

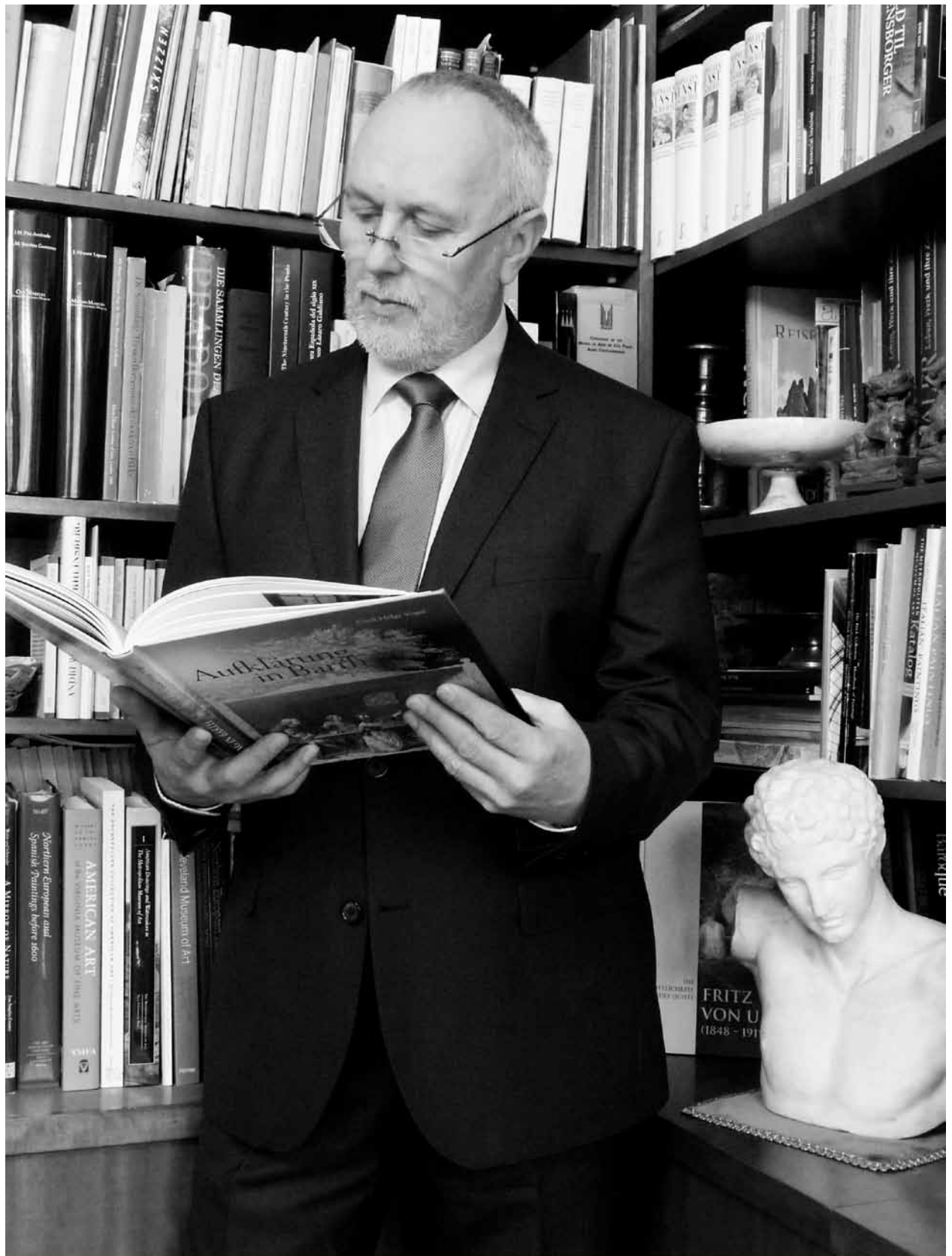
KEVIN E. KANDT, MICHAEL LISSOK (HRSG.)

FESTGABEN AUS FLORAS FÜLLHORN,

POMONAS GÄRTEN UND VOM HELIKON

EINE BLÜTENLESE KULTUR- UND KUNSTHISTORISCHER BEITRÄGE

ZUM 65. GEBURTSTAG VON GERD-HELGE VOGEL



KEVIN E. KANDT, MICHAEL LISSOK (HRSG.)

FESTGABEN AUS FLORAS FÜLLHORN,

POMONAS GÄRTEN UND VOM HELIKON

EINE BLÜTENLESE KULTUR- UND KUNSTHISTORISCHER BEITRÄGE

ZUM 65. GEBURTSTAG VON GERD-HELGE VOGEL

INHALT

GELEITWORT	6
AUS FLORAS FÜLLHORN: BOTANIK UND BOTANISCHE ILLUSTRATION	8
THE HORTUS FLORIDUS (1614) OF CRISPIJN DE PASSE AND THE ART OF BOTANY IN NETHERLANDISH PRINTS ILJA M. VELDMAN	9
BETONY (<i>BETONICA OFFICINALIS</i>) IN STEHAG – A PIECE OF LIVING PLANT HISTORY ARNE THELL	22
CHANGING LANDSCAPES, CLIMATE AND BIODIVERSITY AS SEEN THROUGH ART INGVAR KÄRNEFELT	38
AUS POMONAS GÄRTEN: GARTENKUNST	46
FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE, DIE OSTASIATISCHE COMPAGNIE UND SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS – NEUES ZU EINER VERGESSENEN BEWERBUNG JÖRG DEUTER	47
DER TRAUM VOM »SÜDSEE-ELYSIUM« – OTAHITISCHE BAUTEN UND INTERIEURS IM LETZTEN VIERTEL DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS MICHAEL LISSOK	60
DAS ROHRHAUS IN PARETZ. 1799 MATTHIAS GÄRTNER	71
VOM HELIKON, DEM SITZ DER MUSEN: BILDENDE & BAUENDE KÜNSTE, LITERATUR, MUSIK, KULTURGESCHICHTE & ÄSTHETIK	74
AUF DEN SPUREN DES DAVID-VINCKBOONS-RÄTSELS – DIE GROSSE KIRMES AUS DEM BESTAND DES NATIONALMUSEUMS STETTIN DARIUSZ KACPRZAK	75
»IOLAOS UND HEBE« – EIN DECKENGEMÄLDE IM SÜDFLÜGEL VON SCHLOSS SONDERHAUSEN UND SEINE GRAFISCHE VORLAGE HENDRIK BÄRNIGHAUSEN	83
ZWEI BILDNISSE VON DER HAND DES DRESDNER HISTORIEN- UND BILDNISMALERS TRAUGOTT LEBERECHT POCHMANN (1762-1830), BISHER ZUGESCHRIEBEN AN GEORG FRIEDRICH KERSTING (1785-1847): CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH SERGEL UND ELEONORE SOPHIE SERGEL HARALD MARX	89

