Published in 1610, Christoph Jamnitzer’s *Neuw Grotesßken Buch* makes the startling claim that this volume of etched ornaments should be understood in light of Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the Americas. Grandson of the celebrated sixteenth-century Nuremberg artist Wenzel Jamnitzer, Christoph is known as a printmaker, metalsmith, draftsman, and sculptor. Like his grandfather, Christoph made his living creating elaborately wrought decorative works in gold and silver, and, like him, he issued just one book. Admired as a work of singular creativity, the *Neuw Grotesßken Buch* represents Christoph’s most sustained printmaking venture and offers an unparalleled statement on the art of ornament. The book comprises sixty unnumbered illustrations and is organized in three parts: each section has its own pictorial title page followed by four pages of identical text—including a dedication, poem, and five-year imperial privilege—and twenty grotesque etchings. Intended, as Christoph states in the introduction, for art lovers and craftsmen alike, the volume was owned by at least two prominent late sixteenth-century collectors, Paul Freher and Paulus Praun. Despite its claims to present models for craftsmen to follow, the book’s designs were in fact rarely adopted, suggesting that they were not only hard to implement but also perhaps never intended for straightforward application.

The *Neuw Grotesßken Buch*’s displays of screwball invention have earned it the reputation as the supreme expression of the German ornamental grotesque. Its exceptional status notwithstanding, inquiry into it—or, for that matter, into the copious body of work that falls under the rubric of “ornament print”—has still consisted largely of formal and stylistic analysis. Textbook examples of the cartilage (Knorpelwerkstil) and auricular (Ohrmuschelstil) styles, the volume’s prints have rarely been examined as independent artworks in their own right. Transhistorical studies on the grotesque like Wolfgang Kayser’s *Das Groteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* or Frances Connelly’s *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture*, while yielding valuable ways to connect qualities of the genre from its beginnings in the discovery of the whimsical frescoes in Nero’s palace through the commedia dell’arte to its modern expressions in poetry, dream narratives, Surrealism, and contemporary art, can likewise shed little light on the peculiarities of Jamnitzer’s work. Carsten Peter Warncke’s monumental survey *Die Ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland*, finally, constitutes an unrivaled catalog and critical analysis of grotesque ornament prints produced in Germany from 1500 to 1650, but because its focus is almost exclusively on ornament prints, the work does not take into consideration the larger pictorial context for these images. Influential for this investigation are Mikhail Bakhtin’s *Rabelais and His World* and Philippe Morel’s *Les grotesques: Les figures de l’imaginaire dans la peinture italienne de la fin de la Renaissance*. Bakhtin’s account of the saucy, irreverent character of Rabelais’s writing and Morel’s identification of late sixteenth-century ideas about natural history in the development of the grotesque jibe well with the spirit of Jamnitzer’s volume. Studying the book’s grotesque imagery in light of both the language of its introductory text and the broader milieu in which it was created allows us to consider Christoph’s grotesque ornaments in their late sixteenth-century author’s terms, and to reflect on the problem of ornament more generally outside the questions of style and function that have preoccupied scholars at least since the eighteenth century. Christoph’s unusual pairing of imagery and writing affords a unique opportunity to access features of an early modern discourse on the genre and to consider how the imagery of the *Neuw Grotesßken Buch* and that of related ornament prints not only participated in the visual and intellectual culture of their day but also generated valuable insights into their own creation and means of production.

**Christoph and Christopher**

Beginning around the mid-sixteenth century suites of ornament prints regularly carried title pages that include wording about their usefulness to artists and artisans. Virtually without equal, however, is the narrative Christoph dedicates to Carl Ludwig von Fernberger zu Eggenberg, which appears after the *Neuw Grotesßken Buch*’s three title pages and before the subsequent etchings (Fig. 1). Without preamble, Christoph launches into a discourse on Christopher Columbus, who, he claims, set out to locate uncharted lands, reasoning that there were still territories waiting to be discovered. His account describes how Columbus, after being rebuffed by the Genoese and the kings of Portugal and England, who held his venture to be an “unbelievable, unheard of and impossible thing,” approached the Spanish monarch for ships to undertake the voyage that eventually enabled him to discover (entdecken) and invent (erfinden) the West Indies. On his return, one of the Spanish noblemen present at an official dinner party challenged Columbus, saying that if the Italian had not made the discovery, then a Spaniard certainly would have, there being so many “distinguished, intelligent, ingenious, experienced, learned, and artistic cosmographers” in his native country. Setting aside the statement’s nationalistic implications, it is worth noting Columbus’s method for rebutting his naysayers: refusing to engage with them in a protracted verbal argument, he instead challenged them to demonstrate how an egg can be made to rest upright. Employing all their art and cunning, his challengers failed to accomplish the task. Columbus thereupon delicately mashed the egg’s head to make it stand upright. His rivals understood what Columbus
was trying to indicate silently, namely, that his example had made it possible for them to follow in his footsteps.\textsuperscript{15}

Closely paraphrasing the German translations of Girolamo Benzoni’s 1565 \textit{Historia del Mondo Nuovo} first published in 1579 and again in 1582/83, 1594, and 1606, Christoph’s account repeats the Italian’s story of Christopher’s return to Spain and his altercation with Spanish noblemen at a formal state meal.\textsuperscript{16} The context they describe for Christopher’s wrangling with his adversaries is salient: peppery banter of this sort was a common diversion at late sixteenth-century courts and provides an important framework for understanding Jamnitzer’s grotesque designs.\textsuperscript{17} Christoph’s text differs from Benzoni’s only in labeling the attitude of Columbus’s antagonists as “hochmißtige Scomma,” or haughty skoomma.\textsuperscript{18}

Deriving from the ancient Greek \textit{σκόμμα}, the term refers to a teasing or mocking expression, or, as the classical author Macrobius states, to “an oblique kind of jibe, since it is often concealed in a deceptive or urbane veneer.”\textsuperscript{19} Revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when new attention was being given to ancient forms of humor, the skoomma was something that, appropriately, was employed “at table and over drinks, when people are easily provoked to anger.” “At a banquet,” Macrobius continues, “one must be particularly careful to avoid the carping that avoids a concealed insult.” Christoph’s use of the term within the setting of a princely feast lends meaning to Columbus’s feisty, nonverbal rejoinder. Never rising to the level of outright hostility, but intended as a put-down, the skoomma directed at Columbus redounds on his rivals: instead of making the explorer look inept, their mockery casts them in the role of jealous, second-rate followers, who make fun of the Italian because they lack his invention.\textsuperscript{20} The motto \textit{Ehe veracht als gemacht}, “Sooner scorned than done,” referring to the notion that it is easier to make fun of someone else’s good idea than it is to execute or literally make such an idea oneself, which appears at the head of the page together with an image of Columbus’s egg resting on a plinth, arises out of this spat (Fig. 1).\textsuperscript{21}

Also worth considering is the role contemporary ideas about the Ancients and Moderns play in Christoph’s efforts to demonstrate the superiority of Columbus’s ingenuity over the dull, plodding efforts of his uninspired competitors.
Christoph’s account of Columbus’s discovery of the Americas aligns with the Moderns’ admiration for the invention of new techniques and the sighting of new worlds. Aspects of the essay and subsequent poem display hallmarks, moreover, of the artist’s antithetical and anticlassical orientation. In the introductory essay this becomes apparent in Columbus’s refusal to rely on pro forma methods of debate to counter his opponents and his unconventional insistence on arguing his point by silently doing or making, an idea that is reinforced by the motto “Sooner scorned than done.” Where Christoph’s antagonists rely on verbal ridicule to express their authority, the explorer engages his opponents in a public contest that visibly and wordlessly exposes the folly of their prolixity and bumptiousness. Christoph elaborates on the idea in the poem that follows, stating that “if a wine is good, it does not need a publicist” and then rearticulating the well-known German proverb _Guter Wein lehrt gut Latin_, “Good wine teaches good Latin.” He concludes, “And as one says about good wine, you can’t just talk Latin.” Everyone, the artist suggests, babbles Latin fluently when inebriated, which is to say that they do not speak the language at all. The author’s penchant for gobbledygook or drunken “Latin”—epitomized by his fabrication of words like _radesco_ and _fadetteskisch_, for example—is matched by the work’s less than sober manner. Christoph’s taste for the lowbrow tallies not only with the ribald style of François Rabelais’s _Gargantua and Pantagruel_ but also with that of modern scientists: Galileo Galilei published his _Dialogo de Cocco di Ronchitti da Brazzeno in perpetuo sito della stella nuova_ (1605) about the discovery of a new star in a crude Paduan dialect just five years before Christoph issued his _Neuw Grotteßken Buch_.

Much as Columbus’s wager was designed to goof on his rivals’ solemn attempts to make an egg stand on its head, so the scientist’s choice of a giddy potois was designed to poke fun at his contemporaries’ earnest scholasticism. Christoph’s reliance on _machen_ (make, do), meanwhile, is consonant with Pamela Smith’s account of early modern artisanal production, according to which craftsmen expressed their knowledge of the world by doing or making. In Christoph’s account, Columbus’s act of making the egg stand upright parallels the explorer’s act of making the discovery of the Americas and, by extension, the artist’s making the ornaments for the _Neuw Grotteßken Buch_.

The essay’s penultimate paragraph articulates this analogy more fully by means of apophasis: “If now I do not in the least wish to compare myself with Columbus, so much less would I compare my new little book of grotesques with Columbus’s _inventio_.” Refuting any similarity between himself and Columbus, the entire purpose of the story is, of course, precisely to draw this parallel. The artist’s namesake, Christoph (Columbus) offers a perfect analogue to Christoph. Discoverers and inventors alike, the men possess _inventio_, a term that in the early modern period could signify both discovery and invention. Referring to his own _Neuw Grotteßken Buch_, Christoph consequently observes that “the same [opprobrium] will doubtless be directed against me and my work, which is bad, but nevertheless has never been executed in the same way before.” He proposes to deal with his would-be adversaries in just the way the Italian explorer had handled his opponents: by (metaphorically) laying Columbus’s egg before them, thereby proving his originality. “I would dismiss and put off those, however, by placing before them Columbus’s egg,” he writes. “Those who still do not like it should undertake to make a better one from scratch themselves.”

The _Neuw Grotteßken Buch_ in its entirety is expressive of the artist’s _inventio_, though the steady recurrence of ovoid motifs suggests that Christoph also intended to place Columbus’s egg rather literally before his viewers: putti are shown in ovals, and egglike shapes grace countless flowers and other flora, including grapelike trusses, seed pods, leafy fronds, and the googly eyes of innumerable fantastic creatures. Most memorable in this regard is the sheet of three putti, in which the far left-hand figure seen from behind turns around to look at the viewer, while bariring his buttocks and emptying his bowels (Fig. 2). The putto holds two of his egg-shaped excrescences aloft and has collected the others in a woven basket similar to those containing the boisterous, live ornaments on the second title page showing the Schnackenmarkt (Fig. 3), a sheet that shows Christoph’s grotesques in a sort of open marketplace as creatures to be displayed, possessed, and even tamed, thus equating his designs not only with Columbus’s egg but also with turds. Reenacting Columbus’s mischievous stance toward his disparers, the figure’s action has the effect of transmuting this gross insolence into a childish prank. If his ornaments do not appeal, Christoph seems to say, it is either because they are “shitty” or, following _Ehe veracht als gemacht_, because the jaded and unimaginative viewer fails to recognize the artist’s visual jokes for their true invention.

