcuts.⁴² He also collected prints and drawings by other artists, as well as books, antiques, coins and medals, precious stones, herbs and plants, and insects. His activities as a dealer and a collector brought him into contact with artists and other dealers, collectors and men of learning who also belonged to his circle of acquaintances. Ortelius was consequently an important figure in humanist circles in Antwerp.

Many natural historians also inhabited this intellectual environment. As a result Ortelius was kept well informed of the most recent natural history discoveries and compendia which were published with increasing frequency from 1550. He was also asked by natural historians for help in the form of illustrations of animals, which proves that he had access to the work of artists who specialized in depicting the animal kingdom. In a letter of 1588, for example, Ortelius asked Nicola Antonia Stigliola (Nola 1546-Naples 1623, also known as Colantonio Stelliola), an Italian member of the Accademia dei Lincei, for information about the barnacle goose, which is said to have 'four feet, two of which ... wings rather than feet.'⁴³ Ortelius had included a passage about the barnacle goose in his atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570).⁴⁴ Joris Hoefnagel and Hans Bol both depicted the myth of the birth of the barnacle goose, with exactly the same elements that Ortelius described in his atlas.

In a letter of 1587 the English entomologist Thomas Penny (Gressingham 1532-London 1589) asked Ortelius if he could help illustrate and finish a 'history of insects'.⁴⁵ This passage is also interesting in relationship to Charles v's album. Small drawings of insects have been cut out and pasted on three surviving pages: one is of

butterflies, one shows dragonflies and other flying insects (fig. 16) and on the last page there are beetles and grasshoppers. The first compendium about insects would not be published until 1604, making the pages from the album some of the earliest depictions of insects. As Penny's request proves, at the time the drawings were mounted on the pages – around 1585 according to Boon's dating of the watermark – Ortelius was also studying insects.

This is even more evident in a letter that Ortelius sent to his nephew Colius in London in 1586, asking him to let Penny know that he had a spider (a tarantula) with four eyes.⁴⁶ In reply Penny asked Ortelius if he could have a drawing made of the spider and send it to him. He also wrote that he had heard that Ortelius was carrying out many observations of animals.⁴⁷ Precisely what he meant by this remains unclear, but it is not inconceivable that Ortelius also used drawings of animals for his observations. Given that he was in contact with the artists who drew the same animal motifs as those found in Charles v's album, it is very likely that Ortelius was familiar with this album and used it for natural history purposes.

In Conclusion

Although the puzzle is not yet complete, many of the pieces can now be placed more accurately. In view of the contact between Ortelius and Lombard, and the relationship that can be established between Ortelius and the album, there is little reason to doubt the indication on the title page that Lombard made some of the drawings. As a dealer, collector and humanist who occupied himself with natural history, Ortelius may have acquired drawings of animals made by Lambert Lombard. He may, moreover, have shown his drawings to other artists who were interested in making drawings of animals, which resulted in a network of Animalists who copied motifs from one another

Fig. 16

LAMBERT LOMBARD,
*Dragonflies and
Flying Insects*,
c. 1560.
Pen and brown
and grey ink and
watercolour on
paper, 450 x 315 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1952-390.



being formed in Antwerp. Ludger tom Ring's animal panel may also have been in Ortelius's possession after Tom Ring had left Antwerp, which could explain how the motifs from the panel can be found in Charles v's album and in the work of artists like Hoefnagel and Bol.

It is quite possible that it was also Ortelius who around 1585 had the drawings of animals by Lombard and other artists he owned bound in an album. He had done this, after all, with his collection of Dürer prints. Ortelius may have known that Charles v had commissioned Lombard to make animal drawings and, given the emperor's status, it was a shrewd idea from a dealer's point of view to mention this on the title page. The acknowledgement of Lombard on the title page can also be seen as an advertisement for the artist, something Ortelius had also expressed in other ways, such as through the distribution of his biography. Furthermore, Lombard could have been the first artist to make drawings of animals and the mention of his name may have been an acknowledgement of that.