GERHARD (1772–1820) UND CARL VON KÜGELGEN (1772–1832) – KÜNSTLERBRÜDER BESONDERER ART DOROTHEE VON HELLERMANN	110
DREI RÄTSELHAFTE DEUTSCHE GEMÄLDE IN GRÖNLAND THORKILD KJÆRGAARD	117
DIE HEIMLICHE MARINELANDSCHAFT UND FISCHERMOTIVE IM ŒUVRE VON AUGUST LUDWIG MOST (1807–1883) EWA GWIAZDOWSKA	120
SEINE LANDSCHAFT WAR POMMERN – DER ZEICHNER WALTHER GEORG STOCKMANN (1893–1940) ECKHARD WENDT	128
GOLDENES ROT – ABGRUNDTIEFES BLAU ZU INTENTION UND ERFORSCHUNG IN BILDWERKEN PHILIP NELSONS BERNARDO GUT	135
RECONSIDERING ANDREAS SCHLÜTER'S <i>PULPIT</i> FOR THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY IN BERLIN KEVIN E. KANDT	137
BEWAHRUNG – UMNUTZUNG – ZERSTÖRUNG: ZU MITTELALTERLICHEN KIRCHENBAUTEN UND IHREN AUSSTATTUNGEN IM HERZOGTUM WÜRTTEMBERG NACH DER REFORMATION LISA MARIA VOGEL	161
DER ARCHITEKT DES HISTORISMUS ALS WISSENSCHAFTLER UND KÜNSTLER DIETER DOLGNER	186
WALTER GROPIUS, ERWIN HAHS UND DAS BÜROGEBÄUDE EINER MUSTERFABRIK AUF DER KÖLNER WERKBUNDAUSSTELLUNG 1914 ANGELA DOLGNER	197
WILLIAM BLAKES »LONDON« ODER DER JAKOBINER MIT SEINEM GEHILFEN UND SEINER GEHHILFE MICHAEL GASSENMEIER	203
ON BLINDNESS, MUSIC AND TECHNOLOGY – A BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE JOÃO VICENTE GANZAROLLI DE OLIVEIRA	214
PUBLIKATIONSLISTE VON DR. PHIL. HABIL. GERD-HELGE VOGEL 2011–2016	221
TAFELN PLATES	225
NACHWORT DES VERLEGERS DR. STEVE LUDWIG	236
TABULA GRATULATORIA	238

GELEITWORT

Lieber Gerd-Helge,

womit macht man einem Bibliophilen, wie Du es bist, eine besondere Freude? Natürlich, mit einem Buch, und zwar mit einem, das als *Album amicorum* ganz allein nur Dir von vielen Freunden, Kolleginnen und Kollegen gewidmet ist und dennoch zugleich die allgemeine Leserschlar mit interessanten Beiträgen unterschiedlichster Themenfelder zu erfreuen vermag! Wie groß die Freude vor fünf Jahren über diese Dir gewidmete Festschrift *Aus Hippokrenes Quell* war, das haben wir gesehen, und weil damals nicht alle Autorinnen und Autoren zum Zuge kamen, die einen Beitrag hatten liefern wollen, so entschlossen wir uns, nun, zu Deinem 65. Geburtstag, noch einmal eine Festschrift für Dich in Angriff zu nehmen. Ursprünglich war nur geplant, vier bis fünf Beiträge von Freunden zu sammeln und sie Dir als kleine Festgabe zu verehren. Doch auf unseren Aufruf zur Mitarbeit meldeten sich so viele Freunde, Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die ihre Bereitschaft zur Zusammenarbeit bekundeten, dass wir uns trotz des Problems der Unterfinanzierung dieses Projektes dennoch entschlossen, alle zu Wort kommen zu lassen, die dies wünschten. Nun hat sich innerhalb von kurzer Zeit ein faszinierendes Spektrum interessanter Beiträge aus der Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, aus der Literatur, der Botanik und wissenschaftlichen Illustration sowie der Gartenkunst ergeben, die unter ein übergreifendes thematisches Dach bzw. Motto zu stellen, recht schwer fällt. Hier half uns abermals die antike Mythologie, die schon so oft die abendländische Geistesgeschichte befruchtet hat, einen Titel für die Festschrift zu finden, unter dem sich möglichst alle Beiträge subsummieren lassen. Helikon, der Sitz der

Musen, steht für die künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Inspirationen der Autorinnen und Autoren aller eingelieferten Beiträge, ergänzt um Aufsätze aus den Bereichen Botanik und Gartenkunst, die durch Flora – die Göttin der Blumen – und Pomona – die Göttin der Gärten, des Obstbaus und der Gartenkunst – vertreten werden: Themenbereiche, mit denen Du Dich in Deinen über 200 Publikationen umfassenden Schriftenverzeichnis mehrfach und in vielfältigster Weise beschäftigt hast. Damit deutet sich in dem an der antiken Mythologie orientierten Titel nicht nur die thematische Spannweite und Vielfalt der Dir zu Ehren mit großem Enthusiasmus erarbeiteten Essays an, sondern auch Dein eigenes Wirkungsfeld, auf dem Du seit 40 Jahren wissenschaftlich tätig bist.

Nun, da Deine Laufbahn als Hochschullehrer ihren Abschluss finden wird, sei ein kurzer Rückblick auf Deine wichtigsten Stationen im Berufsleben gestattet. Nach dem Diplomabschluss im Fach Kunstgeschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin gingst Du zunächst für drei Jahre in die Praxis des Ausstellungswesens und erwarbst an der Neuen Berliner Galerie im Alten Museum das Rüstzeug zum Kuratieren von Ausstellungen. Seither sind zwischen Biel und Barth, zwischen Poznan und Zwickau zahlreiche Ausstellungen mit zumeist umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Katalogen oder Begleitbüchern entstanden, die eine große Bereicherung des kulturellen Lebens an den betreffenden Ausstellungsorten bedeuten. Wir sind uns gewiss, dass Dich diese Dich sehr erfüllende Tätigkeit auch in Zukunft noch weiter aktiv beschäftigen wird, so dass wir selbst noch

nach Deinem Ausscheiden aus dem aktiven Hochschuldienst so manche interessante Ausstellung von Dir erwarten dürfen!

Im Anschluss an Dein Wirken an der Neuen Berliner Galerie gingst Du zurück in die universitäre Lehre und Forschung, zunächst an die Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, wo Du promoviert wurdest und Dich habilitierst, um dann dort für einige Jahre als Dozent tätig zu sein. Wegweisend wurden für Dich längere Studienaufenthalte an der Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam, an den Universitäten von Hiroshima und Sendai sowie eine zwei Semester lange Gastdozentur an der Estnischen Kunstakademie in Tallinn. Dem schlossen sich längere Praktika im Strang Print Room des University College London, der Witt Library des Courtauld Instituts, der British Library und dem Natural History Museum in London an, die allesamt dazu beitrugen, dass Deine wissenschaftliche Orientierung so international und thematisch vielseitig ausgerichtet war, wie wir sie aus Deinen Schriften ersehen können. Seit über zehn Jahren arbeitest Du erfolgreich als Dozent für Theorie und Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Illustration im Department Design, Bereich Vertiefung Scientific Visualization, an der Zürcher Hochschule der Künste an einem Lehrprogramm für die theoretische Ausbildung wissenschaftlicher Illustratoren, das Du selbst entwickelt hast.

Last but not least sollen auch Deine Verdienste um die Fortsetzung der *Internationalen Greifswalder Romantikkonferenzen* von der VII. bis zur XII. Konferenz und deren Publikation in Protokollbänden seit dem Ausscheiden von Hannelore Gärtner aus dem

Hochschuldienst 1989 ebenso Erwähnung finden wie die Neubegründung der Tagungsserien in Gestalt der *Internationalen Wolkenburger Symposien zur Kunst* oder der *Zürcher Symposien zur wissenschaftlichen Illustration*, mit denen Du vielen Kolleginnen und Kollegen ein bedeutsames Diskussionsforum bietest, das nun neben den Themen der Romantik auch regionalgeschichtliche Akzente der Kunst in Westsachsens im internationalen Kontext zur Debatte stellt bzw. theoretischen Fragen und Problemen der wissenschaftlichen Illustration auf den Grund zu gehen sucht.