Jammitzer’s _Neuw Grotteßken Buch_ is neither the first book nor the first work in print to compare the artist’s invention to Columbus’s discovery of the West Indies. A few years before its publication, the Flemish engraver Johannes Stradanus linked his own invention with that of the celebrated explorer. Stradanus designed the _Nova reperta_ (New inventions and discoveries of modern times) about 1599–1603, and its frontispiece, engraved by Hans Collaert the Younger, shows two allegorical figures holding serpents biting their tails, symbols of time (Fig. 4). One, youthful and energetic, enters from the left, and the second, old and stooped, exits to the right. The young man points with a stick to a sphere showing a map of the Americas with the inscription “CHRISTOPH. COLVMBVS GENVENVS. INVENTOR.” The senior individual turns his back on a sphere showing compass points and the inscription “FLAVIVS AMALFIANVS ITALVS INVENTOR,” referring to Flavio Biondo, the Renaissance humanist whom the work (falsely) credits as inventing the magnetic compass. Beneath and below the two figures, Stradanus pictures the inventions and discoveries that mark the modern era: the cannon, gunpowder, the printing press, paper, a mechanical clock, healing plants from the New World, a distillery, and silkworms. Stradanus prominently signs the work twice, once in small letters at the bottom right, “Ioan. Stradunum invent,” and another time in bold capitals, “I. STRAD. INVENT. DD.” The printmaker’s choice to highlight his own invention—at the expense of the engraver, who is not credited at all—casts him in the role of an inventor/discoverer, comparable to Columbus.

Equally relevant are the engravings following the _Nova reperta’s_ frontispiece, which document the full range of inventions that set the modern age apart. Folio three of Stradanus’s series, for example, shows a forge with a group of
men hammering cannons and other firearms, illustrating the invention of gunpowder, while folio fifteen depicts a market square with a vendor at a booth selling lenses and eyeglasses. Echoing Stradanus’s encomium to modern progress, Jamnitzer’s *Neuw Grotteßken Buch* alludes to both of these recent inventions, too. A pair of spectacles dangles nonchalantly from the cartouche at the top right of the Schnackenmarkt (Fig. 3), and another pair is perched on the upper nose of a hybrid creature-cum-ornament (Fig. 5). A pistol, meanwhile, is holstered in the belt of a critter (online Fig. 1) with spectacularly long and pointed mandibles (akin to the cartographer’s dividers), and an anthropomorphized musket bestrides a horse on another sheet (online Fig. 2). Unlike Stradanus, the goldsmith Jamnitzer could take some credit for these inventions. Goldsmiths were engaged in casting guns and cannons, experimented with gunpowder,
developed a range of printmaking techniques, and were even instrumental in the fabrication of eyeglasses. When Jamnitzer etches a series of ornaments and chooses to embed spectacles and firearms among his designs, he celebrates the inventio that is central to his profession.

**Cosmographo**

We miss recognizing Christoph’s broader frame of reference, however, if we concentrate on Columbus or on ideas of invention and discovery alone. By shifting our focus to encompass the noun that defines the explorer, *cosmographo*, it is possible to see the volume not merely as a compilation of fanciful ornaments but also, more importantly, as a book about ornament and more specifically about the shared enterprises of the cosmographer and the engraver of grotesques. A composite of the ancient Greek κόσμος (cosmos) and γράφω (writer, composer, draftsman), the term *cosmographo* refers to one who describes or maps the general features of the celestial and terrestrial worlds. “The art of describing the world,” the German cosmographer and cartographer Sebastian Münster writes, “is called by the Greek word ‘Cosmographia’ or ‘Geography,’ the description of the earth.” As André Thévet’s well-known *La cosmographie universelle* of 1575 shows, late sixteenth-century writers were also keenly aware of the other meanings of the ancient Greek term κόσμος.

Cosmography is nothing other than a description of the World … including everything that is surrounded by the highest heavens, like the four elements … as well as all the Heavens. This word is taken from the Greeks who, knowing that nothing suits God’s beautiful and pleasurable creations better than the World, called it *Cosmos* in their language, which means Ornament. 

Far from being what Antony Griffiths termed a “preposterous (and doubtless tongue-in-cheek) comparison of … these plates to Columbus’s discovery of America,” Christoph cleverly puns on the alternative meanings of both cosmos (the universe/ornament) and graphos (mapper/printmaker or draftsman) to demonstrate what the composer of ornament prints and the discover-explorer have in common: they are both *cosmographi*. The pun is, to be more exact, an example of polysemic and homonymic paronomasia, a figure of speech that takes its name from the ancient Greek
Kunstkammer became an important site for correlating opining ideas about the macrocosm in microcosm.⁴³ Christoph Jamnitzer’s book, in other words, is designed to fortify the motto was widely dispersed.

Successor to the Renaissance studiolo, the early modern Kunstkammer became an important site for correlating princely power with knowledge of the cosmos and for developing ideas about the macrocosm in microcosm.⁴³ Christoph published the Neuw Grotteßken Buch just a year after visiting Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II in 1609. The artist’s disappointment at not being favored with a new commission—Christoph completed the Triunj-Lavabo, a lavish golden basin and ewer, for the emperor’s cabinet of curiosities in 1602—is palpable in a letter to fellow goldsmith and brother-in-law Hans Petzold in which Christoph lamented, “I wish I’d never seen Prague.”⁴⁴ The publication of the Neuw Grotteßken Buch so soon after his return strongly suggests that the work was conceived in response to having been turned down by the emperor. Without a contract to create additional works for Rudolf’s Kunstkammer, Christoph produced a volume that by featuring a mélange of oddities functioned in analogue to it. It had the further advantage of advertising his skills and inventio to a mass audience.

It is worth returning at this point to the book’s dedication. Christoph praises Carl Ludwig von Fernberger zu Eggenberg as a “singular benefactor to the virtuosi”⁴⁵ and states that Carl Ludwig visited him in Nuremberg, offering to promote his work. By describing himself as a virtuoso, Christoph self-identifies as one who was curious about all aspects of art and nature and who was reluctant to engage in what William Eamon has characterized as the “tiresome logic-chopping of scholastic disputation,” echoing the antiacademic stance noted before.⁴⁶ The early modern artist’s livelihood depended on securing patronage from affluent collectors and art lovers, and Christoph had completed a medal of Carl Ludwig in 1604, no doubt on commission.⁴⁷ Another unspoken reason to choose Fernberger for this particular distinction, however, is his family’s prominence among late-sixteenth-century northern European explorers. Carl Ludwig’s cousin Georg Christoph Fernberger undertook a journey east in 1588, traveling not just to the Holy Lands but also to Egypt and the whole southeast Asian peninsula, making him the first German-speaking voyager to undertake a trip of this kind.⁴⁸ Christoph Carl Fernberger, Carl Ludwig’s son, meanwhile, was the first Austrian to circumnavigate the world, and though little is known about his youth, it appears that he received a humanist education, which included study of the geographic discoveries of his day, doubtless with encouragement from his father.⁴⁹ The dedication of Christoph Jamnitzer’s book, in other words, is designed to fortify the cosmographic connections noted elsewhere, between the volume’s dedicatee, artist, and subject.

Air
As a 1580 print by Étienne Delaune shows, the idea that printmaker-goldsmiths possessed special understanding of the cosmos is not unprecedented. The image depicts a room lined with tools and craftsmen laboring at a long rectangular table placed perpendicular to a large arched window (Fig. 6). The men’s state of undress—they are half nude and wear classicizing garments—cues the viewer that this is not a straightforward rendering of a contemporary goldsmith’s workshop. The left-hand figure is poised to strike the metal resting on the anvil before him, while the figure in the middle appears to be working on a large globe that is inscribed with delicate swirls and in minute writing “Ainsi roule toujours ce monde,” or “The world always rolls this way.” Pausing from his work, this workman turns around to attend to the figure behind him. Unlike the two craftsmen, the far right-hand figure is fully robed and clutches a banderole in his hand, presenting himself as a sort of prophet figure. The image corresponds to a set of Antoine Chandieu’s verses, published in 1580 by the Strasbourg printer Bernard Jobin together with Delaune’s engravings, titled Octonaires: Sur la Vanité et Inconstance du Monde.⁵⁰ The stanza accompanying Delaune’s image of the goldsmith’s workshop renders the prophet-philosopher’s missive, which commences with the solicitation:

Goldsmith engrave me a well-rounded ball, 
空虚 and full of wind, the image of this world, 
and may a great beauty come and clothe it [the ball],
as much as your burin can deceive and lie, 
in representing on it fruits of every guise, 
and then encircle it with this device:
The world always rolls this way, deceiving all who have no fruit except painting, and based on the wind.⁵¹

Though goldsmiths were frequently involved in the design and execution of precious metal globes, the inclusion of such a globe here, part of a series of allegorical prints, should not be understood literally.⁵² The prophet asks the craftsmen to fashion a replica of the empty, air-filled earth, a commission ideally suited to goldsmiths whose art (like the world) was windy and vain. The connection between wind and the goldsmith’s art may seem surprising and not altogether intuitive, but it is the subject of a large number of early modern ornament prints. Featuring phenomena characterized by air—wind, smoke, steam, breath, fumes, farts, and the gusts exhaled by bellows—these images make a case for construing the goldsmith’s inventions as products of his ability to manage air and the works themselves as composed of air.⁵³ The idea is indebted in part to the Latin term vanitas, which means “vanity” or “emptiness” and which derives from the Hebrew word for smoke or vapor. When Christoph writes in the introductory poem that “Art remains art/is after all just wind,” he draws attention to his role in fashioning ornaments that are vain because they are windy.⁵⁴ Another source for the connection between goldsmithing and air can be found in the Greek word for ornament, κοσμος, a word that is synonymous not only with the Latin words mundus, meaning “world,” but also with caelum, referring equally to the...
heavens, sky, air, and to the burin or engraver’s tool. As expressions of the \( \kappa \omega \mu \iota \kappa \omega \gamma \), ornament prints are embodiments both of air and of the printmaker’s caelum.

Christoph’s verbal assertion about the airy source for his art is sustained by several images in the Neuw Grotteßken Buch: one sheet shows a putto with a hand pump inflating a ball that is clearly inscribed with meridians and parallels (Fig. 7). Christoph asks us to regard this sphere not merely as a ball but more specifically as a globe—a world the artist has blown full of air. Several additional images in the Neuw Grotteßken Buch connect ideas about the cosmos with wind and vanity, including the sheet with two putti on either side of a river-bank: one blows bubbles while the other writes in a book and gazes at an hourglass (Fig. 8).55 Floating over the water between them, the figure of Fame surrounded by a nimbus of pillowy clouds puffs into two trumpets. Standing on her left leg, she balances unsteadily on a winged globe. The movements of the cosmos are rendered jerky and erratic by the wings that propel Fame through the air, augmenting the chance that she will fall from her aerial perch onto a pile of tools, a book, and a feathered helmet that are related to artisanal labor, knowledge, and military feats below. The cosmos’s blustery core and windborne passage render vain man’s intellectual and martial exploits.

