

# Annotated Bibliography

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This is the online bibliography to Nick Pelling’s book “The Curse of the Voynich”. By way of tribute to its main protagonist, the book has a consciously architected structure: for example, its odd-numbered chapters focus on synthesis (telling a story), while its even-numbered chapters focus on analysis (looking at marks). At the same time, you can read it as a three-act play – Act I looks at the exterior of the manuscript, Act II examines its interior (rather like Chris Vogler’s “Special World”), while Act III reconstructs the web of motives behind it (its “ulterior”, for want of a better word). Finally, each chapter makes use of a different historical ‘toolkit’ to help lift the Voynich Manuscript’s many veils of mystery:-

Act I: <i>Exterior</i>	<b>Chapter 1 - History of a Mystery</b>	<i>Archival History</i>
	<b>Chapter 2 - A Sealed Letter</b>	<i>Palaeography</i>
	<b>Chapter 3 - Nostra Città</b>	<i>Iconography</i>
	<b>Chapter 4 - Jumbled Jigsaws</b>	<i>Codicology</i>
Act II: <i>Interior</i>	<b>Chapter 5 - The Duke’s Architect</b>	<i>Art History</i>
	<b>Chapter 6 - The Da Vinci Cipher</b>	<i>Cryptography History</i>
	<b>Chapter 7 - The Golden Book</b>	<i>Textual Criticism</i>
	<b>Chapter 8 - The Naked Lady Code</b>	<i>Books of Secrets</i>
Act III: <i>Ulterior</i>	<b>Chapter 9 - The Journey East</b>	<i>Ottoman History</i>
	<b>Chapter 10 - Secret Numbers</b>	<i>History of Numbers</i>
	<b>Chapter 11 - A Golden Knight Falls</b>	<i>Political History</i>
	<b>Chapter 12 - Secret Letters</b>	<i>‘Ginzburgian’ History</i>

However, unifying the numerous literatures touched on by this wide variety of (very different) areas into a single monolithic bibliography would yield something both massive and unenlightening in equal measures. Similarly, dividing the bibliography up according to historical category would be just as unsatisfying, because many of the discussions inevitably overlap.

I have therefore divided the bibliography into twelve mini-bibliographies, one per chapter. I have also included a brief discussion of how the sources influenced the writing of each section within each chapter – this should allow readers to reconstruct many of the paths through (and the inevitable gaps in) my research. A final supplemental bibliography lists other books that I found inspiring and/or useful (but which didn’t contribute directly to the final text).

## **Chapter 1 - History of a Mystery (*Archival History*)**

- **Bredenkamp**, Horst (1995) *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine*, Markus Wiener, Princeton
- **Fell-Smith**, Charlotte (1909) *John Dee (1527-1608)*, Constable & Company Ltd. Available online: <http://www.johndee.org/charlotte/>
- **Findlen**, Paula (ed.) (2004) *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, Routledge
- **Gawsewitch**, Jean-Claude (2005) *Le Code Voynich*, Jean-Claude Gawsewitch Éditeur

- **Goldstone**, Lawrence; **Goldstone**, Nancy (2005) *The Friar and the Cipher*. Doubleday
- **Kennedy**, Gerry; **Churchill**, Rob (2004) *The Voynich Manuscript*, Orion
- **Neal**, Philip (2003...2006) [http://mysite.wanadoo-members.co.uk/philipneal\\_vms/](http://mysite.wanadoo-members.co.uk/philipneal_vms/)
- **Newbold**, William Romaine (personal papers to 1926) UPT50 N533 [Boxes 1 & 2], University of Pennsylvania Archives. I have transcribed some of these letters here:-  
[http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Schlesinger\\_to\\_Newbold\\_04Jan1922.html](http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Schlesinger_to_Newbold_04Jan1922.html)  
[http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Schlesinger\\_to\\_Newbold\\_18Jan1922.html](http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Schlesinger_to_Newbold_18Jan1922.html)  
[http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Voynich\\_to\\_Newbold\\_08Jun1922.html](http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/Voynich_to_Newbold_08Jun1922.html)
- **Newbold**, William Romaine; **Kent**, Roland Grubb (1928) *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, University of Pennsylvania Press [reprinted by Kessinger Publishing, 2006]
- **Prinke**, Rafał (2004) Website (archived on the Wayback Machine, [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org))  
<http://web.archive.org/web/20041012121344/hum.amu.edu.pl/~rafalp/HERM/VMS/dee.htm>
- **Shumaker**, Wayne (1982) *Renaissance Curiosa*, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton
- **Stallings**, Dennis (2005...2006) *High-Quality Voynich Manuscript Images*,  
<http://www.geocities.com/ctesibos/voynich/hq/>
- **Wilding**, Michael (1999) *Raising Spirits, Making Gold & Swapping Wives*, Shoestring Press
- **Woolley**, Benjamin (2002) *The Queen's Conjuror: The Science and Magic of Dr Dee*. Flamingo
- **Zandbergen**, René (2000...2006) <http://www.voynich.nu/>

For the modern history of the Voynich Manuscript, the two best resources are René Zandbergen's excellent website and Kennedy & Churchill's (rather more journalistic) account. For a facsimile of the manuscript itself, *Le Code Voynich* is passable if flawed (no consistent scale, images are cropped, pages are unlabelled). Better instead to download all the .SID (compressed image) files from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library's website onto your computer: Dennis Stallings' website explains how to do this. However, the most useful research resource of all is the Voynich Mailing List: <http://www.voynich.net/> which has run since 1992. Every Voynich researcher would be well advised both to trawl its downloadable archives and to join in its discussions.

[*The First Scientist*] For Roger Bacon, the Goldstones' book is accessible (though their attempts to resurrect Newbold's reputation don't really work). For William Romaine Newbold's decryption, go straight to the print-on-demand version of his 1928 book: more on the hidden side of his life is to be found in his correspondence in UPenn's archive, some of which I have transcribed and placed on the Compelling Press website.

[*The Alchemist's Library*] For Georg Baresch, Rene Zandbergen's site has the most details: while Philip Neal has very kindly transcribed & translated much of Kircher's relevant correspondence, and placed it on his own website. For Athanasius Kircher himself, I strongly recommend Paula Findlen's recent book, in particular her introduction (pp.1-48).

[*The Alchemical Emperor*] For the Holy Roman Empire, I never managed to find a satisfactorily grand source: and so instead pieced together my account from countless general history resources. The best place to start reading about *Kunstkammern* (such as Rudolph II's *Wunderkammer*) seems to be Horst Bredekamp's fascinating book.

[*Of Books and Angels*] For John Dee, Woolley's book is both colourful and precise, while Wilding's is detailed (but hard to source). Fell-Smith's book is freely available on the Internet, or via print-on-demand: my own favourite Dee book is Shumaker's *Renaissance Curiosa*. The email exchanges I had with Ian Rons were exceptionally helpful for this section.