Wir als Herausgeber sowie alle Autoren und Gratulanten, die sowohl materiell als auch ideell sich mit großer Hingabe diesem schönen Publikationsprojekt gewidmet haben, wünschen Dir zunächst viel Freude beim Lesen der *Festgaben aus Floras Füllhorn, Pomonas Gärten und vom Helikon* und für den neuen Lebensabschnitt, den die Feier Deines 65. Geburtstages markiert, wünschen wir Dir noch viele schöne Schaffensjahre bei bester Gesundheit!

Die Herausgeber im Namen aller Gratulanten

AUS FLORAS FÜLLHORN:

*BOTANIK UND
BOTANISCHE ILLUSTRATION*



THE HORTUS FLORIDUS (1614) OF CRISPIJN DE PASSE AND THE ART OF BOTANY IN NETHERLANDISH PRINTS*

ILJA M. VELDMAN

Gerd-Helge Vogel has published an amazing number of books on various subjects. Recently, in 2014, he edited a book about botanical illustrations in the arts and sciences, contributing both the comprehensive first chapter – ‘Wie kamen die Pflanzen in die Malerei?’ – as well as the book’s closing chapter – ‘Die Pflanze in der Kunst Amerikas’.¹ Some years earlier, in 2009, Vogel had already published an article on botanical illustrations, looking at the works of Maria Sibylla Merian up through Alexander von Humboldt.² These publications demonstrate Vogel’s great knowledge and love of botany in the arts. So, in honour of this dear colleague of mine, I dedicate to Gerd-Helge Vogel a modest contribution to the subject matter, with friendship and respect. I will concentrate here on the field I am most familiar with, the graphic arts of the Netherlands.

The fame of the depiction of flowers in Dutch art derives mainly from the flower still lifes that originated in the late sixteenth, and flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the tradition of rendering naturalistic flowers in the Netherlands began earlier, around 1480–1485, in the so-called strewn-flower borders of miniatures found in the precious manuscripts produced by the Ghent-Bruges school. The stylized flowers that once formed the decoration of these borders were eventually replaced by realistic flower heads, painted in *trompe l’oeil*, and modelled after ornamental garden flowers. Although the miniaturists of the Ghent-Bruges school certainly would have studied real flowers, they had been less concerned with botanical accuracy – their plants rarely displayed the correct stems and leaves – than with achieving an aesthetic effect.³



Fig. 1. Anonymous woodcutter after Pieter van der Borcht, *Wild Pansies*, woodcut in: Rembertus Dodonaeus, *Florum et coronarium odoratumque nonnularum herbarum historia*, Antwerp 1568

In the second half of the sixteenth century, scientific interest in nature grew, stimulated by innovations in the field of medicine and by voyages of discovery. Indigenous and exotic plants were systematically studied and the results were published in illustrated books. The printing house of Christoph Plantin in Antwerp published a number of important scientific botanical books by the botanists Rembert Dodoens



Fig. 2. Adriaen Collaert, *Iris and Several other Flowers*, engraving from *Florilegium*, 17,7 x 12,6 cm. London, British Museum.

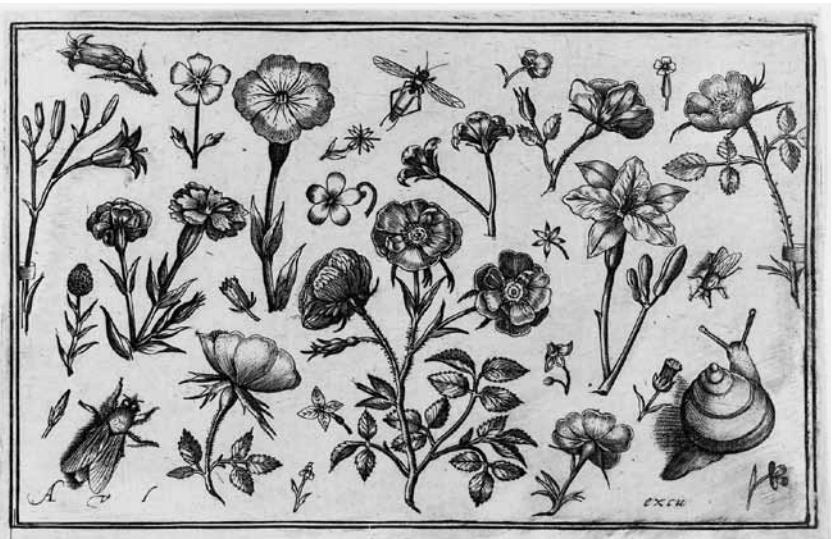


Fig. 3. Nicolaes de Bruyn, *Several Flowers and Small Animals*, 1594, engraving, 9,2 x 14,0 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

(Dodonaeus), Charles de l'Ecluse (Clusius) and Matthias de l'Obel (Lobelius).⁴ The meticulous botanical illustrations in these books were drawn by the highly talented and versatile artist, Pieter van der Borcht, who made more than 3000 watercolours for Plantin, as seen for instance in Dodonaeus's *Florum et coronarium odoratumque nonnularum herbarum historia* (1568), Clusius's *Rariorum aliquot [...] Hispanias* (1576), and Lobelius's *Plantarum seu stirpium icones* (1581).⁵ Van der Borcht's drawings were cut into the wood by Arnold Nicolai, Gerard van Kampen and others (Fig. 1) and reprinted by Plantin and his successors until late in the seventeenth century.⁶ The woodcut technique had a great advantage for book printers because it offered a type of relief printing compatible with letterpress printing. However, the woodcut technique was not always refined enough to achieve the effect of detailed, three-dimensionality, especially in the representation of flowers. This was one of the reasons that artists and print publishers changed to the medium of burin engraving, which made it possible to enhance the natural appearance of flowers through fine hatching lines and the suggestion of light and shadow. Engravings not only gradually replaced the woodcut illustrations in printed books, but also made possible the emergence of a new genre: printed series of flower engravings which became visual equivalents for botanical books. One of the first such print series

in the Netherlands was the *Florilegium* (A Gathering of Flowers) of Adriaen Collaert, a collection of 24 sheets and a title page, published in Antwerp between 1587 and 1589 by Philips Galle (Fig. 2).⁷ Collaert's sheets show a number of different species of flowers spread across each page. The specimens often appear without stems or leaves, and no identifying nomenclature or typographical explanation was added. Such print books were of little use to botanists, but the engravings served as models for decorative objects in silver and gold, architectural ornamentation, textiles and other arts and crafts, just as did earlier ornamental prints with flowers and other forms of decorations. Moreover, these print series, which could be bound as a booklet, were destined for the pleasure of lovers of flowers and gardens, for the publication of sixteenth-century *florilegia* coincided with a growing interest in horticulture during the period. This interest was not limited to the country places of the nobility. It was now also the social elite in the cities whose enthusiasm for horticulture led to the cultivation of ornamental gardens showcasing rare species, mainly of bulbous plants. As an extension of this interest, it became customary for flowers to be cut and displayed in vases. Although still lifes portraying vases with flowers would become a very popular genre in Netherlandish painting from the late-sixteenth-century on, its origins are to be found earlier in Münster, where