Because they regularly worked with precious materials that had long been connected with vanitas, goldsmiths like Delaune and Jamnitzer were well positioned to engage these ideas. At least since classical antiquity, gold was associated with avarice, and the desire for and amassing of precious metals were closely linked with vanity.56 Worked into highly finished artifacts and squirreled away in Kunstkammern that were themselves connected with ideas of vanitas, goldsmith works were fetishized as much for their workmanship as for the precious materials in which they were made.57 It was this very act of idolatry, however, that rendered suspect both the materials metalsmiths worked with and the gilded artifacts they produced.58 Emptied of clear subject matter or didactic content, Christoph’s inventions were a perfect match for the vanity of the world and the Kunstkammer.

**Christoph’s Cosmography**

What is distinctive about Christoph’s cosmography and how does he endeavor to put his cosmographic expertise on display? To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider for a moment what we understand by early modern cosmography. The science was ill defined at this time, combining qualities of Aristotelian natural philosophy, Euclidian geometry, and Ptolemaic geography with Plinian accounts of the human, animal, and plant kingdoms.59 Denis Cosgrove offers a useful summary of the two most prevalent models during this period. One, he explains, represented by the sixteenth-century German cartographers Martin Waldseemüller and Peter Apian, is “an amalgam of the medieval encyclopedia, the bestiary and the universal history with the addition of contemporary geographic discovery.” For Münster and Thévet, Cosgrove states, “cosmography’s task was to represent the universe to the reader’s eye as a marvel, a visual spectacle.”60 Christoph’s intention that his book be construed as cosmography is perhaps most immediately evident in his inclusion of illustrations of the elements. In this and other respects, the Neuw Grotteßken Buch should be linked with his grandfather’s Perspectiva corporum regularium of 1568, a work Pamela Smith has referred to as part model book, part description of practice, part theoretical text, and part virtuoso artisanal self-presentation and display.61 The correspondences and differences between the two works are instructive. Like Wenzel Jamnitzer, Christoph claims to target his work at “beginning
youngsters [anfahnder Jugend]," a terminology that is echoed in Heinrich Lautensack’s Des Circkels und Richtscheyts auch der Perspectiva und Proportion . . . Mit vill schönen Figuren aller anfahnden Jugendi (1564) and Jost Amman’s Kunst und Lehrbüchlein für die anfahnden Jungen (1580).62 Precedents for both the illustrations and texts that preface Christoph’s designs are, in other words, manifest in contemporary art teaching manuals.63 Descendants of the geometric shapes that feature in chapter four of Albrecht Dürer’s Underwöysung der Messung (1525), the perspectival constructions in Wenzel’s book were conceived in terms that are consistent with sixteenth-century cosmography.64 Following Euclid and Plato, Wenzel thus states that the five solids make up the elements of nature. Fire was a tetrahedron, air an octahedron, earth a hexahedron, water an icosahedron, and heaven a dodecahedron (online Fig. 3). All things, including living creatures, were composed of these five solids, knowledge of which provided the key to understanding the universe. Reflecting his own cosmographic ambitions, but abandoning his grandfather’s focus on perspective and proportion, Christoph dedicates four sheets of the Neuw Grotteßken Buch to the elements, which he renders as figural personifications: Earth carries a basket brimming with an abundance of fruits and vegetables, Air sits on a cloud (Fig. 9), Water bestrides a dolphin, and Fire bears a lighted torch.65 Though not pictured in quite the same way as the other elements, the heavens, which Wenzel includes in his Perspectiva and which Thévet states belong to the study of cosmography, are also alluded to. The sheet with a cartouche framing a view over a landscape across which a band with signs of the zodiac is strung makes this point (Fig. 10). Mirroring the presentation on the title page with Columbus’s egg, itself a sort of misshapen globe, the picture neatly combines the terrestrial and celestial worlds within a single ornamental frame. Indeed, Christoph’s choice of the egg on a plinth riffs on illustrations in Wenzel’s volume, which includes a globe, or Kegel, on a pedestal.66 Muddled and incomplete—the star signs appear out of order as Aries-Cancer-Libra-Taurus-Sagittarius rather than as Aries-Taurus-Cancer-Libra-Sagittarius, while omitting Gemini, Leo, Virgo, and Scorpio—the scrambled zodiac flouts the logical or systematic approach to the study of the natural world.67 Where Wenzel’s approach to describing the cosmos was mathematical and theoretical, more comparable with those of Apian and Waldseemüller, Christoph’s is allegorical, encyclopedic, and even a little irrational, more akin to those of Münster and Thévet. Christoph celebrates the surprising discoveries that are made possible by conjoining aspects of the world’s disparate and miscellaneous parts.

In keeping with Dürer’s Underwöysung der Messung, Christoph employed Fraktur typeface for the majority of his text. Developed for metal-type printing with support from
9 Christoph Jamnitzer, Element of Air, from Neuw Grotteßken Buch, 1610, etching, plate: 5¼ x 7¼ in. (13 x 18.5 cm), sheet: 7¼ x 10¾ in. (18.5 x 26.2 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum)

10 Christoph Jamnitzer, Celestial heavens, from Neuw Grotteßken Buch, 1610, etching, plate: 5¼ x 7¼ in. (15 x 18.7 cm), sheet: 7¼ x 10¾ in. (18.5 x 26.2 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum)

Emperor Maximilian I in 1508, Fraktur was widely used in sixteenth-century German publications, Italianate script being reserved for works in foreign languages. Joachim Whaley observes that “the rejection of ‘antiqua’ or ‘Italian’ was a conscious assertion of German identity and of German pride in the invention of printing,” and there is some truth to this assertion. Heinrich Vogtherr, following Dürer, for example, printed his teaching manual in Fraktur, and he explicitly says that his intention was to raise the arts in Germany and to “inspire understanding artists to higher and more ingenious arts until art comes back to its rightful honor and we lead other nations.” Combinations of Fraktur and Antiqua, like those seen in Christoph’s Neuw Grotteßken Buch (Fig. 1), are also common, however, and include among many others Wenzel Jamnitzer’s Perspectiva and Anman’s Kunst und Lehrbüchlein für die anfahrenden Jungen, both of which print words of Greek or Latin derivation in Antiqua. The effect is to distinguish foreign words from German ones, but doing so also gives the former particular prominence: ineluctably, the reader’s eye falls on words like Christophoro Columbo and cosmographo in Christoph’s text. It is tempting to read the Neuw Grotteßken Buch as an encomium to German invention and a negative appraisal of Latin-oriented Ancients, but the author’s embrace of certain foreign terms, classical rhetorical tropes (usually playfully employed), and the ludic aspects of Christoph’s interactions with his disparagers complicates this notion. Indeed, to the extent that the Neuw Grotteßken Buch offers a critique, it is not directed wholesale at the Ancients but, rather, at the magniloquence evident in other artists’ manuals as well as at the intricate perspectival constructions that are the hallmark of his grandfather’s cosmography. “After thinking for a long time about how to create a work that does not require much thought,” Christoph asserts that he composed his Neuw Grotteßken Buch in German, in a playful, intentionally unintellectual manner “that does not rattle the brain or make your head confused.” Much like Rabelais’s Gargantua and Pantagruel—not accidentally also a story about a voyage of discovery—Christoph’s wacky address, concocted language, and associated grotesque imagery conceal a rather highbrow message. Rabelais must have been on Christoph’s mind when he created his volume of etchings. Often compared with the Neuw Grotteßken Buch’s etchings, the whimsical composite creatures depicted in Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel, ou sont contenues plusieurs figures de l’invention de maistre François Rabelais & derniere oeuvre d’iueluet, pour la recreation des bons esprits (Paris, 1565) are, according to its publisher, Richard Breton, figures of a fashion as strange as one will be able to find throughout the world. Loosely inspired by the example of Rabelais’s Pantagruel, these are characters that can only be encountered through the sorts of travel in which the book’s protagonist engaged. Johann Fischart’s madcap German adaptation of Rabelais’s text, a work with the nonsensical title Affentheurhich Naupengeheurliche Geschichtsklitterung (Apeventurous mood-creepy history-scrawl, first published 1575, and reissued in 1582 and 1590), further helped to popularize the French author’s writings in German-speaking countries and to make the connection between Rabelaisian discourse and exploratory travel.

Three Books, Three Title Pages

Because Christoph’s books have three separate pictorial title pages followed by three pages of identical texts and twenty unnumbered etchings, it is inviting to think that the books were designed to work independently, and that the viewer was free to choose the pages’ order. The poem clearly states, however, that the artist planned the books to be issued together. “So for the sake of such apprentices,” Christoph writes, “I wanted to set down these three books.” The ensuing poem, which likely refers to the Neuw Grotteßken Buch’s three parts, supports this idea: “As with everyone on the bowling alley, who places bets on a large prize and shouts at the other for being a lout,” the author states, “I say I want to hit all three pins [Kegf].” By comparing intact copies of the Neuw Grotteßken Buch, Warncke has
shown that the page sequence was set and that the viewer was likely not free to alter the work’s structure. Even so, the distribution of the pages throughout the three books is random. Though each book contains a picture of one of the four elements, for example, because there are three books, the first book contains two, while the second and third have one each. In other instances, there is a more even spread of images. There are six putti in ovals, with two appearing in each part, but this order is not repeated elsewhere. Similar subjects do not appear in analogous places in other parts of the book or in similar numbers, again evoking a sense of haphazardness. To the degree that the page sequence manifests a sense of play, then, it does so not by encouraging the viewer to mess about with the order of the sheets but by exemplifying the rowdy jumble of the Kunstkammer itself. Christoph’s decision to divide his Neuw Grotteßken Buch into three separate parts with three separate title pages may have been a product of its dependence on Girolamo Benzoni’s chronicle, whose German translations were issued as part of Theodor de Bry’s Les grandes voyages between 1594 and 1597 in three interdependent volumes: Das Vierdte Buch von der Neuen Welt (1594), Americae das fünfte Buch: Vol schoner unverhört Historien (1595), and Das sechste Theil der Neuen Welt: Darinnen warhafftig erzehlet wirdt, wie die Spanier die goldreiche Landschaften dess peruanischen Königreichs eyngenommen (1597). The book’s tripartite structure may equally allude, however, to the three continents—Europe, Asia, and Africa—knowledge of which governed the early modern sense of the universe until the discovery of the Americas. By inserting quadruple arrangements into the book’s tripartite structure—including the four continents, the four classes of society, and four plaquettes with sea creatures—Christoph seems to thematize the disruptive character of Columbus’s discovery of a fourth continent, which threw what was formerly known about the world into disarray.