## Chapter 2 - A Sealed Letter (*Palaeography*)

- **Bischoff**, Bernhard (1979) *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abenländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin
- **De Bripio**, Gasparinus (late 15<sup>th</sup> century) British Library MS 5297, North Italy
- **Brumbaugh**, Robert S (1977) *The World's Most Mysterious Manuscript*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson
- **Chatelain**, E. (1910) *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes*, Paris
- **King**, David A. (2001) *The Ciphers of the Monks: A Forgotten Number-Notation of the Middle Ages*. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart
- **Parkes**, Malcolm B. (1991) *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, Hambledon Press
- **Poundstone**, William (1988). *Labyrinths of Reason*. Doubleday
- **Prager**, Frank D.; **Scaglia**, Gustina (1972) *Mariano Taccola and his book De Ingeineis*, MIT Press
- **Tillotson**, Dianne (2001...2006) *Medieval Writing* (website), <http://www.medievalwriting.50megs.com/whatis.htm>
- [Wikipedia] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occitan>
- <http://users.sch.gr/ioakenanid/nosecret.htm>

An excellent reference for palaeography is Dianne Tillotson's *Medieval Writing* website: highly recommended as an introduction to the ideas.

[*The Quire Hands*] For medieval tachygraphy, Malcolm Parkes' book (particularly chapter 2) is good; for Tironian notes, most roads lead back to Chatelain; while look to Bischoff for medieval Latin abbreviations. For a brief history of Roman numbers (and composite 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century number forms), I enjoyed David King's account (pp.281-289).

[*The Folio Hands*] For early modern cross-references between pages, look at the (unpublished) herbal by Gasparinus de Bripio: Mariano Taccola also uses small vignettes for cross-referencing in his *De Ingeineis* (see Prager & Scaglia (1972), p.124-128, 184, etc).

[*The Zodiac Month Hand*] For Occitan, there are many resources on the Internet (mainly from southern French universities), such as Occitan dictionaries: the Occitan article on wikipedia is a pretty good starting point. For Italian Occitan, coverage is much patchier: there are a few sites such as <http://www.paratge.it/> or the site <http://www.espacci-occitan.org/> (from the *Espacci Occitan* Occitan museum in Dronero, near Cuneo in Piedmont).

[*Marginalia Hands*] For older theories on the *meillhor aller* marginalia, see Poundstone and Brumbaugh: while for the *y'en muc mal* marginalia, note that there is an old Occitan expression *ni chuc ni muc* (though I still don't know what it means).

[*"michiton oladabas"*] For the *agia maria* marginalia, note also that a Greek Voynich researcher discussed this in 2002 (though he read it as *ahia maria*, intended for a Spanish reader).

[*Finally, The Sealed Letter*] -

### Chapter 3 - Nostra Città (*Iconography*)

- **Alberti**, Leon Battista; **Knight**, Sarah; **Brown**, Virginia (1450 / 2003) *Momus*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press
- **Boucheron**, Patrick (1998) *Le Pouvoir de Bâtir: Urbanisme at politique Édilitaire à Milan (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome
- **Cistercian Monks of the Carthusian Monastery of Pavia** (1996), *The Carthusian Monastery of Pavia*, Edizioni Torchio de' Ricci
- **Cunliffe**, Barry (1997) *The Ancient Celts*, Oxford University Press
- **Ellis**, Peter Berresford (2003) *A Brief History of the Celts*, Constable & Robinson Ltd
- **Fischer**, David Hackett (1970) *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*, Harper Perennial
- **Gambi**, L.; **Gozzoli** M.C. (1982) *Milano*, Rome-Bari

- **Malara**, Empio (1996) *Milano Città Porto*, Mediaset / Associazione Amici Dei Navigli
- **Maslow**, Abraham (1970) *Motivation and Personality*, Harper and Row
- **Robin**, Diana (1991) *Filelfo in Milan*, Princeton University Press
- **Tettamanzi**, Laura (1989) *I Navigli*, Enzo Pifferi Editore
- **Vercelloni**, Vergilio (1987) *Atalante Storico di Milano, Città di Lombardia*, Officina d'arte grafica Lucini per la Metropolitana Milanese
- **Welch**, Evelyn S. (1995) *Art and Architecture in Renaissance Milan*, Yale University Press
- **Whitfield**, Peter (1995) *The Mapping of the Heavens*, The British Library

[*Milan's Finest Hour*] For the broad sweep of Celtic history, Berresford Ellis is excellent: for its details, Cunliffe is good too. The account of Milan's history grew from many, many sources, and was helped by Sergio Toresella's detailed comments. The "peak experience" quotation is taken from Maslow's book "Motivation and Personality".

[*A Ditch of Surprising Beauty*] For the history of Milan's *fossa*, Boucheron was thoughtful and excellent (though few would describe his book as light reading): there was a great deal in Welch, too. Tettamanzi (though only brief) and Malara were extremely informative as well.

[*The Rise of the Vipers*] For the Visconti, I relied mainly on Boucheron and Welch: for the maps, Vercelloni can probably not be improved upon. The (almost certainly false) story about Bernabò Visconti was quoted in Fischer (p.74, note 25), as an example of a story that should not be quoted (which is probably why I liked it so much). Whitfield (p.53) has a beautiful colour reproduction of Benedetto Bembo's fresco.

[*The New Geometry of Power*]

[*Raped, Starved and Saved*] For the rape of Piacenza and the siege of Milan (both rarely described, but which illuminate Francesco Sforza's path to dukedom), Robin gives a vivid account. Knight's translation of Momus (from where I took the 'description' of Filelfo-as-Momus) is good throughout.

[*The Castle Rosette*] For the Certosa, I relied mainly upon the book "*The Carthusian Monastery of Pavia*" sold in the Certosa's small shop (various language versions are available).

## Chapter 4 - Jumbled Jigsaws (*Codicology*)

- **Carter**, Albert Howard (1946) *Some Impressions of the Voynich Manuscript*, file 1614 in the W. F. Friedman collection, Marshall Library, Lexington VA. [Online: <http://www.ic.unicamp.br/~stolfi/voynich/mirror/reeds/docs/carter.txt> ]
- **Cavasin**, Rick (1998) *Handmade Parchment & Vellum* <http://tinyurl.com/rx7wb>
- **Currier**, Captain Prescott (1976) *Papers on the Voynich Manuscript* [transcribed by Jacques Guy & Jim Reeds in 1992: [http://www.voynich.nu/extra/curr\\_main.html](http://www.voynich.nu/extra/curr_main.html) ]
- **Ginzburg**, Carlo; **Tedeschi**, John; **Tedeschi**, Anne (1989) *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, Johns Hopkins University Press
- **Grimassi**, Raven (2000) *Ways of The Strega*, Llewellyn Publications
- **Grins**, Margers; **Grina**, Mara (1983) *The Ancient Latvian Time-reckoning System, Festivals, and Celebrations*, American Latvian Association in the United States [Note: a 16-page English summary is online here - <http://tinyurl.com/on3fc> ]
- **Kauffmann**, C.M. (1959) *The Baths of Pozzuoli*, Bruno Cassirer
- **Labatt**, Chloe; **Williamson**, Roland (1992, 2000) *The Write Stuff* (webpage on the 'Regia Anglorum' website), <http://www.regia.org/manscrpt.htm>
- **Magliocco**, Sabina (2004) *Spells, Saints, and Streghe: Witchcraft, Folk Magic, and Healing in Italy*. [http://www.stregoneriaitaliana.com/stregoneria\\_italiana-000180.htm](http://www.stregoneriaitaliana.com/stregoneria_italiana-000180.htm)
- **Neugebauer**, O. (1955) *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts* (3 vols), Princeton & London
- **Pleij**, Herman; **Webb**, Diane (2002, 2004) *Colors Demonic & Divine: Shades of Meaning in the*

*Middle Ages & After*, Columbia University Press.