Fig. 4. Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, *Spring*, engraving, 19,7 x 21,7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

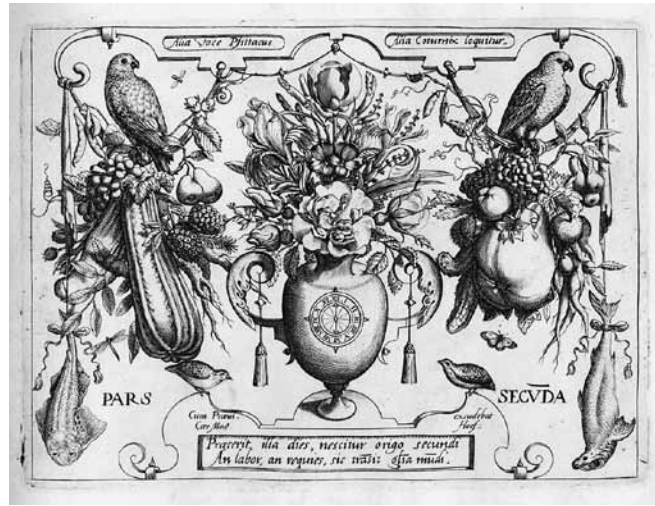


Fig. 5. Jacob Hoefnagel after Joris Hoefnagel, engraving from *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, 1592, 15,4 x 21,0 cm. London, British Museum.

Ludger Tom Ring the Younger painted the first of such depictions – one of which is dated 1562.⁸ But it was Adriaen Collaert who introduced the motif into the graphic arts. Collaert not only depicted two vases with flowers on the title page of his *Florilegium*, but he also added to his series a new sheet with a representation of a vase with flowers. Later on he would go on to produce a large, independent engraving, *Vase with Flowers*, in 1590–1595.⁹ Collaert's print were extremely influential, as can be seen in the work of Nicolaes de Bruyn, who copied several motifs from the *Florilegium* for his own series of 12 sheets depicting flowers and animals, published in 1594 by Assuwerus van Londerseel (Fig. 3).¹⁰

A new and modern approach to subject appeared in the Netherlands with the publication of Crispijn de Passe the Elder's *Hortus floridus*, a comprehensive and carefully edited book bearing delicately engraved plates that portrayed both common and exotic flowers and bulbs (Fig. 12). The engraver and print publisher De Passe published the book in 1614 in Utrecht in association with the Arnhem book printer and bookseller Jan Janszoon. Through the cooperation of the print publisher and book printer, both text and image played an equally important role in the *Hortus floridus*. The renowned Utrecht scholar Aernout van Buchell (Arnoldus Buchelius) composed the textual commentaries. De Passe's book was published in a

Latin, a Dutch and a French version, and in the following year, 1615, it appeared in an English version printed by Salomon de Roy in Utrecht. The *Hortus floridus* was not only a beautiful book, but also a significantly more thorough botanical work of higher quality and of vastly greater scientific import than previous botanical publications. It is known as 'the most ambitious botanical work of the seventeenth century'.¹¹

Until 1614, the engraver and print publisher Crispijn de Passe was mainly known for his engraved portraits, prints with biblical scenes and print books with genre scenes. How did he come to such an ambitious project? I shall try to answer this question in the following pages.

Crispijn de Passe was born in 1564 in Zeeland, and trained as an engraver in Antwerp. After the surrender of Antwerp to the Spaniards in 1585, he decided to leave the city in order to preserve his Mennonite faith. He settled in Cologne in 1589, where he set up a productive and distinguished print business, producing portraits of the European nobility as well as religious, mythological and allegorical prints for which he found a ready market in Europe. He was a gifted draughtsman and he designed more than half of the prints that he produced.

De Passe was acquainted with the painter, miniaturist and humanist Joris Hoefnagel, who special-



Fig. 6. Crispijn de Passe the Elder, Title page to *Cognoscite lilia*, engraving, 12,6 x 20,8 cm. London, British Museum.

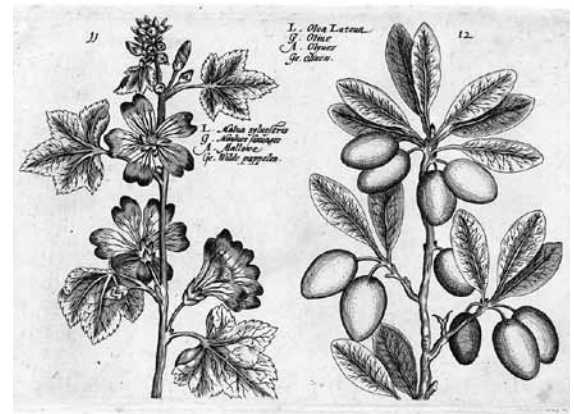


Fig. 7. Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *Mallow and Olives*, engraving from *Cognoscite lilia*, 13,1 x 20,1 cm. London, British Museum.

ized in the depiction of flowers and insects. De Passe dedicated the series *Four Seasons*, engraved after the designs of Maarten de Vos, to Hoefnagel ‘with friendship and respect’ (Fig. 4). The Protestant Hoefnagel was born in Antwerp, but had left after the Spaniard’s sack of the city in 1576. From 1591 until 1594 he lived in Frankfurt, where De Passe could have met him on one of his visits to the Frankfurt fair.¹² While the written dedication is a proof of De Passe’s admiration and friendship for Hoefnagel, it is the large ornamental borders – decorated with flowers, fruit, insects and other small animals and objects – framing the allegories of the seasons that evidence the artists’ connection. These borders were probably not designed by De Vos, but by De Passe himself. They strongly recall motifs from the *Archetypa studiique patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt 1592), a print book engraved by Joris’s son, Jacob Hoefnagel, after the earlier designs of his father in watercolour and gouache on vellum, which display all kind of insects, plants, birds and other objects combined with thoughtful mottoes and sayings (Fig. 5). According to its title page, the *Archetypa* was aimed both at artists and at lovers of plants and small animals.¹³ Although the *Archetypa* provided a wealth of visual models for De Passe, the latter’s borders are no imitation; rather, De Passe’s work is an *aemulatio*, for he connected the separately depicted motifs of Hoefnagel’s inventions into complicated and ingenious images of interweaving garlands seen in sharp relief against a flat background, their form enhanced by the fidelity of

their cast shadows. De Passe’s vases with flowers at the sides, containing only a few naturally rendered flowers, make a more realistic impression than the overloaded vase in Collaert’s *Florilegium*, mentioned before.

Vases filled with bouquets also appear on the title page of a work that De Passe produced in the same period or shortly after his *Seasons*: an oblong booklet of 63 sheets consisting largely of prints of edible and medicinal plants and fruits (Fig. 6). The pages are not as crowded as in the *florilegia* by Collaert and De Bruyn, but rather conveniently arranged and limited to not more than two different kinds of plants on a single page (Fig. 7). More importantly, because all of the names are added, and given in four languages, the engravings could function as a useful scientific source for botanists.¹⁴ The Latin title, set into a cartouche, is a long quotation taken from Matthew 6:28–29: *Cognoscite lilia agri quomodo crescent* [...] *unum ex his* (‘Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these’). According to the address (‘Formulis Crispiani Passaei et Joannis Waldnelij’), De Passe published this booklet in cooperation with Hans Woutneel, a Protestant refugee from the southern Netherlands who settled in London, becoming the prime commercial contact between England and the Low Countries in the market for books and prints. During the 1590s, De Passe appears to have entered into some sort of collaboration with Woutneel in



Fig. 8. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Mallow*, watercolour; 21,4 x 14,2 cm. London, British Museum.