It is equally possible, however, that Ortelius did compile the drawings in an album, but did not have a title page made for it. A later owner may still have been aware of the involvement of Lombard and Charles v in the creation of some of the drawings and in the eighteenth century added a title page on a flyleaf. An attribution – by means of a title page – was not of immediate importance for the use of the drawings in the Antwerp network of artists who drew animals; the drawings served as models and the album can be regarded as a book of models.⁴⁸

At the time the album was compiled, around 1585 in Antwerp, when the drawings were pasted in, all the Antwerp Animalists had died, left the city or were no longer engaged in depicting the animal kingdom. Lambert Lombard died in 1566. Ludger tom

Ring settled in Braunschweig in 1569. Hoefnagel moved away from his birthplace in 1577 and never returned. Hans Bol left Antwerp in 1584 and then concentrated on landscape paintings. This could explain why the drawings were combined then: they were no longer being circulated in the artists' network and hence could be kept in an album as a book of models that had proved its usefulness. The motifs may still have circulated in the network of natural historians, as the letters to Ortelius suggest.

Ortelius may have used the animal drawings by Lombard and other artists he had in his possession as a source from which he could send copies to natural historians, thus making a contribution to new knowledge of natural history. The circulation of the motifs – among artists as well as natural historians; both categories appear to have been sent examples by Ortelius – may explain why we know of the motifs in so many versions or copies. And whether or not the drawings in Charles v's album were the source or the copy, the album is in any event a visual testimony to the widespread interest in the animal kingdom among the Antwerp Animalists, who, through Ortelius, contributed to the knowledge of natural history.

NOTES

- * This article was written as part of my doctoral research, which is part of the NWO project *Cultural Representations of Living Nature: Dynamics of Intermedial Recording in Text and Image (c. 1550-1670)*. I would like to thank Eric Jan Sluiter and Paul J. Smith for reading an earlier version of it.
- 1 The album was purchased from the art dealer Otto Wertheimer in Paris and was previously owned by Charles Férault. The drawings from the album have the inventory numbers RP-T-1952-345 to 395; in 1960 three more drawings (inv. nos. RP-T-1960-56 to 58) which also belong in the album were bought from Geneviève Aymonier-Férault (a daughter of Charles Férault?).
 - 2 'Een aanwinst, ook van belang voor de geschiedenis der biologische wetenschap, is de bundel tekeningen van dieren, welke volgens de titel op de bewaarde, oude perkamenten band en het jongere Spaanse titelblad op last van Keizer Karel v zouden zijn uitgevoerd te Brussel in 1542 door Lambert Lombard. Het enige er op voorkomende jaartal 1570 is daarmede in strijd; ook watermerken van het papier wijzen op een ontstaan omstreeks 1570. Van de afbeelding van een eland kwam vast te staan, dat ze naar een tekening van A. Dürer is gevolgd en andere bladen kunnen ook naar thans verloren voorbeelden nagevolgd zijn. Het merendeel maakt echter de indruk oorspronkelijk werk te zijn van hoog gehalte. De veronderstellingen doen zich voor, dat alleen de uitgeknipte en nieuw opgeplakte tekeningen tot Lombard's boek voor Karel v behoorden en ±1570 werden aangevuld, of wel – geheel anders – dat een Lombardisch kunstenaar alle tekeningen voor de keizer of één der aartshertogen ±1572 vervaardigde. Voor het laatste geval viel de aandacht op figuren als Francesco Terzio, die in 1573 het laatst werd uitbetaald namens de keizer te Wenen en die in 1577 in Spanje wordt vermeld.' Rijksmuseum, *Annual Reports* 84 (1952), p. 35.
 - 3 G. Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1912, pp. 225-28.
 - 4 This suggestion may be based on the fact that several Lombardy artists made drawings of animals in the second half of the sixteenth century. Giuseppe Arcimboldo (Milan 1526-1593), for instance, made many of them. He likewise worked for the Habsburg court, but not for Charles v. His drawings are, moreover, very different in style from those in the 'Spanish' album. For more information on Arcimboldo's animal drawings see T. Dacosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes, Natural History and Still-Life Painting*, Chicago 2009.
 - 5 For more information about this artist see E. Scheicher, 'Die Imagines Gentis Austricae des Francesco Terzio', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 79 (1983), pp. 43-92.
 - 6 K.G. Boon, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, The Hague 1978, pp. 217, 223.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
 - 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, p. 223. The watermark (Briquet 315, Würzburg 1585) shows a crown with two eagles' heads below it and also looks very much like a watermark of 1590-91 from Kassel.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 223.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 223. The album is catalogued as HS. HB XI, 7. An illustration of a drawing from the album can be found in C. Nissen, *Die Zoologische Buchillustration*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1972, pl. XIII.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
 - 13 *Ibid.*
 - 14 For the most detailed study on the four albums by Joris Hoefnagel see M. Lee Hendrix, *Joris Hoefnagel and the 'Four Elements': A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting*, New Jersey 1984.
 - 15 It is unclear whether all the sheets Wertheimer offered at the time were bought by the Rijksmuseum or if a selection was made from a larger group of drawings. In 1960 three more sheets that belonged to the album were acquired (see note 1). Apart from two sheets, which show a hoopoe, a great spotted woodpecker, a kingfisher and a jay (inv. nos. RP-T-1952-346, 349), all the drawings were taken from the album, remounted in passepartouts and catalogued separately. The album appears to have contained around a hundred pages originally, see Boon, op. cit. (note 6), p. 213. He states this on the basis of the positions of two sheets with foliations 47 and 48 which were left in the volume.
 - 16 This is the subject of my forthcoming dissertation.
 - 17 P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Amsterdam 1961, pp. 188, 193.
 - 18 Twenty-three of the twenty-seven drawings are now in the print room of the Staatliche