The three title pages announce and elaborate on the volume’s cosmographic agenda by imagining Christoph’s designs as specimens in a contemporary Kunstkammer. The first, Ein Uralt Antiquischer Tempel (A very old ancient temple) (Fig. 11), depicts a sanctuary topped by a Pantheon-like dome with a central oculus from which plumes of smoke billow. Seated to either side of the dome, winged figures cast their fishing rods into shell-shaped basins supported by satyrs on the steps below. The temple’s frieze is decorated with figures, some of whom appear to have taken on life. A framelike device at the center of the temple announces that the structure is full of “Brand-new seldom-seen stuff.” The display of these fantastic figures in a temple may go back to the figurative designs first discovered in the late fifteenth century in the ancient “grottoes” of Nero’s Golden House, from which the word “grotesque” derives, which have suggested a loose connection with classical buildings. More relevant, however, is the structure’s relation to contemporary ideas about cabinets of curiosities. The great sixteenth-century theoretician of the Kunstkammer Samuel Quiccheberg thus claimed that the collections of King Hezekiah and the Temple of Solomon provided early models or prototypes for the sixteenth-century cabinet of curiosities. Michele Mercati, who founded a natural history museum about 1580 with the objects collected by the Vatican, likewise imagines a centralized building based on Donato Bramante’s Tempietto as the appropriate site for a sanctuary to nature. In other words, temples were the very structures that contained the sort of “selsams Grempel” Christoph proclaims to be inside his “Antiquischer Tempel.” The book’s Grempel (Krempel in modern German), or stuff, is vividly rendered in the frontispiece that follows, which depicts the Schnackenmarkt (Fig. 3). As its title suggests, the
sheet evokes a sort of marketplace, where, following the title’s instruction, folks can pick out artifacts according to their fancy. Individual motifs and creatures we might find inside the Neuw Grotteßken Buch are now shown heaped in a basket or lined up in rows along the shelves of the vendor’s booth. Like the figures decorating the temple’s facade, the organisms appear to have come to life, jumping up eagerly or flying out of the wicker hamper, much to the surprise of the onlookers. Reinforcing the message of the text, Christoph clearly pictures the audiences for these whimsical thing-amajigs: gentleman art lovers, on the one hand, shown in their fine costumes surveying the offerings at the stall, and young artist apprentices, on the other, rummaging for motifs in the woven bin. What has not been noted before, however, is the sheet’s kinship to the well-known illustration that precedes Ferrante Imperato’s Historia naturale (1599) (Fig. 12) published just a little more than a decade before the Neuw Grotteßken Buch. The figures’ dress—fitted jackets with hose or trunk, stockings, capes, and tall-crowned cylindrical hats in the capotain style—and attitudes closely mirror those depicted in the Schnackenmarkt. Particularly noteworthy, for example, is the man shown at the kiosk in the foreground, who is similar to the central figure in Imperato’s illustration; he points to an object with his right hand. The merchant—a sort of self-portrait—leans his right arm on a huge, half-open book, while politely handing the customer the object he is interested in. Whether the item came out of the book—an image of the Neuw Grotteßken Buch itself—or off the shelf cannot be determined. Though usually compared with shop stands, the booth’s design is also consonant with the sort of storage furniture depicted in Imperato’s Kunstkammer, including the flip-down table with recessed cabinets and shelving shown at right. Marine and other creatures suspended from the cabinet of curiosities’ ceiling, meanwhile, offer parallels with the objects—including three fish—hanging from the frame above the scene of the Schnackenmarkt and the grimacing, animated faces on the roof tiles of the vendor’s stall.

The final title page, the Fadeskisch Radesco Baum (Fig. 13), shows a colossal old tree with a thick, gnarled trunk next to a dead stump in whose ridges and folds the features of a distorted face are clearly visible. They are set against a panoramic world landscape with distant water and two tiny travelers, thus offering a more literal representation of the volume’s ambition to be a work about both geographic exploration and the eccentricities of botanical/zoological expression.84 There is much to be said for the comparison scholars regularly draw between the Fadeskisch Radesco Baum and the engravings of cartouches after drawings by Cornelis Floris, titled Veelderley veranderinghe van grotissen ende compertimenten (1556). Both render single trees whose crimped surfaces collapse in on themselves in a manner that is usually said to resemble the auricular style.85 While Cornelis concentrates on ideas of transformation or verandering—his tree morphs from flora to fauna and back again—Christoph focuses on the Baum’s natural creative force and thus renders a picture of natura naturans, or nature naturing, an important theme of the sixteenth-century Kunstkammer.86 That Jamnitzer thought of his ornaments in vegetal terms is confirmed by the wording included not just on this print but also on the second of the Neuw Grotteßken Buch’s title pages, both of which use the word Frücht to describe the artist’s ornamental creations. In the first, Christoph thus expresses the hope that his printed images will bear additional fruit.87 The second, meanwhile, arguably the clearer of the two references, reads: “For it [the Fadeskisch Radesco Baum] carries wonderful fruits, as one sees here.”88 A profusion of produce—including grapes, apples, and pears—which hangs from the branches suggests that this is more than just a figure of speech. The tree’s harvest is likewise reflective of the sorts of objects that were regularly collected in early modern
Kunstkammern: from the boughs hang a pair of scales, a bell, a candle snuffer, a pair of winged bellows, and a hammer, all examples of man’s ability to fashion nature with instruments. Relying on the language of exploration, moreover, the title goes on to state: “the likes of which one seldom has seen,” communicating both the wonder and the rarity of the thing he pictures. Sources for the Baum can also be found in the L’arboro della pazzia (Tree of folly, published in Venice, in 1575–90; online Fig. 4), which pictures a tree inhabited by monkeys, owls, and a long-haired satyress. The buffoons in the tree are complemented by four rows of figures beneath, all representing various aspects of folly. An inscription framed by satyrs elaborates, “Whoever afflicts, mocks, laughs, or sings [of others]/Enlivens the roots, branches or fruit [of this tree]/Some take its foliage, others wish to remain in its shade/so that madness seems sweet to everyone.” Just as Columbus’s discovery of the Americas and the contest with his competitors were fueled by derision and ridicule, so mockery and laughter nourish this tree of folly, making it an important forerunner for the sensibility that saturates Christoph’s volume.

Games, Games, Games
A variety of games and courtly entertainments tie together the book’s themes and connect them to the Kunstkammer, a space Horst Bredekamp has dubbed a playroom. Indeed, inasmuch as the Neuw Grotteßken Buch is about the parallels between the creator of ornament and the cosmographer, it is also about the cosmographer/creator of ornaments as a sort of consummate gamester and court artiste. The notion, we have seen, was first introduced by Christoph’s account of Columbus’s wager with his Spanish adversaries, but it is elaborated in the ludic qualities of his subjects on the one hand and in qualities of the grotesque on the other. The remaining sheets that constitute the Neuw Grotteßken Buch fall into the following general categories: plant forms; sheets with one, two, and three ornamental design(s); grotesque tournaments; putti in landscapes; the four continents/elements/ranks of society; and the plaquettes with sea creatures. With the exception of the groupings of four—the continents, elements, and so forth—the rest all variously either represent or thematize play.

Though scholars generally describe Christoph’s book as a work of unbridled fantasy, there is much to suggest that his inventions in fact have counterparts in sixteenth-century notions about distant fauna and flora. Consistent with ideas about the lusi naturae, or jokes of nature, the images that Goda Juchheim refers to as “plant ornaments,” “single grotesque hybrids,” and “sheets with one, two, and three ornament designs” variously embody aspects of Mother Nature’s games. These include the anthropomorphic hound standing erect on his powerful hind legs (Fig. 14). Magnificently accoutered in armor ornamented by swooshlike scrolls known by the German term Schweifwerk, a helmet aflutter with quivering feathers, chain mail sleeves, and articulated metal gloves, he blows on a massive trumpet with a mouthpiece aptly shaped like a bone. The man-dog bears a striking resemblance to the cynocephalus or dog-headed person that is first pictured in Hartmann Schedel’s Nuremberg Chronicle and that can be found in subsequent editions of Münster’s Cosmographia (Fig. 15). Picturing the creature with the head of a dog and the body of a human standing upright, Münster emphasizes the way in which these figures mingled qualities of man and beast, stating that they lived in the mountains of India and barked to communicate. Looming over a pictorial landscape with exotic plants, Christoph’s image of the colossal man-dog asserts that what the viewer is seeing is not
an invention but an extraordinary creature drawn from life at an alien location. John Mandeville’s *Reysen und Wanderschaften durch das Gelobte Land* of 1483 tells of trees that carry fruit larger than pumpkins, which, when cut open, reveal little animals that look like baby lambs and are made of flesh and blood. In all likelihood a cotton plant, Mandeville’s illustration shows a bush with fully formed lambs, with their legs emerging, wrapped inside the plant’s nascent buds (Fig. 16). Christoph’s numerous sheets of flowers with animal, humanoid, and dragonlike heads, including the one of a vase holding different branches whose flowery heads are composed of little faces, dog’s heads, and dragons (Fig. 17), bring Mandeville’s imagery to mind. Claude Duret’s *Histoire admirable des plantes et herbes esmerueillables & miraculeuses en nature: Mesmes d’aucunes qui sont vrays zoophytes, ou plant-animales, plantes & animaux tout ensemble, pour avoir vie vegetative, sensitue & animale; selon les histoires, descriptions, voyages, & navigations des anciens & modernes* of 1605 features countless examples of these so-called zoophytes, “plants and animals all together, living and sensory,” including the so-called Vegetable Lamb, or Lamb-Tree, which he describes as an animate lamb growing from a very special plant as well as a tree whose fruits turn into living birds when they touch the earth and into fish when they enter water. Christoph’s designs escalate Duret’s, combining qualities of animals, plants, and ornament, originating a sort of cosmo-zoomorphism.

Christoph’s vegetal motifs are informed, moreover, by a range of specific tropical florae. Francisco López de Gómara’s *Cronica della Nueva España* of 1555 (Fig. 18), for example, features a woodcut of the flowers belonging to a group of fruit trees, including the coca, hobo, genipa, mamey, guava, and guanabano. Pictured in two rows of three flowers, Jamnitzer’s blossoms (Fig. 19) not only reproduce the layout of those in López de Gómara’s book but also resemble their elongated, layered petals, long stamens, and manifold protruding pistils. Christoph’s flowers differ in one remarkable aspect from López de Gómara’s: his feature visages that smirk at the viewer, making them examples again of zoomorphism. Christoph’s reliance on specific botanic sources, finally, is particularly evident in his inclusion of a coconut palm on the sheet with the anthropomorphic dog (Fig. 14). The tree is comparable to one pictured in Jan Huyghen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert* of 1596, and its appearance among Christoph’s ornaments, unlike the other instances, lends credibility to the image’s documentary value. The inclusion pinpoints the locale of this
trumpet-playing figure in the New Indias, the location where, as Rudolf Wittkower noted, sixteenth-century accounts placed some of the world’s most bizarre and ludic wonders. As cosmographo, these prints suggest, Christoph records marvels that parallel those encountered by the contemporary explorer.

Not all the book’s designs are indebted to contemporary ideas of flora and fauna; many instead participate in or are expressive of the eccentric cross-pollinations that are a characteristic of the grotesque. Among the first voices to define the genre, the classical poet Horace stated:

Suppose a painter to a human head
Should join a horse’s neck, and wildly spread
The various plumage of the feathered kind
O’er limbs of different beasts, absurdly joined;
Or if he gave to view a beauteous maid
Above the waist with every charm arrayed,
Should a foul fish her lower parts enfold,
Would you not laugh such pictures to behold?