- **Psaros**, Anastasia (1998) *Stregheria - La Vecchia Religione* [on "Pandora's Silvery Web" website], <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/7159/strega.html>
- **Rodakiewicz**, Erla (1945) *Letter to Dr. Leonell Strong* [July 17 1945], [http://internet.cybermesa.com/~galethog/Voynich/strong\\_letters.pdf](http://internet.cybermesa.com/~galethog/Voynich/strong_letters.pdf)
- [unknown author] (2006) *Bagno di Romagna Terme* (website), <http://www.comunic.it/vallesavio/sitbagno/E/temi/terme/termestoria03.html>

For codicology in general, a basic (but accessible) source is The Write Stuff page on the Regia Anglorum website.

[*Vellum Clues*] For parchment, Rick Cavašin's pages are informative and clear.

[*Binding Clues*] For Latvian calendars, Grins and Grina are just about the only source of English-language information: Raven Grimassi's Strega calendars (there's a good summary on Anastasia Psaros' website) seems to be a neo-pagan borrowing from Wicca - be aware of Sabina Magliocco's critical article on Grimassi's stregheria. I first learnt of wolkenbanden from a letter written in 1945 by Erla Rodakiewicz (incidentally a good friend of Wilfrid Voynich) to Dr Leonell Strong. Neugebauer is the ultimate source for golden year periods.

[*Picture Clues*] Kauffmann's book is the standard (if slightly dated) reference on Pietro d'Eboli. The short quotation from Giovanni de' Medici was taken from the website of the Bagno di Romagna Terme. The link with Michele Savonarola was suggested by Jean d'Amato.

[*Colour Clues*] For the history of colour, I enjoyed Pleij's book: the quotation from Bernard of Clairvaux was on p.3 there. Carter's comments were transcribed by Jim Reeds in 2000 and posted on Jorge Stolfi's website (though this section also appears in D'Imperio's "Elegant Enigma", p.12)

[*Handwriting Clues*] Captain Prescott Currier's thoughts and comments (transcribed by Jacques Guy and, once again, Jim Reeds) are well worth reading.

[*The Hunt for Clues*] For Carlo Ginzburg's view of history as a hunt, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm" in his *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (pp.96-125).

## Chapter 5 - The Duke's Architect (*Art History*)

- **Austin**, Jamie Sue (200x) *Venetian Glass: The Delicate Art* [web article] <http://www.lifeinitaly.com/murano/murano-history-2.asp>
- **Babinger**, Franz (1978) *Mehmed The Conqueror and His Time*, Bollingen Series XCVI, Princeton
- **Boucheron**, Patrick (1998) *Le Pouvoir de Bâtir: Urbanisme at politique Édilitaire à Milan (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome
- **Burckhardt**, Jacob (1878) *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*
- **Crowley**, Roger (2005) *Constantinople: The Last Great Siege, 1453*, Faber and Faber
- **Dorigato**, Attilia; **Langley**, Michael (1986) *Murano Glass Museum, English Edition*, Artistic Guides Electa
- **Halsall**, Paul (1988) *The Experience of Homosexuality in the Middle Ages*, Fordham University: <http://gender.eserver.org/gay-medieval-history.txt>
- **King**, Ross (2001) *Brunelleschi's Dome: The Story of the Great Cathedral in Florence*, Pimlico
- **Lazzaroni**, Michele; **Muñoz**, Antonio (1908) *Filarete, Scultore E Architetto Del Secolo XV*, Roma: W. Modes
- **Mattingly**, Garrett (1971, 1988) *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Dover Publications
- **Melchior-Bonnet**, Sabine; **Jewett**, Katharine (2002) *The Mirror: A History*, Routledge
- **Onians**, John (1971) *Alberti and Filarete; a study in their sources* [Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 34, pp.96-114]
- **Robin**, Diana (1991) *Filelfo in Milan*, Princeton University Press

- **Rocke**, Michael J (1989) *Male Homosexuality and its regulation in late medieval Florence*, SUNY/Binghamton doctoral dissertation (Ann Arbor: UMI 9007572)
- **Toso**, Gianfranco (2000) *Murano: A history of glass*, Arsenale Editrice
- **Welch**, Evelyn S. (1995) *Art and Architecture in Renaissance Milan*, Yale University Press
- **Yocum**, Carole (1998) *Architecture and the bee: virtue and memory in Filarete's Trattato de Architettura*, McGill University dissertation

[*Birth and Rebirth*] Specifically on the life of Antonio Averlino, there are surprisingly few sources: and so, despite its age, Lazzaroni & Muñoz remain in constant citation. For the Renaissance, most of the ideas appear fully-formed in Burckhardt. For medieval homosexuality, Halsall is a good introduction (but Rocke focuses on Florence): I was inspired by the brief description on p.129 of Ross King. The mention of Rimini was specifically from Yocum (p.vi), though it appears elsewhere too.

[*Treading Water In Venice*] For Murano, Toso (particularly pp.25-59) is a compact and thorough reference: though Austin was a helpful addition. The two late 15<sup>th</sup> century jugs I photographed on p.77 are also beautifully captured on p.13 of Dorigato: their distinctive decoration comes as close to the Voynich Manuscript's pharma recipes as anything I've seen. For mirrors, Melchior-Bonnet is rightly described as a "feast".

[*The End of the Middle Ages*] The three quotations here are from Diana Robin's excellent *Filelfo in Milan*. For the fall of Constantinople, Crowley is evocative and complete, though Babinger (pp.85-98) is perhaps better for presenting a broader picture of Mehmet II. For cryptography in post-1453 diplomacy, I believe that Mattingly is without equal.

[*The Grand Hospital*] For the *Ca' Grande*, Welch is excellent (pp.79-166), with Boucheron not far behind.

[*A Book Begins to Grow*] For the *libro*, there is a vast literature: an influential starting point is Onians, who convincingly links Averlino with Greek literature via Filelfo (in contrast to Alberti and Latin literature).

## Chapter 6 - The Da Vinci Cipher (*Cryptography History*)

- **Anagram Genius** - <http://www.anagramgenius.com/archive/leonar.html>
- **Bambach**, Carmen C. (2003) *Leonardo, Left-handed Draftsman and Writer* – Special Exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
[http://www.metmuseum.org/special/Leonardo\\_Master\\_Draftsman/draftsman\\_left\\_essay.asp](http://www.metmuseum.org/special/Leonardo_Master_Draftsman/draftsman_left_essay.asp)
- **Brescia**, Licia; **Tomio**, Luca (1999) *Tomasso di Giovanni Masini da Peretola, detto Zoroastro*. Raccolta Vinciana, Milan, #28, pp.63-77.
- **Brown**, Dan (2003) *The Da Vinci Code*, Doubleday, New York.
- **Cole**, Alison (1995) *Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- **Currier**, Captain Prescott (1976) *Papers on the Voynich Manuscript*. Transcribed by Jacques Guy and Jim Reeds in 1992: [http://www.voynich.nu/extra/curr\\_main.html](http://www.voynich.nu/extra/curr_main.html)
- **Gelb**, Michael (1998) *How to think like Leonardo da Vinci: Seven Steps to Genius Everyday*, Thorsons / HarperCollins
- **Kieckhefer**, Richard (1989) *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Canto
- **King**, David A. (2001) *The Ciphers of the Monks: A Forgotten Number-Notation of the Middle Ages*. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart
- **MacCurdy**, Edward (1939) *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, Konecky & Konecky
- **Nicholl**, Charles (2004) *Leonardo da Vinci, The Flights of the Mind*, Allen Lane, Penguin Books.
- **Preto**, Paolo (1994) *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, Ed. Il Saggiatore, Milan
- **Richter**, J.P. (1970) *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci Compiled and Edited from the Original*

*Manuscripts*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London.