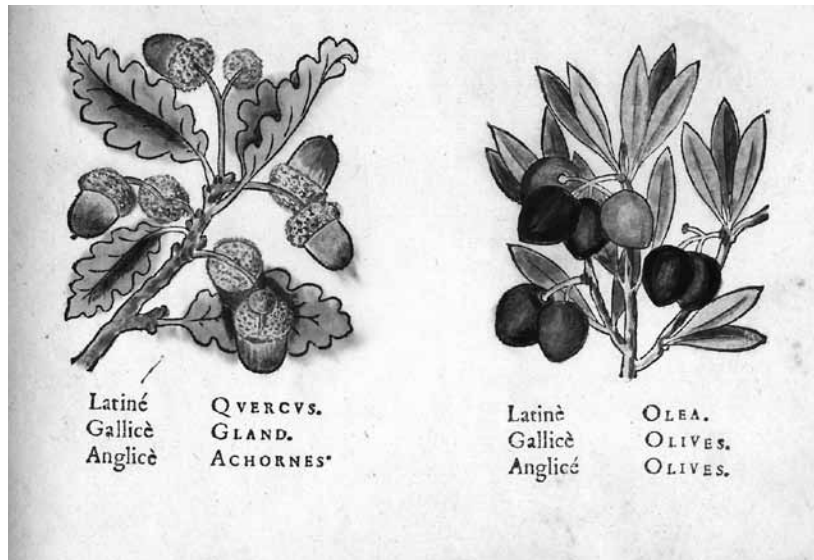


Fig. 9. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Acorns and Olives*, coloured woodcut from *La clef des champs*, 1586. London, British Museum.

order to stimulate the circulation and sale of his prints in England.¹⁵ The engravings bearing inscriptions of the plant names (in Latin, French, English and German) are from the hand of the Cologne poet and engraver Matthias Quad, with whom De Passe worked between 1596 and 1604. It was during this same period that the *Cognoscite lilia* originated. De Passe targeted an international market, but he especially had England in mind. Woutneel had contacts with another immigrant, the London merchant and botanist Jacob Cole and Woutneel's neighbour was the French refugee Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, one of the most skilled flower draughtsmen. Around 1585, Le Moyne had produced several superb watercolours of exotic plants in an album (Fig. 8). Some of them were published in a small oblong book with woodcuts of plants and animals, called *La clef des champs* (1586; Fig. 9).¹⁶ The cuts were perhaps too simple to have much impact. Gerard supposes that Woutneel, after the death of Le Moyne's widow, in 1593, sent some of the drawings to Crispijn de Passe in Cologne and that De Passe had them engraved with flowers.¹⁷ Le Moyne's drawing of *malva* (Fig. 8) for instance is comparable to De Passe's depiction of the same plant (Fig. 7). De Passe certainly was familiar with *La clef des champs*, for not only is the composition of his sheets similar, but he directly borrowed

elements from both it as well as from earlier Antwerp prints of plants and herbs.¹⁸ His efforts were successful. As the first comprehensive set of botanical images imported into England, the *Cognoscite lilia* became a source of inspiration for English engravers. Both John Payne (in his *Flora: flowers fruits beastes birds and flies* of around 1620) and Francis Delaram (in *A booke of flowers fruits beastes birds and flies* from the early 1620s) copied De Passe's prints at will.¹⁹ The copper plates remained in De Passe's possession and, later on, he was to include the entire suite of the *Cognoscite lilia*, including the title plate, as 'Alter pars' in the fifth section of his *Hortus floridus* (1614).

In Cologne, the Counter Reformation led to a more active persecution of Protestants from around 1600. In 1610 Crispijn de Passe and his family were registered as Mennonites. On 30 July 1611 the Cologne city council ordered all Mennonites to leave the city within four days. De Passe chose to make his new home in Utrecht, a major artistic centre in the Dutch Republic that did not yet have a print publishing industry. The Utrecht city council followed a policy of religious toleration, and from 1618 on Mennonites gathered in their own (clandestine) church. Once again De Passe managed to set up a flourishing print business in a very short space of time. Now, however, he was assisted by four of his children. He had trained



Fig. 10. Simon de Passe after Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *Memento Mori*, engraving, 27,4 x 33,7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 11. Johann Theodor de Bry after Jacobus Kempener, *Vase with Flowers*, engraving, 30,2 x 22,8 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

the two eldest, Crispijn de Passe the Younger and Simon, in Cologne. The youngest son Willem and daughter Magdalena soon joined the workshop in their new hometown.

Having settled in Utrecht, De Passe was able to resume his friendship with the scholar Arnold van Buchell, whom he had met on several occasions when the latter paid regular visits to Cologne. It was the poet Van Buchell who wrote the Latin verses on De Passe's print's, carrying on the work begun by Mathias Quad and others in Cologne.²⁰ One of the earliest prints De Passe designed and published in Utrecht, in 1612, and which included a poem by Van Buchell was a large *Memento mori*, or *Vanitas* print (Fig. 10). In the work a child points to a skull surrounded by other symbols of transience. In the accompanying text Van Buchell speaks about a child whose life is gone in a trice. The poem and imagery in the print are undoubtedly related to the death, in the previous year, of Van Buchell's only child – his son Aernt – at the age of seventeen. It was the then seventeen-year-old Simon de Passe who engraved the composition.²¹ The eye-catcher of this *Memento mori* is the ornately decorated vase holding tulips and many other perishable flowers. The motif is larger and more abundant than the previous vases on De Passe's earlier prints.

De Passe was most likely inspired by the series of six large engravings showing bunches of flowers in vases engraved by Johann Theodor de Bry after Jacobus Kempener around 1600. One of these flower still lifes also has an anemone in the middle and two tulips at the sides (Fig. 11).²² The typical decoration of three sphinx-like figures on De Passe's vase likewise brings to mind an engraving of a *Vase of Flowers* by Nicolaes de Bruyn.²³

De Passe's interest in flowers was long apparent. In his *Liber Genesis*, a biblical print book produced in the same year, 1612, he included an assortment of fruits and naturalistic flowering irises in his print *The Creation of the Earth*. Remarkably, he also depicted irises in full flower in the previous print in the series, *The Division of the Light from the Darkness and the Creation of the Sun, Moon and Stars* – when one would expect the earth still to be barren.²⁴ In 1612, De Passe also published his *Academia sive speculum vitae scholasticae* (The university or mirror of student life) in cooperation with the Arnhem book printer Jan Janszoon, who printed the typographical texts clarifying the 16 prints. De Passe was doubtless encouraged to publish this book by his friend Van Buchell, who had studied at Leiden's university. Van Buchell's brother-in-law and friend, the physi-

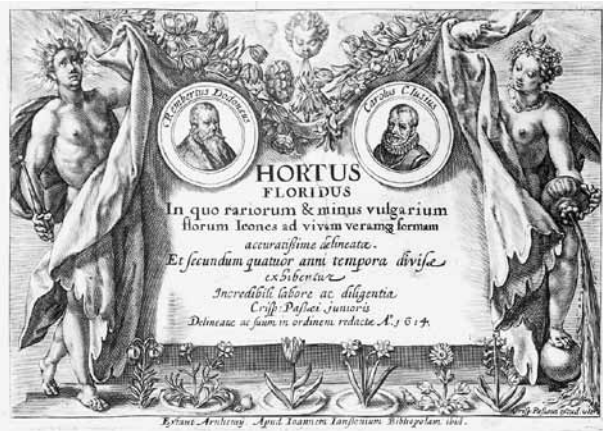


Fig. 12. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, Title page to *Hortus Floridus*, 1614, engraving, 14,7 × 21,4 cm. Private collection.