Like most subsequent writers on the grotesque, Horace describes the genre as disquieting combinations of plants and animals; animals and animals; humans and animals; or humans, plants, and animals. He also saw humor in these incongruous configurations, however, expecting the viewer to respond to them with laughter: like the lusi naturae, in other words, groteschi are instances of visual jokes.

Unmistakable as examples of play are the putti in landscapes, who throw balls, squirt water (at a figure who facetiously assumes the position of the Callipygian Venus) (online Fig. 5), brandish flags, fish, dance, blow bubbles, fondle dogs, pluck plants, perform somersaults, and wrestle with one another or with animals large and small. A little harder to explain as pure play are the Neuw Grotteßken Buch’s six illustrations of tournaments, which include two images of putti jousting on horseback and four with imaginary creatures riding fanciful composite beasts all engaged in mortal combat. A chivalric subject, the tournament jibes with the Neuw Grotteßken Buch’s courtly context noted elsewhere. Jousts feature prominently, moreover, in Münster’s Cosmographia, which lists a total of thirty-six German Turniere, including full rosters of all the noblemen who participated in them, and sculptures of jousting figures also existed in Renaissance Kunstkammern, possibly intended for play. Somewhat jarring, however, are their grisly representations of death. On one sheet, a mouse gores first his opponent’s mount and then the rider, and on another a lobster riding a ram runs through a frog with a water reed (Fig. 20). Filled with air, the goldsmith’s dying animals exhale their spirits, shown as diminutive versions of themselves, in small clouds of steamy breath. These are not the endearing sports of unworlly and innocent children but macabre images of considerable violence, a subject that, given the book’s thematization of Columbus’s discovery of the Americas, may have been suggested by the atrocities of the colonials and the savagery of the natives depicted in prints of the Americas by de Bry and others. Still, as Guido Panciroli’s well-known account of modern invention, his Nova reperta (translated with commentary by Heinrich Salmuth in Germany in 1599 and 1602), shows, jousts, even very bloody ones, were construed in terms of play.
Jousts and tournaments are not only games with spears (*hastiludia*) but also ludicrous (*ludicra*, from the Latin *ludus*, "games") representations of war. Even if they involved fatalities, they ultimately were executed in play and were therefore mock, not real, battles.

The *Neuw Grotteßken Buch* portrays falconry, like jousting, as a courtly pastime (Fig. 21). As both Polydoro Vergilio, an Italian historian and philologist, and Panciroli observe, hawking, unknown to the ancients, was a modern invention, thus reconnecting the book’s illustrations with the ideas of *inventio* described earlier. In falconry, the art of using trained birds of prey to catch game, falcons and hawks were taught to chase and kill anything from rabbits to smaller birds and even insects. The *Neuw Grotteßken Buch*’s sheet of falconry shows three putti riding frisky horses; the central one raises a bird of prey over his head while above him, one of his trained birds has just caught a flying creature. Not a bird, however, his “prey” is one of Christoph’s animated ornaments. Paula Findlen has shown that falconers could also be a valuable source of information to naturalists. Birds of prey were regularly used to supply the sorts of items that then were put on display in the *Kunstkammer*, and hunting was often employed as a metaphor for scientific study.

Four Continents

In addition to the four elements, the book documents the four continents, the four classes or positions in society, and four plaquettes showing sea monsters, all of which reinforce the volume’s cosmographic agenda. Synonyms for the term *cosmos*, from which the term *ornament* derives, include adornment, often with reference to fashion and national costume. In his *Cosmographie*, Thévet thus describes the headdresses worn by different peoples as “ornaments de teste” (ornaments of the head). Not surprisingly, therefore, a range of hats, turbans, and other decorative headgear assumes an important role in Christoph’s volume. Figures with fanciful head coverings appear repeatedly throughout the book, including the sheet of four putti, one wearing a large feathered turban and another, a Moor, wearing feathers in his hair, which Juchheim correctly identified as an image of the four continents (Fig. 22). Christoph’s heads closely resemble Paul Flindt’s heads and masks of 1592–1600 (Fig. 24) as well as sheets in Heinrich Vogtherr’s *Frembds und wunderbars Kunstbuechlein* of 1538 (online Fig. 6). Flindt’s set does not include a preface, but Vogtherr’s does, and it states:

For that reason, I, Heinrich Vogtherr, painter, and burger of Strassburg, out of brotherly love, have created a little book or summary of the strangest, hardest pieces, all together full of fantasy and worth much thought, useful for many, and to further such arts, also for those who [are active] in the painted liberal arts and are weighed down with wife and children and are unused to traveling far and wide.
Vogtherr suggests that his travels abroad allowed him to see and document the figures in his volume and to make them available to other artists. The inclusion in the title of the adjective “frembd” establishes the sense that what he was capturing is foreign, sourced from encounters with the unfamiliar. A similar connotation is suggested by the term “selsam” that Christoph uses to describe the Grempel or stuff contained in the frontispiece with Ein Uralt Antiquischer Tempel (Fig. 11). The word means “strange” or “odd” and stems from the Old German selsaene, something that is literally seldom seen. No other book of ornaments seems to have used the word “frembd” in its title again, but foreignness is just another word for novelty or things rarely beheld—for what is familiar or frequently viewed is de facto no longer new—and with titles that include the word “neu,” “neuw,” or “nouveau,” nearly all ornament books insist on their originality.
Christoph’s *Neuw Grotteßken Buch* is the first to articulate coherently ornament’s relation to cosmography, the language of exploration is singular neither to Christoph’s work nor to the grotesque but suffuses a broad range of ornament and has its origins as early as the 1530s.

Referring to travel and with it to conventions of cartographic representation are six sheets, each with four ovals containing putti and a range of sea creatures (Fig. 25). Inspired by the formats and subjects on ancient Roman cameos and coins, the prints in all likelihood were meant to provide patterns for the production of small metal plaquettes. The prints are also closely related to the works of the little-known Italian printmaker Giovanni Andrea Maglioli (online Fig. 7). Situated on water, Maglioli’s sea creatures are rendered with dense sculptural lines that point to their derivation from classical reliefs. Compared with Maglioli’s prints, however, Christoph’s are less plastic and robust, and they include vistas of seascapes replete with distant lands and large sailing vessels. The ovals are indebted, moreover, to Delaune’s ovoid representations of the four continents, which embody the continents as women: Asia has a treasure trunk and is shown in the company of camels and a lion, America has a bow and arrow, Europe is surrounded by a cow and horse, and Africa has an elephant and a lion (online Fig. 8). Though Christoph’s figures cannot be identified with particular places, the rendering of at least one of the sheets with an African figure (Fig. 25), who shades his face with a parasol and mounts a creature that combines an elephant’s head—an animal associated with Africa— with the body of a fish, suggests that Christoph was thinking of the figures in terms that are consonant with Delaune’s set.

In treatment, Christoph’s illustrations should be compared to the sea creatures that together with images of ships roam the margins of countless early modern maps (Fig. 26). The intersections of cartography and ornament may well, indeed, have offered Christoph additional encouragement to pursue the parallels between his art and that of the contemporary *cosmographa*. Jonas Silber’s *Weltallschale* of 1589, commissioned by Rudolf II to celebrate the betrothal of the infanta Isabella, reproduces the well-known map *Europe as a Virgin*, and the table once attributed to Wenzel Jamnitzer includes a lavish underglass painting executed in gold and lapis lazuli with a map of Spain (online Fig. 9). Though a number of printmakers were also trained as cartographers—
among others, Francesco Rosselli, Augustin Hirschvogel, and Gerardus Mercator—the majority of mid-sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century maps were produced on the model of the reproductive print, with separate and distinct tasks assigned to the designer or mapmaker, the engraver or woodcutter, and the publisher.119 Determining the identities of everyone who was involved in the creation of maps is surprisingly difficult, however. As Peter Barber has pointed out, “Little or no distinction has traditionally been drawn between the person who conceived and perhaps drew the map or view, the person who cut it in wood or on copper and the person who published it.”120 As a result, we have little knowledge about the exact division of labor that went into the making of maps. Even less scholarly attention has been given to the variety of ornaments that embellish them, which includes decorative borders, coats of arms, mythological characters, strapwork frames, and cartouches as well as a range of marine and terrestrial creatures, what Henry Peacham would in 1622 refer to as “idle toyes,” suggesting the playful character of these additions.121 Though it is clear that printmakers could and did intrude on the cartographic process—in the case of his map of Persia, for example, Hieronymus Cock added a dotted line to indicate the hostile expeditions of the Ottomans against the Persians that was not in the original drawing—historians of maps tend to ignore the decorative “interventions” taking place on them.122 Called “epicartographic elements” by David Woodward, these additions fall outside the framework of the map’s technical information, belonging to the realm of art rather than science.123 Yet by viewing them on the model of the reproductive print, we may think of the decorative borders, cartouches, and ancillary designs with which printmakers decorated their maps not as meaningless additions but as areas in which the printmaker was free to play and to assert his own powers of invention.

A Wider Cosmos
Christoph’s aim, as we have seen, was to compare his ornamental practice with that of the cosmographo Christopher Columbus. The analogy makes considerable sense, bearing in mind that many of his finished goldsmith works were destined for princely cabinets of curiosities, collections that were themselves premised on ideas about their owners’ mastery over the cosmos, and, as we have seen, his Neuw Grotteßen Buch functions in analogy with the ambitions of the Kunstskammer. To the degree that Christoph’s volume accomplished its goal of being useful to artists, however, it is not to the decorative arts but to other ornament prints that we should look. Though scholars have been unable to find his ideas employed in many actual goldsmith works, the Neuw Grotteßen Buch influenced several other ornament prints.124 In addition to the examples that reemploy individual motifs from the Neuw Grotteßen Buch, the cases include two sets, both by unknown artists, that take the unusual approach of adopting the motto he developed. The first, a set of so-called blackwork prints of 1615, is by the Master HD (Fig. 27). In addition to including the adage in a variant spelling, “KEHR VOR ACHT ALS GEMACHT,” the artist inserts a second motto at the center of the page: Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos? (If God is

24 Paul Flindt, Six Heads with Stylized Leaf Ornaments, 1592–1600, punched engraving, 6⅞ × 4⅞ in. (15.5 × 11.1 cm). British Museum, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum, provided by the British Museum)

25 Christoph Jamnitzer, Four putti in ovals, from Neuw Grotteßen Buch, 1610, etching, plate: 5⅝ × 7¼ in. (14.1 × 18.3 cm), sheet: 7⅞ × 10⅝ in. (18.5 × 26.2 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum)
for us who is against us?). The dictum is lifted from Paul’s Epistle to the Romans (8:31), where it referred to God’s role in protecting the faithful against all manner of adversity. Placed before the inscription “Sooner scorned than done,” the motto has the effect of neutralizing potential criticism of the work, an attitude that mirrors Christoph’s efforts to deflect his own (imaginary) critics. The imagery of the suite of prints, meanwhile, which incorporates an armillary sphere and a winged hourglass, connects the series to ideas of cosmography and vanity, notions that we have already seen Christoph explore. The artist, probably a designer of jewelry or enamelware, to judge from the blackwork medium in which the prints were created, not only understood the analogy Jamnitzer was drawing between his occupation as an engraver of ornament and the cosmographo but also, and more important, applied its lessons to his art. The second, created by the so-called Master Ph: Ia: Har: and engraved by Jacob Custos, renders Jamnitzer’s motto in Italian, Piu Tosto Sprezato Che Fato (Fig. 28). Whether the artist was a Frenchman or an Italian spending time in Augsburg is unclear, but one must suppose that the set was destined for an international market. Unlike the former, this one includes figures inspired by Jacques Callot journeying in a horse-drawn vehicle, thus linking the set with ideas of travel and exploration beneath an anthropomorphic peapod-style ornament in the shape of a mask or face. Series like these show us that though we may have forgotten how to recognize the cosmographic content of Christoph’s work, it was not lost on Christoph’s contemporaries, who continued to think about their ornaments in his terms.