- **Singh**, Simon (1999) *The Code Book*, Fourth Estate Ltd
- **Selenus**, Gustavus...
- **Selwood**, Dominic (2002) *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c.1100-c.1300*, Boydell Press
- **Wikipedia** – article on Trap Streets – [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trap\\_street](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trap_street)
- **Wikipedia** – article on Fictitious Entries – [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fictitious\\_entry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fictitious_entry)

[*The (Real) Da Vinci Code*] The Venetian codewords were mentioned in Preto (p.268): there is more on Polari on Wikipedia. The colourful account of Zoroastro's alchemical kitchen was from p.143 of Nicholl's excellent book: he in turn cites Brescia and Tomio (1999), pp.69-70 [which I have not seen].

[*Early Ciphers*] The *catto masculo* quotation is in both King (pp.178-179) and Kieckhefer (p.141). For the Knights Templar 'cryptography', I am indebted to the description given by Dominic Selwood, who spent a long time in the Templar and Hospitaller archives – he mentioned their invented alphabets in a post-talk Q&A session on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2001, at the Canonbury Masonic Research Centre in London.

[*The Da Vinci Cipher*] Leonardo's multi-punning sentence is mentioned in Cole (p.103). Dave Hubble's splendid "Vindaloo and rice" anagram is listed on the Anagram Genius website. All the anagrams from Leonardo are from MacCurdy & Richter. The Ligny memorandum was discussed by Mario Baratta in 1905 (mentioned in Bambach). Incidentally, Leila Whittemore was interested in what she called Averlino's "language games", but I don't know if her thesis has yet been published.

[*Cryptograms*] The quote from Dalmon is pre-DNA! The story about Abbot Beere's rebus came to me in email correspondence with (the very entertaining) Jack Roman. Dana Scott's link between the f46v eagle and Novara is interesting, though Sergio Toresella cautions that the Novara flag is modern and is unlikely to be of any substance – in any case, the same eagle's true colours are revealed in Chapter 12. The schoolteacher was almost certainly David Bull at Brentwood Preparatory School, Brentwood, Essex.

[*All They Could Follow*] The Currier quote is from his 1976 paper (available online). I bought a copy of Erla Rodakiewicz's 1940 article on a whim (because of her personal connection with Wilfrid Voynich and my interest in Roberto Valturrio's *De Re Militari*), but was richly rewarded.

[*Finally, The Signature*] There are some nice articles on trap streets and "Mountweazels" (yes, really) on Wikipedia.

## Chapter 7 - The Golden Book (*Textual Criticism*)

- **Alberti**, Leon Battista; **Knight**, Sarah; **Brown**, Virginia (1450 / 2003) *Momus*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press
- **[Anonymous]**; (trans.) **McLean**, Adam; **Green**, Deidre (1984) *The Chymical Wedding*. Levity website. <http://www.levity.com/alchemy/chymwed1.html>
- **[Anonymous]**; (1611?) *Fama Fraternitatis*, on the levity.com website:- <http://www.levity.com/alchemy/fama.html>
- **[Anonymous]**; (200x) *La Vita Sui Navigli – Naviglio Martesana* [website] <http://www.vivereinavigli.it/NaviglioMartesana.htm>
- **Averlino**, Antonio; (eds) **Finoli**, A.M.; **Grassi**, L. (1972) *Filarete, Trattato di architettura*, 2 vols, Milan: Il Polifilo
- **Averlino**, Antonio; (trans) **Spencer**, J. (1965) *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture. Being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero, Known as Filarete, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by John R.*

- Spencer. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- **Caldwell**, Ian; **Thomason**, Dustin (2004) *The Rule of Four*, Century
  - **Castiglione**, Baldassare; (trans) Hoby, Sir Thomas (1528, 1561, 1900) *The Book of the Courtier*, David Nutt: London. Online: <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/courtier/courtier.html>
  - **Colonna**, Francesco; **Godwin**, Joscelyn (1499, 1999) *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Thames & Hudson
  - **Godwin**, Joscelyn (2004) *The Real Rule of Four*, Disinformation
  - **Hart**, Vaughan [editor]; **Hicks**, Peter [editor] (1998) *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London.
  - **Hibbert**, Christopher (1979) *The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici*, Penguin Books.
  - **King**, Catherine (1990) *Filarete's portrait signature on the bronze doors of St. Peters and the dance of Bathykles and his assistants*, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 63, pp. 296-99.
  - **King**, Ross (2001) *Brunelleschi's Dome: The Story of the Great Cathedral in Florence*, Pimlico
  - **Korndorffer**, Bartholomeus (15xx) *Two eternall unquenchable burning temporall lights of Mr Trittemio Abbot at Sponheim*. MS Ashmole 1408 pp.239-243: transcribed at levity.com:- <http://www.levity.com/alchemy/everbrn.html>
  - **Lefavre**, Liane (1997) *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, The MIT Press.
  - **Magnusson**, Roberta J. (2001) *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, monasteries and waterworks after the Roman Empire*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, London/Baltimore.
  - **Malinowski**, Roman (1982) *Ancient Mortars and Concretes: Aspects of their Durability*, in History of Technology 7, pp.97-99.
  - **von Moos**, Stanislaus (1970) *Kastell, Palast, Villa – Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät I der Universität Zürich*, Atlantis-Verlag.
  - **Vogler**, Christopher (1992) *The Writer's Journey*, Michael Wiese Productions: Studio City, CA.
  - **Vulpi**, Valentina (2001) *Architecture, Ornament and Society in Filarete's Libro Architettonico* [D. Phil. dissertation], University of East Anglia
  - **Vulpi**, Valentina (2001) *Finding Filarete: the Two Versions of the libro architettonico* in: Raising the eyebrow: John Onians and World Art Studies, Archaeopress, p.331?-339.
  - **Wikipedia** – Article on Growth-Share Matrix – [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Growth-share\\_matrix](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Growth-share_matrix)
  - **Wikipedia** – Article on Medieval Hermeneutics – [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermeneutics#Medieval\\_hermeneutics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermeneutics#Medieval_hermeneutics)

Though medieval hermeneutics is somewhat out of fashion, the Wikipedia article gives an accessible (and mercifully brief) introduction to it. It is interesting that there is a similar four-way Rabbinic tradition, and that it is not known whether or not this predates the medieval Christian version. The classical business school matrix is the (much abused) Boston Consulting Group 2x2 matrix, also well described in the “Growth-Share matrix” Wikipedia article.