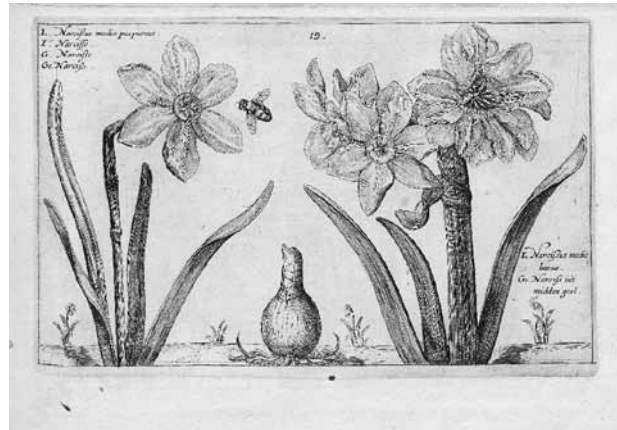


Fig. 13. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Daffodils*, engraving from *Hortus floridus*, 1614. Utrecht, University Library.

cian Everardius Vorstius served several terms as *rector magnificus* of the university.²⁵ De Passe's sixth print depicts the Leiden botanical garden (*Hortus botanicus*), laid out by the famous botanist Carolus Clusius in 1594. This garden, with herbs and plants for medicinal use, in addition to all sorts of other plant species, became a local attraction. De Passe's print is a faithful copy after a large print from the series *Views of Leiden University*, engraved by Willem van Swanenburg in 1610 after designs by Jan Cornelis van 't Woud (Woudanus) and published by Andries Cloucq. In view of the fact that Crispijn de Passe published the *Hortus floridus* just a few years later, designed and engraved by his eldest son Crispijn, we may assume that father and son were among the regular visitors of the real botanical garden.

The *Hortus floridus* contains a collection of plates depicting common and rare flowers and bulbs that is divided into four parts.²⁶ The quadripartite division, with each section having its own separate frontispiece, recalls the project of Hoefnagel's *Archetypa* (Fig. 5). The flowers are rendered very naturalistically, mostly two varieties to a page, sometimes filling a whole page, and arranged according to the four seasons in which they bloom: forty-one flowers of spring, nineteen flowers of summer, twenty-seven of autumn and twelve winter flowers. The names of the flowers are given in Latin, sometimes in Dutch and French, and occasionally in Italian. The spring and summer sections open with an engraving of the same geometrically ordered garden. In spring, four

beds of this garden are filled with tulips; in summer there are fewer flowers in the beds. The title page (Fig. 12) states that 'the flowers are delineated from life and according to reality by Crispijn de Passe the Younger with an unimaginable amount of labour and diligence and that he also arranged them in the proper order' ('icones ad vivam veramque formam accuratissime delineatae [...] incredibili labore ac diligentia Cripsini Passaei junioris delineatae as suum in ordinem redactae'). The piece of fabric on which the text is engraved is held up by the personifications of Sun and Moon, indispensable for the growth of everything on earth. Above are the portraits of the two most famous botanists of that period: Rembertus Dodonaeus and Carolus Clusius.

Gerard characterizes the book strikingly as 'a proxy for a garden, designed to make the pleasures of a garden available to anyone who could afford a luxury book, even if they could not have their own decorative garden'.²⁷ Some prints depict one flower on a full page, but most engravings show two plants, portrayed as growing in the earth, rather than uprooted as in earlier botanic illustrations. Sometimes De Passe added bulbs strewn across the soil in order to give information on what is hidden under the earth. He favoured a very low viewpoint (Fig. 13). Now and then, insects, small animals, or even a mouse are arranged between the plants. Bigger flowers are depicted without roots, like the sunflower (Fig. 14), a rare flower imported from Peru and described for the first time by Dodonaeus in his *Florium et coro-*

narium ororatumque [...] *historia* of 1568.²⁸ The sharp lines of the burin, combined with closely laid shading lines, delicate cross hatchings and mere flicks of the burin, produce an attractive and naturalistic modelling and perspective, resulting in an overall effect of refined elegance.

One of the purposes of the publication was to promote De Passe's eldest son, Crispijn de Passe the Younger, then twenty-one years old. Crispijn de Passe the Younger states in his preface to the part depicting autumn flowers that he had finished his training as designer and engraver and that he did not want 'to conceal himself anymore behind his father's fame'.²⁹ The book was nevertheless a typical family affair. Crispijn's brothers Simon and Willem de Passe signed several engravings (cf. Fig. 19), while their father published the book and added his complete *Cognoscite lilia*, published earlier in Cologne, as a fifth section. The book contains several Latin eulogies of the young Crispijn, one by Van Buchell himself. That the humanist is also the composer of the anonymous Latin commentary, which is facing each page of engravings, becomes clear from a letter that he wrote to his friend De Witt in Paris. Therein Van Buchell says that De Passe's son had gone to great lengths to depict 150 rare flowers and that he himself had added a brief description of the flowers.³⁰

The mention that Crispijn drew the flowers from life refers to a practice recommended in other botanical works. In Otto Brunfels's *Herbarum vivae eicones*, published several times between 1530 and 1536 in Strasbourg, we find the statement that the artist who made the illustrations, Hans Weiditz, worked directly after nature. Considering the quality of his drawings there is no doubt as to the veracity of this. That working after nature had become something of a requirement for artists is made clear in Leonard Fuchs's *De historia stirpium* (Basel 1542), a book possessing attractive, full page woodcuts. One of the woodcuts even demonstrates the process to the reader. It depicts Albrecht Meyer making a drawing of two plants in a vase, while Heinrich Füllmaurer is drawing on a wood block; the woodcutter Veyt Rudolff Speckle is also portrayed.³¹ Another example occurs in the botanical illustrations that Pieter van der Borcht drew after life for the publications

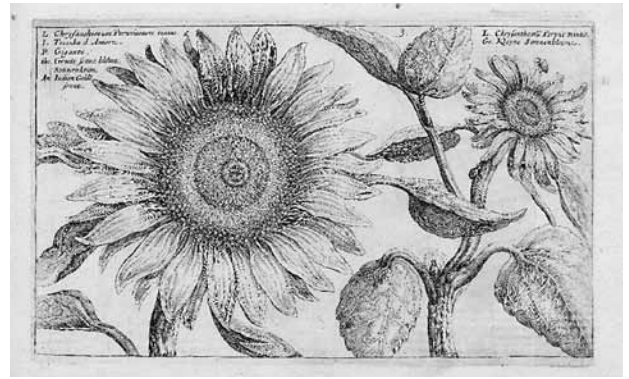


Fig. 14. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Sunflowers*, engraving from *Hortus floridus*, 1614. Utrecht, University Library.

by Plantin, but in Plantin's editions most of these illustrations are of a very small scale in order to fit into one of the two columns of each page.