- Museen in Berlin (inv. nos. KdZ 26213 to 26237). The four remaining drawings form part of Codex Miniatus 42 in the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The four drawings with inscriptions are all in Cod. Min. 42.
- 19 One of Verhagen's drawings is of an elephant that was paraded through Antwerp in 1563, see M. Rikken, 'Abraham Ortelius as Intermediary for the Antwerp Animal Trailblazers', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Wissenschaftskultur* 6 (2011), pp. 95-128, esp. p. 103.
- 20 The paper on which Verhagen drew the rat bears no watermark.
- 21 P. Dreyer, 'Zeichnungen von Hans Verhagen dem Stummen von Antwerpen: ein Beitrag zu den Vorlagen der Tierminiaturen Hans Bols und Georg Hoefnagels', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 82/83 (1986/87), p. 127. Among other things he examines a drawing of a mute swan in Charles v's album and says that by comparison to Verhagen's swan 'the animal has been robbed of much of its strength, the proportions have been altered, the feathers no longer obscure the outlines of the neck and the handling of shade has become more schematic'. The copyist also depicted the circles in the water less well, see *ibid.*
- 22 Furthermore Dreyer also adds that the binding and the title page of the album are eighteenth century and that the attribution to Lombard does not stand up, see *ibid.*, p. 126.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 23 One of the motifs, a lynx, is not in the Print Room's collection, but was part of a French private collection. It shows all the characteristics of the drawings in the album, including strong shadows by the feet, which makes it likely that this drawing was also originally part of the album. Two miniatures by Hoefnagel which feature motifs from Charles v's album are now no longer part of the four albums in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (inv. nos. Ignis 1987.20.5, Terra 1987.20.6, Aqua 1987.20.7, Aier 1987.20.8) but were originally. These miniatures are now in the print room of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (inv. nos. KdZ 4808, 4813).
- 24 For more information about insect depictions in early modern times and insect depictions by Hoefnagel in particular see J. Neri, *The Insect and the Image: Visualizing Nature in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, Minneapolis 2011, esp. pp. 3-26; and T. Vignau-Wilberg, 'Insektendarstellungen um 1600 und die Anfänge der Entomologie', in K.A.E. Enenkel and P.J. Smith, *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, vol. 7, Leiden 2007, pp. 217-43.
- 25 The earliest date to appear in the albums is 1575, but Hoefnagel seems to have started on the albums quite soon after his return to Antwerp. For a more detailed line of reasoning see Rikken, *op. cit.* (note 19). In one of the miniatures (Aier 57) there is not only the date 1576 but moreover an indication that Antwerp was the place of production.
- 26 In my forthcoming dissertation I will go into more detail about the pictorial sources from which Hoefnagel took his motifs.
- 27 However the two armadillos do not appear in Hans Bol's albums. There are no indications that pages were taken from Hans Bol's albums over the years, which makes it likely that Hoefnagel copied the two armadillos straight from the Spanish album. Joaneath Spicer was the first to point out that Hoefnagel borrowed motifs from Bol; her thesis is further elaborated by Hendrix, *op. cit.* (note 14), p. 40.
- 28 Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe iueght den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen* (facsimile of the first edition, Haarlem 1604), Utrecht 1969, fol. 260v.
- 29 The reason that Bol adjusted the civet cat's tail may be because it would not have fitted on the page otherwise. In Bol's albums there are two instances of drawings that he began but did not finish because he did not have enough room on the page. He then turned the page over and reused it and drew the animals again (on other pages).
- 30 Boon, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 215. According to Boon, this watermark corresponds to Briquet 3640.
- 31 Jochen Luckhardt, *Das 'Küchenstück' von Ludger tom Ring d.J. (1562): Kunst in Antwerpen zwischen Münster und Braunschweig*, cat. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) 2013, p. 28. His presence in the *Liggeren* has long remained unnoticed because of the different way his name was written (Lugtheert van Toringhe). However in my opinion Luckhardt convincingly shows that is indeed Ludger tom Ring the Younger.
- 32 Van Mander states that only Hoefnagel and Bol were in direct contact with one another.
- 33 For a more detailed argument regarding Ortelius as the key figure for the Antwerp Animalists see Rikken, *op. cit.* (note 19). The term 'animalist' was used for the first time by Hendrix, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp. 13, 80.
- 34 Rombouts and Lerijs, *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 159.