The adoption by ornament of Christoph’s terminology allows us to reflect on the central problematic not just of the Neuw Grotfeßken Buch but of ornament and of ornament prints more generally. Even as I have argued for understanding Christoph’s imagery in a wider intellectual context, there are ways in which ornament is a category apart. Collected in the early modern period as an isolated class of artistic production in groups titled “Allerläi Goldschmid Sachen” (All sorts of goldsmith things), “GROTESCHI,” or simply as “foliage” or “frames,” these ornamental sheets were not integrated with other subjects. Lacking clear narratives or distinct themes, ornament prints have resisted interpretation, leading to their isolation from the other arts and giving rise to the sort of sensibility that is expressed in Christoph’s motto. Even as they celebrate their invention, the prints position themselves as works that are either poorly grasped or completely misunderstood. Christoph’s introductory essay and poem, repeated three times without variation, offer both a narrative and a means of access to this body of material: the artist demands that we take note. Read me, he insists, pressing the viewer to think about his
designs not simply as pretty doodads but as expressions of the variety of the universe.

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Notes

Portions of the article were previously presented as lectures at the annual Renaissance Society of America Meeting in New York, the Bard Graduate Center, and the University of Madison at Wisconsin. I thank Kirk Ambrose, Shira Brissman, Michael W. Cole, and the two anonymous readers for The Art Bulletin for their insightful feedback on drafts of this paper, all of which immeasurably improved the final version. I am indebted to Fronia W. Simpson for her meticulous and thoughtful editing of the manuscript text and to Lory Frankel for her helpful contributions. The online images for this article are available on the copublisher’s website at http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/60043030.2016.1108153. Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine.

1. Recent literature on Wenzel Jamnitzer’s work as a goldsmith includes a catalog of a comprehensive exhibition at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst, 1500–1700 (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1985); Pamela H. Smith, “In a Sixteenth-Century Goldsmith’s Workshop,” in The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialization, ed. Lisa Roberts et al. (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, 2007), 44–57; and Mark A. Meadow, “Quiçeborg and the Copious Object: Wenzel Jamnitzer’s Silver Writing Box,” in The Lure of the Object, ed. Stephen W. Melville (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 39–58.

2. Carsten Peter Warncke, “Christoph Jamnitzers Neues Grotteßken Buch—ein Unikat in Wolfenbüttel,” Wolfenbütteler Beiträge 3 (1978): 5–65. He describes the volume as a “unique accomplishment of German art at the beginning of the seventeenth century.” In W. W. Hollstein, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts (Blaricum: van Gencht, 1986), vol. NVA, 208, gives three additional etchings to Christoph Jamnitzer, which he produced for Baldisar Köhler’s Repäsentatio der Fünflichen Augst und Ritterpel of 1611, and which illustrates the procession and court entertainments on the 1609 marriage of Johann Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg in Stuttgart. For more on these, see Günter Irmscher, “Christoph Jamnitzens Entwurfzeichnungen und Radierungsnr. für B. Küchlers ‘Représentation der Fünflichen Auffug und Ritterpel . . .’” Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg 22 (1985): 27–53.

3. See Warncke, “Christoph Jamnitzers Neues Grotteßken Buch—ein Unikat in Wolfenbüttel,” 83–87, for a reconstruction of the complete edition based on the copy at Wolfenbüttel.

4. Paul Freher’s collection was in all likelihood assembled by his brother Marquard Freher, a well-known lawyer, statesman, and diplomat. It later came into the possession of Magnus Gabriel De La Gardie. Contained in a single album, the prints are now in the collection of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. See Iak Collijn, Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung des Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (Stockholm: Almquist & Wikells, 1953), 62–64. Paulus Praun’s collection, meanwhile, is recorded in two inventories, the first of 1616 and a second of 1719. The second presents a complete record of Praun’s book collection and includes the Neues Grotteßken Buch. See Katrin Achilles-Syndram, Die Kunstsammlung des Paulus Praun: Die Inventare von 1616 und 1719 (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1994), 347, no. 176.67.

5. Achim Riether, in Der Mohnkopffokal von Christoph Jamnitzer, ed. Renate Eikelmann (Munich: Bayerisches National Museum, 2002), 261 n. 4, cat. nos. 42–56, notes that scholars have rarely been able to connect the designs in the Neues Grotteßken Buch with the decorative arts. He points out that Goda Juchheim (“Das Neues Grotteßken Buch Nürnberg, 1610 von Christoph Jamnitzer” [PhD diss., Ludwig Maximilians Universität, Munich, 1976]) managed to find only one instance and Warncke (“Christoph Jamnitzers Neues Grotteßken Buch—ein Unikat in Wolfenbüttel”) only two in which Christoph’s ideas were employed in the decorative arts. Riether takes this as a clear indication that Christoph’s capricious designs were neither easily adapted to nor meant for practical use. Lars Olaf Larsson and Sabine Behrens, Geborgene Schätze: Europäische Ornamentstiche, 1500–1800 (Flensburg: Museum Flensburg, 1988), 12, have described a number of grotesque ornaments as “purposeless fantasies.”

6. Scholarly research on ornament prints has generally focused on cataloging collections, rather than on interpreting individual works of art. Within this literature, therefore, Christoph Jamnitzer’s Neues Grotteßken Buch is an anomaly. In 1966 a facsimile of the volume in the Graphische Sammlung of the Albertina, Vienna, appeared together with a long introduction by Heinrich Gerhard Franz. Franz Christoph Jamnitzer Neues Grotteßken Buch (Graz: Akademisch Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1966). Additional literature includes Peter Wick, “A New Book of Grotesques by Christoph Jamnitzer,” Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts [Boston] 60 (1962): 83–104; and Juchheim, “Das Neues Grotteßken Buch.” Catalog-style entries on the artist’s work can additionally be found in Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst, 1500–1700, 395–98; Carsten Peter Warncke, Die Ornamentale Gotentües in Deutschland, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag Volker Spiess, 1979), vol. 2, 98–102; Jeffrey Cripps Smith, Nürnberg: A Renaissance City, 1500–1618 (Austin. University of Texas Press, 1985), 300, cat. no. 212; and Riether, in Eikelmann, Der Mohnkopffokal von Christoph Jamnitzer, 260–65. See further Günter Irmscher, Amor und Aeternitas: Das Triumph-Lavabo Christoph Jamnitzers für Rudolf II (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999), 2.

7. The naming of the class of works that is now referred to as “ornament prints” has its origins in the second half of the nineteenth century with the foundation of public institutions like the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna. Aiming to document the history of decoration and design, these museums collected a broad and diverse array of works on paper to support the study of this subject. Works on paper were particularly sought after because even if the objects for which the prints were designed were no longer extant or were never executed, the sheets themselves offered the most complete evidence for the kinds of ideas about ornament that were circulating. Created in a range of print media—including etching, engraving, and woodcut but also lesser-known techniques more specific to goldsmiths
such as blackwork and niello—these works are now collectively termed ornament prints. For a synthesis of the challenges facing the study of ornament prints, see Madeleine C. Viljoen, “The Arts of Early Modern Ornament Prints,” *Oxford Art Journal* 37, no. 2 (2014): 117–18.

8. The identification of Jamnitzer’s work with the *Knopfernbeschít* in “Plastateurs und Knopfbesen des deutschen Späterenaissance,” a chapter in Peter Jesen, *Der Ornamentistik* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunsts- wissenschaft, 1920), has had considerable traction and is repeated variously throughout much of the literature on Christoph Jamnitzer, including W. K. Züblin, *Entstehung des Ornamenteiths* (Heidelberg: Verlag Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1932); Franz, *Christoph Jamnitzer Neues Grottesken Buch*, 20–22; and Wick, “*A New Book of Grotesques*,” 94–99. See further Warnecke, *Die Ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland*, vol. 1, 40–47, who identifies Jamnitzer’s set of prints as the high point of the German grotesque.

9. Wolfgang Kayser, *Das Groteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* (Oldenburg: Gerland Stalling Verlag, 1957); and Frances S. Connelly, *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

10. Warnecke, *Die Ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland*.

11. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helen Iwowski (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1968); and Philippe Morel, *Les grotesques. Les figure de l’imaginaire dans la peinture intérieure de la fin de la Renaissance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997).

12. Jamnitzer, *Neues Grotteßken Buch*: “unglaublich, unerhört und unmöglich ding.”

13. Ibid.: “Fürneme, hochverständige, sinnsprechende auch erfahrne gelehrte kunstreiche Cosmographie.”

14. The story has precedents in Giorgio Vasari’s *Life of Filippo Brunelleschi* (Florence: Ganzani, 1568), which states: “Le n’ay semblement trouvé bon de faire un long préface pour la recommandation de ce présent ouvre, cela est à faire à ceux qui veulent faire voire leur renomme parmy l’univers: car comme on dit en commun proverb, quand le vin est bon, il ne faut point de bouchon à l’hus de la vaseur.” (Similarly, I have not seen it fitting to add a long recommendation before this work; may those who want to spread their fame all over the world do it, because, as the proverb says, good wine needs no advertising.)

15. Juchheim, “Das Neues Grotteßken Buch,” 12–18, discusses the possible meanings of these terms.

16. Galindo against the Philosophers in His Dialogue of Cecco di Ronchitti and Considerations of Alfonso Maria, trans. Stillman Drake (Los Angeles: Zedlin and Ver Brugge, 1976).

17. Pamela Smith, “In the Workshop of History,” *West 866* 19 (2012): 4–51; and idem, “Art, Science and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe,” *Isis* 97 (2006): 83–100.

18. Jamnitzer, *Neues Grotteßken Buch*: “Ob nun wohl ich mit obgedachten Comedy in dem wenigst nit/vil weniger aber diss mein neuw Grottessken Wecklein mit seinem Invento zu vergleichen.”

19. See Catherine Kastrinos, *Investing Inventors in Renaissance Europe* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); 2; Brian Copenhaver, “The Historiography of Discovery in the Renaissance,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1998): 192–214; Michael W. Cole, “Se non è vero è ben trovato,” in “The Nature of Invention,” ed. Alexander Marr, special issue, *Intelectual History Review* 23, no. 3 (2014): 428–59; and Joanne Spicer, “Referencing Invention and Novelty in Art and Science at the Court of Rudolf II in Prague,” in *Novitiae: Neuhochzeitskunde im Bild* (Kunstführer um 1600, ed. Ulrich Pfisterer and Gabriele Wimböck (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2011), 405.