[*Stories Within Stories*] I was introduced to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* through Alberto Pérez-Gómez’s article on it in Hart’s Paper Palaces (pp.86-104). It is hard to imagine many readers surviving to the end of Joscelyn Godwin’s epic translation of the slab-like *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: but that is the nature of this particular beast. The claimed authorial link with Alberti is from Lefavre (though as my text mentions, this doesn’t really work for me). Though “The Rule of Four” has its critics, I thought most of it was actually very good: Godwin’s handy little companion book can be used as a good general introduction to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. For Averlino, I found Vulpi’s dissertation to be the single work most helpful to my own research: my only (relatively minor) point of difference with her central thesis is that I think the *libro*’s three writing phases can be differentiated by their (respective) courtly audiences.

[*A Golden Book Is Found*] Though some are critical of Spencer’s English translation of the

*libro* (which he carried out without the benefit of Finoli & Grassi's later Italian translation), it was a milestone work without which much modern scholarship on Averlino would not have been easily possible. (All the same, it is undeniable that an updated English translation would be a great academic resource.) For all things alchemical, Adam McLean's levity.com website is very probably the best single resource out there: this is where I sourced the text of *The Chymical Wedding* from. Knight & Brown's Momus was again useful for colour: but I was set on the trail of perpetual light by a note on page 174 on Ross King's "Brunelleschi's Dome". The 'unquenchable eternal lights' are from Korndorffer, transcribed on levity.com. The translation of the *Fama Fraternitatis* is (yet again) on levity.com.

[*Averlino's "Other Little Works"*] There is a brief discussion on the Martesana Canal on the *La Vita Sui Navigli* website, which seems to be summarizing a document from the Sforza archives: however, I don't currently have a reference for this. The Greco-Roman expanding paste was mentioned on p.72 of Magnusson: her note 40 seems to indicate that Malinowski would be the best place to read more, but I simply ran out of time. Virgil writes of sacrificing "four splendid bulls of unblemished body" and placing them in an open-air altar: nine days later, bees will (supposedly) start buzzing around the carcasses. This 'solution' was still recommended in the Middle Ages!

[*Technical Solutions*] Castiglione's book is available online. I heartily recommend Chris Vogler's "Writer's Journey".

[*The End of Averlino*] There is a nice side-by-side comparison between the three-spire ends of the Certosa and Sforzinda's Duomo on p.29 of von Moos. On Filareté's signature panel, Catherine King's 1990 article nicely condenses many strands of literature, including various parallels with Ghiberti's sculpted signatures on his doors in Florence.

## Chapter 8 - The Naked Lady Code (*Books of Secrets*)

- **Alertz**, Ulrich (200x?) *Der Windwagen des Guido von Vigevano 1335*, <http://www.histinst.rwth-aachen.de/ext/tma/tema/windwagn/>
- **ARLIMA** (Archives de littérature de Moyen Âge) (2006?) Guido da Vigevano bibliography:- [http://www.arlima.net/eh/guido\\_da\\_vigevano.html](http://www.arlima.net/eh/guido_da_vigevano.html)
- **Battisti**, Eugenio; **Battisti**, Giuseppa Saccaro (1984) *Le Macchine Cifrate di Giovanni Fontana*, Arcadia Edizioni, Milan
- **Bayer**, Penny (2002) *Women's alchemical literature in Italy, France and England 1560-1616, and its diffusion to 1660*, University of Warwick thesis.
- **Blackwell**, Lewis; **Fraizer**, Meghan; **Rizzo**, Adria; **Vello**, Kevin; **Wainwright**, Randall (2000) *Preserving Venetian Wellheads*, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.
- **Blaine**, Bradford B. (1976) *The Enigmatic Water Mill*, (in) *Humana Civilitas: Sources and Studies Relating to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Volume 1: On Pre-Modern Technology and Science. A Volume of Studies in Honor of Lynn White, Jr.*, ed. Bert S. Hall et Delno C. West
- **Catellani**, Patrizia (200x?) *Gli esperimenti di Caterina Sforza*, University of Pavia <http://chifar.unipv.it/museo/Catellani/catSforza/CaterinaSf.htm>
- **Crane**, Eva (1999) *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting*, Routledge
- **Eamon**, William (1994) *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, Princeton University Press
- **Francis**, Maureen K. (1999) *The History of the Flush Toilet*, Research Paper, Morrisville State University. Available on request from the author: <mailto:Maureen@334-2151.com>
- **Gimpel**, Jean (1976) *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages*, Penguin Books.
- **Hall**, A. Rupert (1976) *Guido's Texaurus, 1335*, (in) *Humana Civilitas: Sources and Studies Relating to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Volume 1: On Pre-Modern Technology and*

Science. A Volume of Studies in Honor of Lynn White, Jr., ed. Bert S. Hall et Delno C. West, Malibu, Undena Publications, p. 10-52.

- **Heise**, Jennifer [AKA Jadwiga Zajaczkowa] (200x?) *Medieval and Renaissance Gardens* (SCA presentation) <http://www.gallowglass.org/jadwiga/herbs/medievalgardens.htm>
- **Kieckhefer**, Richard (1997) *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*, Sutton Publishing Limited, Stroud
- **King**, Ross (2001) *Brunelleschi's Dome: The Story of the Great Cathedral in Florence*, Pimlico
- **Lyman-Dixon**, Anthony (2001) *Murder At The Feast*, Herb Weekend In A Herb Garden, Assisi: <http://www.assisinc.ch/articlesarchives.html#murder>
- **Macfarlane**, Alan (2002) *The Development of the Water Closet in England*, <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/savage/A-WC.PDF>
- **Magnusson**, Roberta J. (2001) *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, monasteries and waterworks after the Roman Empire*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, London/Baltimore.
- **Ostuni**, Giustina (1993) *Le macchine del Re: Il Texaurus Regis Francie di Guido da Vigevano*, Diakronia: Vigevano
- **Pasolini**, Count Pier Desiderio; **Sylvester**, Paul (1948) *Catherine Sforza*, Herbert S. Stone & Co.
- **Paton**, W.R. (1925) *Anthologia Graeca*, Bk.IX no. 418, London
- **Prager**, Frank; **Scaglia**, Gustina (1970) *Brunelleschi: Studies of His Technology and Inventions*, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- **Prager**, Frank; **Scaglia**, Gustina (1972) *Mariano Taccola and his book De Ingeineis*, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- **Reeds**, Jim (1998) *Solved: The Ciphers in Book III of Trithemius' Steganographia*, <http://www.dtc.umn.edu/~reedsj/trit.pdf>
- **Sabine**, Ernest L. (1934) *Latrines and Cesspools of Mediaeval London*, *Speculum*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Jul., 1934) pp. 303-321
- **Scaglia**, Gustina (1992) *Francesco di Giorgio. Checklist and History of Manuscripts and Drawings in Autographs and Copies from ca.1470 to 1687 and Renewed Copies (1764-1839)*, Lehigh University Press
- **Smith**, Margaret (2005) *Special Collection featured item*, University of Reading website <http://www.library.rdg.ac.uk/colls/special/featureditem/crescentius/>
- **Sprague de Camp**, L. (1963) *The Ancient Engineers*, MIT Press
- **Stolfi**, Jorge (1998) *Is f33v a Sunflower? The short answer: No*, available online:- <http://www.dcc.unicamp.br/~stolfi/voynich/98-01-17-sunflower/>
- **Taddei**, Mario; **Zanon**, Edoardo; **Laurenza**, Domenico (2005) *Leonardo's Machines: Secrets and Inventions and the Da Vinci Codices*, Giunti Editore S.p.A., Florence-Milan
- **Thompson**, C.J.S. (1931 [1993]) *Poisons and Poisoners*, Barnes & Noble
- **Visentini**, Margherita Azzi (1999) *L'arte dei giardini : scritti teorici e pratici dal XIV al XIX secolo*, Milan.
- **Wilson**, Bee (2004) *The Hive: The Story of the Honeybee and Us*, John Murray / Hodder Headline
- **Wright**, Lawrence (1966) *Clean and Decent: The Fascinating History of the Bathroom & the Water Closet, and of sundry Habits, Fashions & Accessories of THE TOILET principally in GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, & AMERICA*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