Crispijn de Younger's predecessors appear to have made their drawings at home or in the studio, once the plants that were unearthed and had dried, a herbarium practice continued even today. It seems, however, that Crispijn took the term 'after nature' very literary, at least in the beginning. We happen to have a few sketches that are connected with the project, one of them bearing the monogram of Crispijn de Passe. The drawings were attributed to Crispijn de Passe the Elder in the past, but in light of the mention on the title page of the *Hortus floridus*, they must be from the hand of his son, who sometimes used the same monogram. The sheets are cut and irregularly trimmed, and each has additional drawings on the verso, strengthening the assumption that they were originally part of a sketchbook that was eventually dismembered and cropped. A study of several plants in pen and brown ink (Fig. 15) is in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.³² At the left we see the flowering herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), a wild hyacinth (*Scylla non-scirpa*) and the leaves of a dead nettle (*Lamium*). To the right is a primrose. Although the paper is trimmed at three sides, the flower on a high stem is probably a *Primula elatior*. Also the flower of a wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*) in the corner left above is cut off. All of these plants are rendered true to the same season (at the end of April or the first half of May).³³ On the verso, the sheet depicts the leaves of a common butterbur in black chalk.



Fig. 15. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Study of Several Flowers*, pen and brown ink, 11,2 x 17,5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 16. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Study of a Wintergreen*, pen and brown ink, 10,0 x 13,1 cm. Amsterdam, Collection P. and N. de Boer

The collection of P. & N. de Boer in Amsterdam has two other sheets done in pen and brown ink, undoubtedly from the same sketchbook: a study of a wintergreen (*Pyrola*) with the monogram *CVP* (Fig. 16) and a study of a *doronicum*, a daffodil and leaves (Fig. 17). The latter drawing is also clearly cut at the bottom and left side; on the verso is a study of a daffodil plant.³⁴ In contrast with the plants shown in the Rijksmuseum drawing, the wintergreen and to a lesser extent the *doronicum* are the more unusual of the plants known from Rembert Dodonaeus's *Cruydenboeck* of 1554. Two other drawings by the same hand were in the collection of Hans van Leeuwen until 1992. One sheet is a study of an evening primrose, violets, dandelions and a daffodil; it has studies of mallow and nightshade on the verso. The second drawing is a study of oak branches and leaves, with ivy and a poppy on the verso.³⁵ It is readily apparent that all the sketches mentioned here were made after life. Their author is thus not Crispijn de Passe the Elder, as always supposed, but De Passe the Younger. The Leiden *Hortus botanicus* was probably not young Crispijn's only source of inspiration. The Dutch edition of the book *Den Blomhof* includes a list of 32 names of lovers of flowers from Utrecht, Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden; among them were three apothecaries and two physicians. It seems likely that all of them had gardens and the young Crispijn suggests in his text that he indeed visited these gardens. This

list of names also gives us a good idea of the kind of people whom De Passe the Elder hoped would buy the book. It is reminiscent of a list of subscribers, a phenomenon that only began to take hold towards the end of the seventeenth century.³⁶

While botanical manuals used to represent plants with every leaf, flower and bud instantly recognizable, Crispijn the Younger made his sketches from the point of view of an artist, and as a result the identification is sometimes not straightforward, even for botanists. This is the case with his drawing of wintergreen (Fig. 16). Likewise, on the Rijksmuseum sheet, the different plants portrayed at the left below as an assortment growing together in a bunch are not easily identifiable (Fig. 15). This might be the reason why the prints after these particular drawings are missing from the *Hortus floridus*, with the exception of the daffodil from the sheet in the De Boer collection (Fig. 17), as this is a species that recurs several times in the section with spring flowers (cf. Fig. 13). Perhaps Crispijn realised after all that his sketches from nature were not so suitable to be engraved for a *florilegium*, which typically functions as an aid to plant identification. As a result, priority in the book is reserved for bulbs, which gained in popularity at the time. One can also imagine that the publisher De Passe was in some hurry to publish their own book, because of the recent publication of Johan Theodor de Bry's *Florilegium novum* or *New Blumbuch*



Fig. 17. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Study of a Doronicum and Daffodil*, pen and brown ink, 15,3 x 12,6 cm. Amsterdam, Collection P. and N. de Boer



Fig. 18. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *A Lesser Turc's Cap Lily*, pen and brown ink and watercolour, 11,2 x 17,7 cm. Amsterdam, Collection P. and N. de Boer

(Oppenheim, 1611 and 1612) and Emanuel Sweerts's *Florilegium amplissimum et selectissimum* (Frankfurt, 1612).³⁷

A third drawing in the collection of P. and N. de Boer, a *Lesser Turc's Cap Lily* (Fig. 18), drawn in pen and watercolour, has a different character.³⁸ The studies of seven poppies or anemones on the verso of the sheet are certainly sketched after life. However, in contrast to the other drawings by young Crispijn mentioned here, the lily on the recto is set up in the style of the engravings found in traditional *florilegia*. In this case the species is instantly recognizable. Most likely this drawing served as a model for Willem de Passe's print no. 9 (Fig. 19) in the summer section of the *Hortus*. There is no doubt that Crispijn had seen the Turkish lily in real life, for two Turkish lilies flank a monumental crown imperial in the main, circular flower bed in his engraving *Spring Garden*, the frontispiece to Part I of the *Hortus*. Nevertheless, we might assume that it was sometimes an image, such as the depictions in printed *florilegia*, rather than nature, that Crispijn turned to as his source, for also Simon de Passe's print no. 8 in the summer section, a *lilium montanum*, seems to be inspired by engraving no. 34 in De Bry's *Florilegium novum* (1611).

In comparison with the recently published *florilegia* of De Bry and Sweerts, father and son Crispijn de Passe showed much more ambition. Van Buchell's Latin texts in the first edition of the *Hortus* are scientific in their orientation, focusing on the description and classification of the flowers.³⁹ Both the elder and younger Crispijn strove to keep their project up to date. For the Latin edition of 1616, the young Crispijn engraved a new series of flowers accompanying a treatise on tulip-growing; adding to the spring section, he produced 13 engravings of new tulip varieties and then the tools used in their cultivation. The elder Crispijn added the foreword in this edition, in which he jokingly alludes to the imperishable nature of art in comparison with the perishability of real flowers. The Dutch *tulipo mania*, which peaked in 1636, when prices for bulbs achieved extraordinarily, and even ridiculously, high levels, and was then followed by a sudden collapse of the entire tulip trade, would prove how right, albeit unintentionally, the elder De Passe was in this regard.

Another element in the *Hortus* relates to important developments in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. All of the editions of 1614 (the Latin, Dutch and French ones), contain a separate chapter written by Crispijn the Younger providing detailed instructions



Fig. 19. Willem de Passe after Crispijn de Passe the Younger, A Lesser Turc's Cap Lily, 13,7 x 21,0 cm. Private collection.

for colouring the images of the flowers in the book. Colouring engravings was a pastime that came into vogue amongst the wives and daughters of the wealthier classes. Several preserved copies of the book have been carefully coloured in. The title page of the English edition of 1615 says: *A Garden of Flowers, wherein very lively is contained a true and perfect description of al the flowers contained in these following books. As also the perfect true manner of colouring the same with their naturall coloures [...] ministringe both pleasure and delight to the spectator, and most espetially to the well affected practisioner [...] And also after a most exquisite manner and method in teaching the practicioner to painte them even to the liffe*⁴⁰. This thus implies that the *Hortus* was not only intended as a diversion for the members of the wealthier classes, who could pass their time colouring the images, or embroidering the models, but that the book was also destined for 'practitioners', which points to professional painters of flower still lifes, a genre that was just coming into fashion on the continent around 1610.⁴⁰

This versatility of the *Hortus floridus* certainly will have contributed to its resounding success. The book had a marked influence on illustrations in botanical books until well into the eighteenth century, and is still a rare but desirable collector's item.