- 35 Luckhardt, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 28, 41, 43.
- 36 For the most recent biography of Hoefnagel see *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon (AKL)*, vol. 73, 2012, p. 512.
- 37 Van Mander, op. cit. (note 28), fols. 262v-63r.
- 38 For an annotated facsimile edition of Ortelius's *album amicorum* see J. Puraye (ed.), *Abraham Ortelius. Album amicorum*, Amsterdam 1969. For a list of people who made written contributions in the album see J. Depuydt, 'De brede kring van vrienden en correspondenten rond Abraham Ortelius', in R. Karrow, *Abraham Ortelius, 1527-1598. Cartograaf en humanist*, Turnhout 1998, pp. 117-40.
- 39 J. Hubaux and J. Puraye, 'Dominique Lampson: Lamberti Lombardi ... vita', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 18 (1949), pp. 54-60.
- 40 This is evident from a letter from Soranza to Ortelius, see J. Hessels, *Epistulae Ortelianae*, Cambridge 2009, no. 85.
- 41 For more information about this see T. Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, New Jersey 2003, p. 4.
- 42 Since 1877 one of his albums containing works by Dürer has been in the Rijksmuseum's print room, where it came as part of the De Witte van Citters bequest. The engravings were originally bound in a gilt-embossed leather album, but are now mounted in passe-partouts and have been re-catalogued. For more information about the album and Ortelius's collection of Dürer's graphic works see I. Buchanan, 'Dürer and Abraham Ortelius', *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), no. 957, pp. 734-41.
- 43 Ortelius's surviving correspondence was published by Hessels, op. cit. (note 40). For the letter from Stigliola see no. 157.
- 44 Abraham Ortelius, Aegid Coppenius (Aegidius Coppenius) Diesth and Humphrey Llwyd, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antwerp (Apud Aegid. Coppenium Diesth) 1570.
- 45 Hessels, op. cit. (note 40), no. 152.
- 46 *Ibid.*, no. 144.
- 47 *Ibid.*, no. 152. The Latin reads 'Audio te multa de animalibus observasse ...'.
- 48 Much has been written about the use of model books. There are several books of models with depictions of animals, see about this, for example C. Weiler, *Von Fischen, Vögeln und Reptilien: Meisterwerke aus den kaiserlichen Sammlungen*, Vienna 2011; and H. Haupt, *Le bestiaire de Rodolphe II: Cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche*, Paris 1990, pp. 31-59.