[Indistinguishable From Magic] Though many copies of Piero de' Crescenzi's *Liber ruralium commodorum* still exist (such as Beinecke MS 233), there is no modern edition of it, nor any substantial English-language literature on it: some images of the University of Reading copy are in Smith (2005) [including back-page pen-trials!]. Hunting out literature on Medieval Gardens (such as Jennifer Heise's paper) may well prove more rewarding in this respect. Gottfried of Franconia I found mentioned in pp.84-86 of Eamon (1994), a book I strongly commend here (particularly its Part One). For medieval poison stories (such as the Venetian death squad), Lyman-Dixon's article is an excellent appetizer (but I wish there was more): though I'm currently

unable to trace where I found Petrus Bonus' poison recipe (his name appears in several forms). For magic circles, I relied on Kieckhefer's *Forbidden Rites*: the transcription of the three bands of Clm 849 p.105v were from his page 339, note (a). Jim Reeds' exemplary decryption of Book III of Trithemius' *Steganographia* is freely available online.

[*Wheels Within Wheels*] Stolfi's thoughts on sunflowers (and on countless other aspects of the Voynich Manuscript) are available online. The modern editions of Guido da Vigevano's *Texaurus* are Hall (in English) and Ostuni (in Italian): these only refer to the Paris, Yale & Turin mss, and I was unaware of Chantilly MS 334 & Vatican Cod. Pal. Lat. 1251 in the ARLIMA bibliography. Ulrich Alertz' pages on Guido da Vigevano's wind-wagon are fascinating. Giovanni Fontana's car appears full-page on p.114 of Battisti & Battisti's excellent book: their transcription (of Fontana's 17v/18r) is on p.66 – though note that they are critical of the model in the Museo della Scienza e della Tecnica di Milano (as per my photograph on p.129). Francesco di Giorgio's works seem to be covered well in Scaglia (1992), which I have [unfortunately] yet to read properly. For a beautiful rendition of Leonardo's armoured car, see pp.98-101 of Taddei, Zanon & Laurenza.

[*For His Eyes Only*] For Brunelleschi's machines, Prager & Scaglia (1970) was excellent and thorough: for Brunelleschi's life, Ross King (2001) was a joyous (yet balanced) read. For Taccola's machines, Prager & Scaglia (1972) was, again, excellent and thorough..

[*Breaking the Naked Lady Code*] The quotation from Antipater appears in many places: one (from p.229 of L. Sprague de Camp (1963)) is on p.7 of Gimpel (1976), though I preferred the one in p.164 of Blaine (1976), which was taken from pp.232-233 of Paton (1925). For garden history, Visentini is huge, rare, but definitive. Magnusson covers Prior Wibert's map well: fig.3.21 on p.114, fig.3.17 on p.107, fig.3.13 on p.100. Incidentally, she also includes a picture of the Piedmontese Master's (1430) *The Fountain of Youth* on p.150. For toilets, Maureen Francis' research paper and Wright's *Clean and Decent* were my two main sources – Leonardo appears in pp.53-54 of the latter, as does Thomas Brightfield (who installed a similar water closet in London in 1449), mentioned in Sabine (& quoted by Macfarlane). Blackwell et. al. is a good (and accessible) source for Venetian *campi* and wellheads.

[*Of Recipes and Bees*] For Isabella Cortese, Penny Bayer's thesis paints a good picture of current thinking. For Caterina Sforza, relatively little has been written since Pasolini: a transcription of her *Experimenti* is in volume 3 of the Italian original. A modern pharmacist's take on her is Catellani's webpage: though her *Experimenti* are sometimes exhibited, they are owned by a private collector who wishes to remain as anonymous as possible. For bee history, Bee Wilson is a fun read, while Crane is more magisterial (and rightly so).

[*Secrecy and the Inventor*] For Buonaccorso Ghiberti's *Zibaldone*, see pp.64-83 of Prager & Scaglia (1970). For Brunelleschi's patent and his ill-fated *Il Badalone*, see Eamon pp.88-89 and Ross King pp.113-119. For the Machinery Complex, pp.xi and 146 of Prager & Scaglia (1970), though note that the facing diagram (on p.147) of the 2004 reprint is missing the arrows.

## Chapter 9 - The Journey East (*Ottoman History*)

- **Babinger**, Franz (1978) *Mehmed The Conqueror and His Time*, Bollingen Series XCVI, Princeton
- **Babinger**, Franz (1951) *Mehmed II., der Eroberer, und Italien*, Byzantion, 21, pp.127-170
- **Bádenas**, Pedro (2002?) *The Byzantine Intellectual Elites at the Court of Mehmet Fatih: Adaptation and Identity*, webpage (courtesy of the Wayback Machine):- <http://web.archive.org/web/20050420183710/http://www.filol.csic.es/departamentos/bizantinos/mehmet.html>
- **Bagrow**, Leo (1955) *A Tale from the Bosphorus. Some Impressions of My Work at the Topkapu Saray Library, Summer of 1954*, Imago Mundi, XII
- **Bradford**, Ernle (1968) *The Sultan's Admiral: The Life of Barbarossa*. The History Book Club with

- Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, London.
- **Brotton**, Jerry (2000) *Printing the world*, ( in) M. Frasca-Spada, N. Jardine, eds., Books and the Sciences in History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 35-48
  - **Valla**, Lorenzo; **Coleman**, Christopher B. (trans.) (1440 [1922]) *Discourse on the Forgery of the Alleged Donation of Constantine*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Available online courtesy of Jonathan Perry: <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/vallatc.html>
  - **Dunin**, Elonka (2003) Steganography (web-presentation), <http://www.elonka.com/steganography/>
  - **Godwin**, Godfrey (1971 [2003]) *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, Thames & Hudson
  - **Hayes**, Kenneth (2001) *Filarete's 'Journey to the East'*. ACSA International Conference, Istanbul
  - **Hourani**, Albert (1991) *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Faber & Faber, London.
  - **Karouzis**, George; **Karouzis**, Christina G. (2000) *Touring Guide of Cyprus*, Selas: Nicosia.
  - **Monfasani**, John (1976) *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
  - **Monfasani**, John (1984) *Collectanea Trapezuntiana. Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 25; The Renaissance Society of America: Renaissance Texts Series, 8. Binghamton, NY.
  - **Necipoglu**, Gülru (2006) *The Italian Connection: Western Horizons of Mehmed II's Patronage of Art and Architecture*, Keynote Address, Day Two of "The Renaissance & the Ottoman World" conference, Warburg Institute & School of Oriental and African Studies, 26-27 April 2006.
  - **Poullis**, Alkis, C. (1997) *Lefkara Lace History*, <http://www.cyculture.net/lefkara/html/history.html>
  - **Restle**, Marcell (1981) *Bauplanung und Baugesinnung unter Mehmet II Fatih: Filarete in Konstantinopel*, Pantheon #39, pp.361-367.
  - **Rodakiewicz**, Erla (1940) *The editio princeps of Roberto Valturio's «De re militari» in relation to the Dresden and Munich manuscripts*, [pp.14-82] in Maso Finiguerra, *Rivista della stampa incise e del libro illustrato fondata e diretta da Lamberto Donati*, Anno V - 1940 - XVIII-XIX, Milano - Hoepli
  - **[Trakya University]** (2004) *T.U.Sultan II. Bayezid Complex, Health Museum*, website - [http://www.trakya.edu.tr/kulliye\\_ing/](http://www.trakya.edu.tr/kulliye_ing/)