NOTES

* With many thanks to Amanda Herrin, who very kindly corrected my English.

1 VOGEL 2014, pp. 9–86, 151–166.

2 VOGEL 2009, pp. 270–289.

3 BRENNINKMEIJER-DE ROOIJ 1996, pp. 14–17, figs. 4–6; cf. also VOGEL 2014, Fig. 6.

4 NISSEN 1951, pp. 60–63.

5 NEW HOLLSTEIN. PIETER VAN DER BORCHT 2007, part VI, pp. 75–98; see also SEGAL 1996, cat. nos. 13–15.

6 IMHOF 1996, pp. 54–56, and cat. no. 19.

7 SEGAL 1996, cat. no. 16A. DIELS 2005, cat. no. 19. NEW HOLLSTEIN. THE COLLAERT DYNASTY 2005, part VI, nos. 1562–1585. The date of publication is derived from the fact that Galle dedicated the series to the Florentine general Giovanni de Medici, who stayed in the Netherlands with the Spanish army in that period. A few of Collaert's flowers are derived from the strewn-flower borders of the Ghent-Bruges miniatures (DIELS 2005, note 213).

8 SEGAL 1996; – VOGEL 2014, Fig. 10.

9 NEW HOLLSTEIN. THE COLLAERT DYNASTY 2005, part VI, no. 1586.

10 DE GROOT & DE JONG 1988, no. 41; – NEW HOLLSTEIN.

NICOLAES DE BRUYN 2014, part II, nos. 361–372.

11 GRIFFITHS 1998, p. 134.

12 VELDMAN 2001A, pp. 77–78. Hoefnagel died in 1600 in Vienna, so De Passe's *Four Seasons* must have been executed before that year.

13 VIGNAU-WILBERG 1994, p. 9.

14 No complete bound copies are known today. A rare set of proofs, without the texts and the address of the publishers is found in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

15 GERARD 1996; – Veldman 2001C.

16 For Le Moyne's life and work, see HULTON 1977.

17 GERARD 1996, pp. 369–370; – GRIFFITHS 1998, p. 134.

18 SEGAL 1996, cat. no. 17A.

19 GRIFFITHS 1998, p. 133, nos. 84–85.

20 VELDMAN & KLEIN 2003.

21 VELDMAN 2001, pp. 183–184.

22 HOLLSTEIN DUTCH, IV, p. 43, nos. 451–456. The series was often copied, for instance, in an edition by Johannes Sadeler in Venice, DE JONG & DE GROOT 1988, no. 355A.

23 NEW HOLLSTEIN. NICOLAES DE BRUYN 2014, part II, no. 390.

24 VELDMAN 2001B, p. 288, Fig. 56.

25 VELDMAN 20001B, pp. 33–38, 42–43, 157, and Fig. 43.

- 26 SEGAL 1996, cat. no. 17B; – VELDMAN 2001A, pp. 205–212.
Modern editions of the *Hortus floridus* are SAVAGE 1974 and HORTUS FLORIDUS 2013.
- 27 GERARD 1996, p. 363.
- 28 BRENNINKMEIJER-DE ROOIJ 1996, p. 52.
- 29 Quoted in an English translation in VELDMAN 2001A, p. 208.
- 30 VELDMAN 2001A, pp. 205–206.
- 31 For a survey of 16th-century printed herbals and descriptive botany see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp. 245–259; for Hans Weiditz see their figs. 254, 256–257, for the portraits of the illustrators of Fuch's *De historia stirpium*, their Fig. 259. For Weiditz see NISSEN 1951, pp. 39–44, and also VOGEL 2014, Fig. 9.
- 32 BOON 1978, no. 396.
- 33 With many thanks to the biologist Frans Smedin who also gave me useful information about the other drawings with plants by Crispijn de Younger published in this article.
- 34 PARIS 2014, cat. no. 65. The verso with seven daffodils is reproduced on p. 146.
- 35 UTRECHT 1978, nos. 82a-b. Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 24 November 1992, no. 154.
- 36 VELDMAN 2001A, pp. 209–210.
- 37 HOLLSTEIN DUTCH, IV, p. 43, nos. 370–450 (De Bry). For a reproduction of tulips by Sweerts, see Vogel 2014, Fig. 22. Both *florilegia* are attractive print books and also have the engraved Latin names of the flowers, but the scheme is still the traditional one with the accent on the flower heads and several flowers up and under each other on one page.
- 38 PARIS 2014, cat. no. 65. The verso of the drawing with seven anemones or poppies is reproduced there on p. 149.
- 39 GRIFFITHS 1998, p. 134.
- 40 VELDMAN 2001 A, pp. 210–211.
- DIELS 2005: Diels, Ann: 'Wat d'yser can bemaelen': prenten van de Antwerpse graveursfamilie Collaert (1550–1630), exh. cat. Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I Brussels, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005.
- GERARD 1996: Gerard, Robert A.: 'Woutneel, De Passe and the Anglo-Netherlandish Print Trade', in: *Print Quarterly* 13, 1996, pp. 363–376.
- GRIFFITHS 1998: Griffiths, Anthony, with the collaboration of Robert A. Gerard: *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, exh. cat. British Museum, London, London 1998.
- DE GROOT & DE JONG 1988: De Groot, Marijnke & Irene de Groot: *Ornamentprenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet. I, 15de en 16de eeuw*, The Hague 1988.
- HOLLSTEIN DUTCH: F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, 72 vols., Amsterdam/Roosendaal/Rotterdam/Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 1949–2010.
- HORTUS FLORIDUS: *A garden of flowers. All 104 engravings from the Hortus Floridus of 1614*. Crispin van de Pas, New York 2013 (Dover e-book).
- HULTON 1977: Hulton, Paul: *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida and England*, London 1977.
- IMHOF 1996: Imhof, Dirk: *The Illustration of Scientific Works Published by the Moretus*, in: *The Illustration of Books Published by the Moretus*, exh. cat. Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, 1996, pp. 53–63.
- LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994: Landau, David & Peter Parshall: *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550*, New Haven & London 1994.
- NEW HOLLSTEIN. THE COLLAERT DYNASTY 2005: Ann Diels & Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. The Collaert Dynasty*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2005.
- NEW HOLLSTEIN. PIETER VAN DER BORCHT 2007: Hans Mielke & Ursula Mielke, *The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Pieter van der Borch*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2007.
- NEW HOLLSTEIN. NICOLAES DE BRUYN 2014: Lorena A. Baines, *The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Nicolaes de Bruyn*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2014.
- NISSEN 1951, Nissen, Claus: *Die botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie*, Stuttgart 1951.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BOON 1978, Karel G. Boon: *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings on the Rijksmuseum*, The Hague 1978.
- BRENNINKMEIJER-DE ROOIJ 1996: Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij, Beatrijs: *Roots of Seventeenth-Century Flower Painting*, Leiden 1996.