20. Jamnitzer, *Neues Grotteßken Buch*: “Gestalt es dann an deroßen oben mir und diser meiner gleichwohl schlechten doch zuvor nie dergleichen aufgegangenen Arbeit ohne Zweifel nicht managen wird.”

21. Ibid.: “Dene ich aber eben das Comblumische Ei vorgelegt und sie damet abgespeiset unnd abgeweiset haben wil. Wem es aber sonst nicht gefällt/dem stehst bevor vonnew ein besser von und vor sich selbst zu machen.”

22. Viljoen, “The Arts of Early Modern Ornament Prints,” 127.

23. Daniel Margócsy, in *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Dackerman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 40. cat. no. 1, observes: “In the bottom right, Stradanus uses the same word ‘invent’ to describe his role in designing the *Novae reperta*: the artistic rhetorical term inventio fuses with the scientific concept of invention, suggesting that the production of images has equal status with geographical discoveries and technological innovations.”

24. Smith, “Art, Science and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe,” 90–91; and Lia Markey, “Stradano’s Allegorical Invention of the Americas in Indiana and Ver Brugge, 1976).

25. Jamnitzer, *Neues Grotteßken Buch*: “Das Grotesken Buch und EARLY MODERN ORNAMENT 233...
Reflected in the title of a series of essays on the history of collecting, Jamnitzer, 41. Paronomasia was being theorized just shortly before the publication of Antony Griffiths, 35. For more on the vir-

Karl R. Wernhart, 38. A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, 50. For a full discussion of the relationship between airs and ornament, see 52. Andreas Grote, ed., Renaissance Italy Kunstkammer the notion that the (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1994), 212: “Here the words prove and microcosm is by now commonplace.

Also heede ought to be taken of whom it is used, and against whom it is to be rare, so the allusion ought not to be tumbled out at adventure. Also heede ought to be taken of whom it is used, and against whom it is applied.” See also George Puttenham, 77. Printed by Richard Field, 1589), 56, states: “Paronomasia is a figure which declineth into a contrarie by a likelihood of letters, either added, changed, or taken away. This figure is commonly used to illude by the Addition, change and taking away. This figure ought to be sparingly used, and especially in grave and weightie causes, both in the respect of the light and illuding forme, and also forasmuch as it seemeth not to be found without meditation and affected labor. As the use ought to be rare, so the allusion ought not to be tumbled out at adventure. Also heede ought to be taken of whom it is used, and against whom it is applied.”

For more on this topic, see Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach, eds., The Idol in the Age of Art (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009), 96.

Southampton: 179, observes about the Kunstkammer: “This ‘Theatrum Mundi’ assembled by man formed, in fact, a mirror of the universe. Yet, only a limited lifespan was assigned to it because it had been assembled by the hand of man...a reference was embedded here to the transitoriness of everything that is wrought by man in the fact of the infinity and order of God’s impotence.”

For more on this topic, see Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach, eds., The Idol in the Age of Art (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2009), 96.

19. “ich wolte das ich das Praghe het geschehen.” For a complete discussion of the basin and ewer he completed for Rudolf II, see Irmscher, Amor und Aeternitas.

17. “Die Rezeption Dürers in der deutschen Kunstdichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts,” Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 38 (1985) (1985): 153–50.

16. “Das Neue Grotteßen Buch,” 131–32, was the first to note that Christoph Jamnitzer’s prints were illustrations of the elements, but she did not connect them to Wenzel’s perspective.

15. Juchheim, “Das Neue Grotteßen Buch,” 131–32, was the first to note that Christoph Jamnitzer’s prints were illustrations of the elements, but she did not connect them to Wenzel’s perspective.

14. Jost Amman’s Kunst und Lebtschtschen, for example, includes jousting men, figures in combat, heads of Turks, illustrations of vanitas imagery, and much more, corollaries to which can also be found in the Neue Grotteßen Buch. While it departs in tone from other drawing books, the essay with which Christoph begins his volume bears comparison with those found in other Kunstbücher.

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5. Bubbles are famously connected to the theme of vanitas. See Wolfgang Stechow, “Homo Bulla,” Art Bulletin 20 (1938): 227–28; and I. Bergstrom, “Homo bulle: La boule transparente dans la peinture hollandaise à la fin du XVe siècle et au XVe siècle,” in Les vanités: Méditations sur la richesse, le dépouillement et la vapidité dans la peinture au XVVe siècle, by Andrae Castel and al. (Gen: Musee des Beaux-Arts, 1990), 49–54. For the connection between bubbles and ornament, see also Viljoen, “The Airs of Early Modern Prints,” 128–29.

4. “Die Rezeption Dürers in der deutschen Kunstdichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts,” Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 38 (1985) (1985): 153–50.

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2. “Die Rezeption Dürers in der deutschen Kunstdichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts,” Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 38 (1985) (1985): 153–50.

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0. “Die Rezeption Dürers in der deutschen Kunstdichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts,” Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 38 (1985) (1985): 153–50.

- The word Kegel is related to Kugel, meaning “globe,” but it also refers to the German game of Kegel, “bowling or skittles.” Jost Amman, Kegel Gl, from Wenzel Jamnitzer, Perspectiva corporum regularium, 1568, engraving, plate: 10 by 6¼ in. (25.3 by 17.2 cm), sheet: 14½ by 10¼ in. (37.8 by 26.3 cm), New York: Public Library, the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs.

- I thank Marjorie Cohn for pointing out the zodiac’s disorder.

- Horst Heiderhoff, Antiqua oder Fraktur? Zur Problembeschreibung eines Streits (Frankfurt: Polygraph Verlag, 1971) and Christina Killius, Die Antiqua-Fraktur Debatte um 1800 und ihre historische Herleitung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

- Joachim Whaley, Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 119 n. 19.

- See the translation in Janet S. Byrne, Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 20.

- Jannitzer, Neuer Grotteßken Buch: “Nun hab ich mich lang zeit bedacht/wies doch wuerd aufer ein wug gebraucht/dass man so gar hart nicht stu-

- Where does it live? What is it doing? What is the purpose of the bubble? Is it connected to anything else? Is it part of a larger system? Does it have any implications for the surrounding environment? Is it a sign of something deeper or more significant?

- Does the bubble appear in any other contexts or images? Is it a recurring theme in a larger body of work or a single isolated example?

- How is the bubble depicted? Is it realistic or stylized? Is it part of a larger composition or a standalone element?

- What is the significance of the bubble in the context of the surrounding image? What emotions or ideas does it evoke?

- How does the bubble relate to the overall theme or narrative of the image? Is it a focal point or a minor detail?

- Does the bubble have any symbolic or metaphorical meaning? Is it a representation of something else?

- What is the relationship between the bubble and other elements in the image? Are they connected in any way?

- How does the bubble interact with the surrounding space or objects? Is it contained or does it expand?

- What is the effect of the bubble on the viewer? Does it draw attention to a particular area of the image or create a sense of depth or perspective?

- How does the bubble contribute to the overall visual impact of the image? Does it add to the illusion or realism of the scene?
73. For Jamnitzer’s association via the prints of Wendel Dietterlin with the Songs d’antiquités, see Warncke, Die Ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland, vol. 1, 71. Breton’s French text reads: “Je ne croy point que Panurge en ait jamais voulu faire des plus adables es pas ou il n’a guéres ses derriers navigations” (I do not think that Panurge would have ever seen or known more admirable ones in the countries visited during his last voyages).

74. Josef K. Glowa, Johann Fischart’s Geschikichtssteraring: A Study of the Narrator and Narrative Strategies (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

75. Jamnitzer, Neuw Grottéßken Buch: “So habe ich zulieb solchen Gesel/en/This drey Buechlein woellen stel/... Wie mit dem auf dem Kugel-platz/Der wet mit em uns gemacht SCHATZ/und schalt den andern fur ein Flegel/SAG Ich wil treffen all drey Kegel.”

76. Warncke, “Christoph Jamnitizers Neuw Grottéßken Buch—ein Unikat in Wolfenbüttel,” esp. 67–72, shows that the copies of the Neuw Grottéßken Buch in Hamburg, Nuremberg, London (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), and Berlin have been tampered with so that the three title pages now precede the grotesque etchings, which are organized by subject matter. The copies that have not been rebound and that more closely reflect the artist’s intended organization include those in London (British Museum), Stockholm, Vienna, and Wolfenbüttel.

77. In an effort to counteract the chaos, the copies that were rebound in the nineteenth century—in Nuremberg, Berlin, Hamburg, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London—regularly organize the works by subject matter; see ibid., 67–69.

78. Buyers of Antonio Laferri’s Speculum romanum magnificenter is of about 1570, by contrast, were intended to pick sheets according to their interests and were free to assemble them as they wished. Extant copies of the volume vary, therefore, from one example to the next. For ideas about the disorder of the Kunstkammer, see Lorraine Daston, “The Factual Sensibility,” Isis 79 (1988): 458: and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, Wonders and the Order of Nature (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 255–301.

79. Karl-Heinz Kohl, “Allegorien der drei Erdteile und die Entdeckung Amerikas,” Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (vormals Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften): Berichte und Abhandlungen 14 (2009): 25–49.

80. Jamnitzer, Neuw Grottéßken Buch: “Vol Nagelsnewes seltams grempel.”

81. Franz, Christoph Jamnitzer Neuw Grottéßken Buch, 14.

82. Schulz, “Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museums,” 179.

83. Horst Bredekamp, The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1995), 14-15. For later variants on the subject, see also Arthur MarGregor, “A Magazine of All Manner of Inventions: Museums in the Quest for ‘Salomon’s House,’” Journal of the History of Collections 1 (1980): 207–12.

84. Juchheim, “Das Neuw Grottéßken Buch,” 17, notes: “The landscape and its enlivening vegetative nature that is either barely or only sketchily rendered in the first two title pages appears with full force in the third,” but fails to draw the conclusion that it refers to the work’s cosmographic ambitions.

85. Ibid., 20.

86. Bredekamp, The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine, 74; Robert Paltront. “Umgebender Raum—Schauraum: Theatralisierung als Medialisierung musueler Räume,” in Kunstkamer, Laboratorium, Bäume,” in Die Ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 227; and Paula Findlen, “Cabinets, Collecting and Natural Philosophy,” in Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City, ed. Eliska Fúzíková (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 209–19.

87. Jamnitzer, Neuw Grottéßken Buch: “Hoff nicht dass sol ohn Frucht abgehn.”

88. Ibid.: “Dann Er tret wunderliche Frücht Wie man ahne vor Augen sieht.”

89. John Hayward, Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism (London: Sotheby’s, 1976), 315.

90. Jamnitzer, Neuw Grottéßken Buch: “des gleichen man hat gesehen kaum.”

91. L’arte della pazzia (Venice, 1568): “Chiunche travagia burla ride o canza/Desta radice rami or frutti prende/Che le fronde chi all’ombra l’alberi sampier/si che nonchalance, and its distaste for the tiresome logic-chopping of scholastic disputation.”