[*The Dream of the East*] Stan Tenen mentioned his idea about f57r in email correspondence with me. The source for all things to do with George of Trebizond is Monfasani, whose 1976 biography was built upon his PhD dissertation, and whose *Collectanea* is a fascinating collection of source materials. The short quotations from George's letters are from Babinger pp.248-249. Given the timing and their link with Filelfo, it seems probable to me that Averlino and George travelled together from Rome to Istanbul in November 1465, and that this may have been why Averlino left Milan for Rome: though I know of no evidence that might affirm or deny this. There is doubtless also a specialist literature on George Amirutzes, though I was unable to find it: more mileage may be had by looking at more general works on the subject, such as Bádenas' paper. There is also a large art history literature on Gentile Bellini's stay at the Ottoman court, exemplified by the 2006 "Bellini in the East" exhibition at London's National Gallery, and "The Renaissance & the Ottoman World" conference at the Warburg Institute & SOAS (which I was fortunate enough to attend).

[*Italians in the East*] The two key papers here are Hayes & Restle: many of the architectural observations were given as commonplaces in Gülru Necipoglu's keynote address. The translation of Restle's paper I relied upon was made by Robert Santos.

[*Mimar Hayrettin*] Godwin discusses the Beyazit Complex in Edirne on pp.143-151: but the most current source of information on it was the set of webpages put up by Trakya University (which now owns all of it apart from the mosque). Note that these pages mention that the ascription to Mimar Hayrettin is disputed, with some sources preferring instead Yakup Şah Bin

Sultan Şah. I also used the translation of Evliya Çelebi given there: though for the archaic Turkish word “mile” I used “pole”, Neslihan Knight’s recommended translation. For Hayrettin Barbarossa, I relied on Ernle Bradford’s colourful book.

[*The “De Re Militari” Incident*] Babinger (1978) mentions this incident briefly on pp.201-202, and in more detail in Babinger (1951) pp.164-170, which I was unfortunately unable to see. Gülru Necipoğlu also mentioned this in her keynote speech, possibly implying that there is more up-to-date research on this. Baglow is the original source on Amirutzes’ 1465 map, but Brotton (50 years later) is the best current source I know of. Valturio’s *De Re Militari* seems little-studied, even though one might expect Prager & Scaglia to have covered it at some point: I relied mainly on Erla Rodakiewicz’s 1940 article.

[*A Different Type of Hiding*] Steganography is only lightly covered in the historical literature, despite its role throughout history as the ‘James Bond’ side of cryptography. Elonka Dunin’s slide-show presentation on modern stego (and its supposed use by al-Qaeda) is excellent.

[*Marginalia, Revisited*] The academic literature on Lorenzo Valla, though admittedly formed of many small papers, is fascinating: Coleman’s 1922 translation arguably set in motion modern historical criticism.

[*Three Scenarios*] I stumbled across the story about Leonardo & Lefkara in Karouzis & Karouzis: though there is slightly more detail in Alkis Poullis’ page (including the 1953 gift of Lefkara lace to Queen Elizabeth II), I was unable to find a proper historical study of this – perhaps a Cypriot historian will be able to fill in more of the details?

## Chapter 10 - Secret Numbers (*History of Numbers*)

- **Brumbaugh**, Robert S. (1974) *Botany and the Voynich ‘Roger Bacon’ MS. Once More.*, Speculum 49, pp.546-548.
- **Brumbaugh**, Robert S. (1978) *The Most Mysterious Manuscript: The Voynich ‘Roger Bacon’ Cipher Manuscript*, Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press
- **Coulthart**, John (2002, 2006) *Another Green World: The Codex Seraphinianus at {feuilleton }*, [http://www.johncoulthart.com/feuilleton/?page\\_id=108](http://www.johncoulthart.com/feuilleton/?page_id=108)
- **Derzhanski**, Ivan A. (2004) *Codex Seraphinianus: Some Observations* (webpage) <http://www.math.bas.bg/~iad/serafin.html>
- **D’Imperio**, Mary E. (1978) *The Voynich manuscript – An Elegant Enigma*, Aegean Park Press
- **Erskine**, Ralph; **Freeman**, Peter (2003) *Brigadier John Tiltman: One of Britain’s finest cryptologists*, Cryptologia 27(4), Oct. 2003, pp.289–318. Also available online: [http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qa3926/is\\_200310/ai\\_n9311691/print](http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3926/is_200310/ai_n9311691/print)
- **Grendler**, Paul F. (2006) *The European Renaissance in American Life* Westport: Praeger
- **Hinsley**, F.H.; **Stripp**, Alan (1993) *Code Breakers: The inside story of Bletchley Park*, Oxford University Press
- **Kahn**, David (1967 [1996]) *The Codebreakers - The Story of Secret Writing*, Scribner, New York
- **Kennedy**, Gerry; **Churchill**, Rob (2004) *The Voynich Manuscript*, Orion
- **Kippenhahn**, Rudolph (1999) *Code Breaking: A history and exploration*, Constable and Co. Ltd, London
- **Wechsler**, Allan C. (1987) [post to SF-Lovers mailing list, about 2/3rds of the way down] <http://groups.google.com/group/rec.arts.books/msg/25e55b7771903c1d?num=1>
- **[Wikipedia]** (200x) *Codex Seraphinianus* (webpage), [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex\\_Seraphinianus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Seraphinianus)

[*The Great Number Hunt*] Many accounts of Bletchley Park mention “eins”: Kippenhahn (p.185) briefly discusses a catalogue at Bletchley Park holding ciphers of *eins* for known daily

keys. The Codex Seraphinianus was originally published by Franco Maria Ricci: see the Wikipedia article for details of the various editions. Recently, there has been talk that Luigi Serafini may reissue his Codex Seraphinianus (now 25 years old) through a different publisher: see the 17<sup>th</sup> August 2006 article in *Il Foglio* called "I VENTICINQUE ANNI DI UN IRRIVERENTE OGGETTO" (thanks to Sergio Toresella for this). Though Wechsler's account of Luigi's numbers predates Derzhanski's, it is believed that Martin Feather recognized the base-21 structure first: see the message just above Wechsler's post in the webpage linked to above. Brumbaugh's article & book is a good source for Brumbaugh, though D'Imperio's figure 26 (on her p.104) is very helpful, as is the account on pp.128-134 of Kennedy & Churchill. Unsurprisingly, The Brig's shadow hangs heavy over D'Imperio, which is where the account of Tiltman's search for numbers came from (her p.43, section 6.6). Erskine & Freeman's account of Tiltman's life is highly recommended.