92. Juchheim developed this useful synthesis in “Das Neuw Grottéßken Buch.”

93. Franz, Christoph Jamnitzer Neuw Grottéßken Buch, 7. Morel, Les grotesques, was the first to locate ideas about the grotesque in Renaissance attitudes to nature.

94. Juchheim, table of contents, “Das Neuw Grottéßken Buch”; Paula Findlen, “Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe,” Renaissance Quarterly 43 (1990): 292–33; Bredekamp, The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine, 67–69; and Natascha Adamowsky et al., eds., Ludi Naturae: Spiele der Natur in Kunst und Wissenschaft (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011).

95. German-language editions of Münster’s Cosmographia were published well into the seventeenth century. Sebastian Henricipetri’s latest edition was printed in Basel in 1628. See Matthew McLean, The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007), 346, for a complete listing of all the editions.

96. Münster, Cosmographia, 1513–14: “Es haben die Alten auch gar viel seltsame Monstra erdichtet, die in diesem Landt sollen erfinden werden; besonders schreiben davon Megasthenes und Solinus daß in den Indischen Bergen Menschen sind die haben Hundskopff und Mäuler wie di Hund, und darumb können sie nicht redden; sondern heuln und bellen wie die Hunde” (The Ancients have invented so many strange monsters that are meant to be found in this land, Megasthenes and Solinus in particular write that there are men in the mountains of India that have the heads and mouths of dogs, and therefore cannot talk, but howl and bark like dogs).

97. Claude Duret, Histoire admirable des plantes et herbes euxemidible & miraculeuse en nature: Mesmes d’aucunes que sont vans zoophytes, or plant-animaux, plantes & animaux tout ensemble, pour auir au vegetatif sensitive & animale: selon les histers, descriptiouns, voyages, & navigations des anciens & modernes (Paris: chez Nicolas Buon, 1605), 32, “Plantes & Animaux tout ensemble, vivants & sensitiifs.”

98. Rudolf Wittkower, “Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942): 159–97.

99. The roster of scholars who have written on the grotesque is large. Kayser, Das Groteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung, 25, first described the grotesque as “the mixture of animal, human, and monstrous.” Ideas about the hybridity of the grotesque are a topic in nearly all of them, however. See Bakhitin, Rabelais and His World, 318: “If we consider the grotesque image in its extreme aspect, it never presents an individual body…” and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 4,–5; and Connely, The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture, 26–28. For the Renaissance reception of the grotesque, see especially Nicole Bacon, La découverte de la Domus Avaria et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance (London: Warburg Institute, 1969).

100. Horace, Ars poetica, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), lines 1–5, 450–51.

101. Marina Beloterskaya, Luxury Arts of the Renaissance (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, 2005), 148–49. A pair of bronze jousting sculptures was created about 1500 and is now in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

102. For more on this topic, see Anthony Grafton, New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 127–36; and John R. Decker et al., eds., Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2015), 185–87.

103. Atkinson, Inventing Inventors in Renaissance Europe, 288–89.

104. Guido Panciroli, Rerum memorabilium sive deperditarum (Amberg: Heinrich Salmuth, 1602), fol. 685: “Gostre, sive ludicia ria lbell simularcha, inventa sunt una manu commeno Imperatore Constantinopolitano, ut ait Nicetas, qui ad annum usque 1214 scripsit. Ante euum non legitur subj Imperio romanum exercitatione istud in usu fuisse.” On the next page, Panciroli repeats the contents of this statement, but in reference to tournaments: “Tornamenta, sive hastula, & ludica ria illa simularcha. . . .” (Tournaments or games with lances [literally javelins or spears], those ridiculous simulacra of war . . .).”

105. Eamon, “Court, Academy and Printing House,” 37: “Hunting was the signal sport par excellence, ‘a true pastime for great lords,’ according to Castiglione.”

106. Brian P. Copenhaver, ed. and trans., Polydore Vergil: On Discovery (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 490–91: “Neque uesti primum aves ad venandum do lumter, quod simillim recens inventum est’ (Nor do we know who first tamed birds for hunting, another recent invention); and Panciroli, Rerum memorabilium sive deperditarum, in a chapter entitled “De Acupio, quod cum Accipite, Niso, Falcon, alii avibus peragitur” (About bird catching, which is done with Hawks, conditioned courtly discourse, with its delight in variety, surprise, and nonchalance, and its distaste for the tiresome logic-chopping of scholastic disputation.”
Eagles, Falcons and other birds), fol. 300: “Auscupium antiquitatis solum fiebat cum rebus. Nam quod animalibus rapacibus, Accipitru pute, Niso & Falcone hodie peragitur, Veteribus plane fuit incognitum” (In ancient times bird catching was only done with nets. Indeed, hunting with animals of prey, the hawk, eagle, and falcon, that is carried out today, was clearly unknown to the ancients).

109. Paula Findlen, Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 177–78; Eamon, “Science as a Hunt”; and idem, “Court, Academy, and Printing House,” 37: “the hunt was a particularly suitable metaphor for courtly science. Just as hunting, the best-loved pastime of courtly society, demonstrated in a spectacular fashion that the goods of the earth existed first and foremost for the prince, so science carried out as a hunt, that is, as a capturing of rare secrets, demonstrated that nature’s occult qualities existed for the use and delight of the prince.”

110. Thèvet, La cosmographie, fol. 292v: “Leur habits sont aussi different, mesme l’ornement de teste; le Turc portant le Turban” (Their costumes are also very different as are the ornaments that adorn their heads [literally head ornaments]; the Turk wears a Turban).

111. Juchheim, “Das Neuw Grottesken Buch,” 127. While the figures of Africa and Asia are clear, the other two, one wearing a round cap with turned-up band and feather and another with a bare head, have less distinctive features. The African figure is closely related to Christoph Jamnitzer’s so-called Mohrenkopfpokal (Moor’s head goblet).

112. At least two of the figures with shapely bosoms on this sheet are female. As Juchheim, “Das Neuw Grottesken Buch,” 129–30, has suggested, the heads may depict people of different rank. If she is correct, the figure at top left represents the nobility, at top right the military, at bottom left the church, and at bottom right the bourgeoisie.

113. English translation from Byrne, Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings, 20. Heinrich Vogtherr, Freunds und wunderbaren Kunst-büchlein, Strassburg, 1538: “Habe ich Heinrich Vogtherr, Moler, un burger zu Strassburg, aus briderlicher liebe, menigklichem zu nutz, und sollichen künsten zur förderins, auch den jhenigen, so in gemelten freyen Künstn, mit weyb vnn kinden beladen, auch etlichen, so von natur wext vmbreyens unsengwol, ein Summa oder Büschtel, aller frembden und schweresten stuck, so gemeinlich viel fantasierens un nachdecnckens haben weltern.”

114. The feathered headdresses on Cornelis Bos’s grotesque figures have been connected to the discovery of the Americas. See Sune Schel, A Study of the Origins of the Netherlandish Grotesque (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), 79–80, though this was later cast into question by Nicole Dacos, “Présents américains à la Renaissance,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts 73 (1969): 57–64, who found precedents for the feathered headdresses in the Etruscan-inspired imagery of the Golden House of Nero.

115. The full title of Jamnitzer’s first frontispiece, “Ein Uralt Antiquischer Mohrenkopfpokal” (Moor’s head goblet), reads: “Ein Uralt Antiquischer Tempel/Vol Nagelmus seltsams grempel/Dienstlich für all so kunst belieben/Von neuentm jetzt herfür getrieben/Hoff nicht dass soll ohn Frucht abgehn/Wems nich geliebt der laß es stehn.”

116. For more literature on ideas of novelty in art, see Peter Parshall, “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol,” in Woodward, The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, vol. 2, 106, cat. no. 1076–1075.

117. For more on this phenomenon, see David Woodward, Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors and Consumers (London: British Library, 1996); David Buisse, The Mapmaker’s Quest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 37–49; and selected entries in Dackerman, Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge, including cat. nos. 2, 16, 17, 19–21, 23, 57, 58, 60–68, 80–89.

120. Peter Barber, “The Maps, Town-Views and Historical Prints in the Columbus Inventory,” in The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus, 1488–1539 (London: British Museum Press, vol. 1, 247).

121. Henry Peacham, The Complete Gentleman (London: Constable, 1634), 64: “You may, if you list, draw naked boys riding upon their paper mills or bubble shells upon Goates, Eagles, Dolphins etc. The bones of a Ram’s head hung with strings of beads and Ribands, Satyres, Tritons, Apes, Cornucopias, Dogs ysoak etc. Drawing Cowcumbers, Cherries and any kind of wild traille or vinet after your own inventions with a thousand more such idle toyes, so that herein you cannot be too fantastical.”

122. Wouter Bracke and Pieter Mattens, “A New View on the World: The Cartographic and Chorographic Publications of Hieronymus Cock,” in Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print, ed. Joris van Grieken et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 61–62.

123. David Woodward, Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing and Coloring in the European Renaissance,” in Woodward, Cartography in the European Renaissance, 603.

124. Wick, “A New Book of Grotesques,” 105; and Juchheim, “Das Neuw Grottesken Buch,” 19–125.

125. The print, which is very rare, is extant in the collection of the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna alone. See Warnecke, Die Ornamentele Groteske in Deutschland, vol. 2, 106, cat. no. 1070–1075.

126. The device was quite popular in the sixteenth century: Philip Melanchthon used it, as did the printers Michael Fezendat and later Michael Sonnits. See Charles Henry Timperley, Dictionary of Printer and Printing, with the Progress of Literature; Ancient and Modern (London: H. Johnson, 1839), 309; and Ian Maclean, Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 188–89. Rabelais likewise included the motto in book 2 of his Prognostications, a work published in 1533 and designed to poke fun at the art of astrological divination. After predicting a slew of ridiculous calamities, he states: “If God be for us who can be against us? In good faith No One.” The assertion is an expression of God’s benign omnipotence and ability to quell hostilities. See Lucien Febvre, The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 247.

127. For more on blackwork’s connections with enameling and jewelry design, see Robyn Christie, “Blackwork Prints: Designs for Enamelling,” Print Quarterly 5 (1988): 3–20; and Femke Speelpen, “Blackwork: A New Technique in the Field of Ornament Prints (ca. 1585–1635),” in Helbrunn Timeline of Art History, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009–, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ld/blk/ld_blk.htm (accessed November 2012).

128. Warnecke, Die Ornamentele Groteske in Deutschland, vol. 2, 113, cat. no. 1274: “Whether he [the artist] was a temporarily resident Frenchman or Italian is questionable; for the Italian title can only have been meant to facilitate international sale.” Warnecke failed to connect the title with Christoph’s motto.

129. For more information on this set, see Peter Fuhring and Michele Bimbenet-Privat, “Le style Cosses de Pois,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts 138 (2002): 94–96.

130. Mark P. McDonald, “The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial,” Print Quarterly 15, no. 1 (1998): 30; and Peter Parshall, “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol,” Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien 78 (1982): 172–74.

131. Moritz Wullen, Ornamental Prints (Vienna: Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 2007), 9; and Elizabeth Miller, Sixteenth Century Italian Ornament Prints (London: V&A Publications, 1999), 16.