[*Fake Numbers*] -

[*Real Numbers*] The underlying ideas presented here are far from novel: David Kahn's section on the Voynich Manuscript mentions that Father Theodore Petersen (who studied the Voynich Manuscript for 40 years) believed that some of the meaning was hidden in the way that the "shape of the characters and in their hooks and other appendages" subtly varied.

[*The Cover Cipher*] -

[*A Lone Gunman?*] A very recent book on the role of individualism within the modern notion of the Renaissance is Grendler.

## Chapter 11 - A Golden Knight Falls (*Political History*)

- **Alberti**, Leon Battista; **Zaccagnani**, Alessandro (trans.); **Buonafalce**, Augusto (a cura di) (1470 : 1997) *De Componendis Cyfris*, Galimberti Tipografi Editori
- **Cerioni**, Lydia (1970) *La diplomazia sforzesca nella seconda metà del Quattrocento e i suoi cifrari segreti*, 2 vols, Roma: Fonti e studi del Corpus membranarum italicarum, 7.
- **Clough**, Cecil H. (1992) *Federico da Montefeltro and the Kings of Naples: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Survival*, in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 6 June 1992, pp.113-172
- **Colussi**, Paolo (2002) *Cicco Simonetta, capro espiatorio di Ludovico il Moro*, webpage <http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Milanesi%20illustri/CiccoSimonetta.htm>
- **Eco**, Umberto; **Weaver**, William (trans.) (1983) *The Name of the Rose*, Harcourt.
- **Giampetrino**, D. (1876) *La pretesa donazione di Filippo Maria Visconti a Francesco Sforza*, Archivio Storico Lombardo, iii, 1876, pp.639-681.
- **Grafton**, Anthony (2000) *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance*, Allen Lane / The Penguin Press
- **Höflechner**, Walter (1970) *Die „Regule ad extrahendum litteras ziferatas sine exemplo“*, Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, 23, pp.377-384.
- **Iardi**, Vincent (1987) *Crosses and Carets: Renaissance Patronage and Coded Letters of Recommendation*, in *American Historical Review*, vol.92, No.5 (Dec 1987) pp.1127-1149.
- **Machiavelli**, Niccolò; **Detmold**, Christian E. (trans.) (1882) *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli*, (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co). Available online as: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/ToC/0076.php>
- **Mattingly**, Garrett (1971, 1988) *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Dover Publications
- **Motta**, E. (1892) *Ancora sulla pretesa donazione di Filippo Maria Visconti a Francesco Sforza*, Archivio Storico Lombardo ser.2, ix 1892, pp.386-391.
- **Pasolini**, Count Pier Desiderio; **Sylvester**, Paul (1948) *Catherine Sforza*, Herbert S. Stone & Co.
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- **Perret**, Paul-Michel (1890) *Les règles de Cicco Simonetta pour le déchiffrement des écritures secrètes*

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[*Circles of Trust*] For Cicco Simonetta, I relied upon Marcello Simonetta's book (particularly Parts III and IV) and Colussi's webpage: I don't know of a good English-language account. For cryptographic diplomacy, Mattingly is the best. For the Trancedino ledger, Cerioni is excellent, though there is more recent research in Senatore (for example pp.400-403). Though the Urbino ledger is mentioned in Sacco (and very briefly in D'Imperio), it seems never to have appeared on mainstream historians' radars: I put up a small web-page on it in 2004. The idea that there is a political connection between the two sets of ciphers is not a new one: in 2003, Cecil Clough wrote to me that "it is likely there was a connection between the Urbino and Milan ciphers in the period 1444 to 1451", and points to pp.114-117 of his 1992 Renaissance Studies article.

[*The Godfather of Cryptography*] For the documents forged by Sforza's Chancellery, the sources (Giampietrino and Motta) are quite old: I don't know of a more modern account. "Don Ciccho" was from p.35 of Pasolini. For Simonetta's "Regule ad...", the two sources I found most useful were Perret and Höflechner (thanks to Marcello Simonetta for steering me to the latter). Philip Neal's translation of the *Regule* is unpublished: special thanks to him for making it available to me.

[*The Myth of Code-Breaking*] My main source for *litterae clausae* was Senatore, particularly the diagram on p.423 which I rebuilt to reflect my own understanding of how these worked.

[*Nemesis*] Anthony Grafton's book helped link Alberti into the ideas of his time. The "man dedicated to study and hard work..." quotation was from Alberti's *Philodoxeos fabula*, in Grafton p.4. My thanks to Augusto Buonafalce for making the text of his *De Componendis Cyfris* available to me: this allowed a far closer reading of Alberti's text than would otherwise have been possible. "Le Chiffre Indéchiffrable" (including Babbage's contribution) was discussed in Chapter 2 of Singh's *The Code Book*. Though I haven't seen this elsewhere, Kippenhahn (p.69) includes a nice picture of the NSA logo, in the form of an eagle inside a cipher wheel.

[*End of an Era*] The "to pillage the houses...", "overtaken by a Negro..." and "Death is bitter..." quotations are near the end of the seventh book of Machiavelli's *History of Florence*.

[*The "40" cipher*] For the secret passages in the Castello Sforzesco, see Welch p.205 and p.207: for this, she cites p.133 of her 1987 PhD thesis. Similarly, Pasolini (p.81) mentions subterranean passages beneath the house of the Riario: I suspect the idea of the powerful having privileged access to secret passages was a commonplace of the era.

## Chapter 12 - Secret Letters ('Ginzburgian' History)

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- **Pelling**, Nick (2006) 3x3 Folding key, available online:-  
<http://www.compellingpress.com/voynich/3x3-folding-key.pdf>
- **Zandbergen**, René (200x) *Vaticanus gr. 1291*, (webpage)  
<http://www.voynich.nu/extra/vatg1291.html>

[*Secret Vowels*] I took the picture of the twenty-four hour clock dial in Venice: as I recall, it stands near the Palazzo Camerlenghi.

[*The Gallows Family*] I don't know who called these shapes "gallows": the first use I could find was by Jacques Guy on the Voynich mailing list in 1992.

[*An Excitant Spirit*] I have placed a printable PDF version of the 3x3 folding key on p.202 onto the compellingpress.com website, with more details to follow.

[*The Offspring of our Senses*] -

[*Neal Keys*] Philip Neal explained his observations on key-like sequences to me in 2005: I believe they are currently unpublished.

[*Verbose Labels*] René Zandbergen has for some proposed some kind of connection between Vat. Gr. 1291 and the Voynich Manuscript: his webpage outlines the ideas involved.

[*Forms Assembled in the Light*] The quotation from James Fitch I found on the WWISA website.

[*The Story and the Curse*] For BL MS Add 34113, I relied upon the description in the BL's integrated catalogue. I enjoyed Paulo Coelho's *The Alchemist*, and hope that my book has taken you on a similarly enjoyable journey around the Mediterranean!

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