RUDOLF WITTKOWER

Allegory and the Migration of Symbols

With 251 illustrations

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THAMES AND HUDSON

The frontispiece shows part of a world map from a Beatus Apocalypse, 12th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acqu. lat. 1366).

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FOREWORD

THIS, THE THIRD VOLUME of 'The Collected Essays of Rudolf Wittkower', presents a selection from an extensive number of essays and lectures concerned with the exploration of ideas and concepts expressed by visual means as distinct, but not separable, from the stylistic or chronological analysis of works of art. At the same time these essays bear witness to the writer's preoccupation with the interdependence and interpenetration of all the arts: high art and folk art; and the arts of Europe and of the East, from the early anonymous manifestations of man's creative endeavours to the highly accomplished works by individual artists of our era.

That sounds like a tall order, but to the author it was a simple matter of seeing and reading. It was all there, in picture and word – all that was needed was to try and decipher the code which would reveal how thoughts and traditions had been given shape.

Rudolf Wittkower's interest in the arts of the East went back to the early 1920s when he had attended, as a very young student, a single, but unforgotten seminar held by the orientalist and archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld. Himself a scholar of true universality, Herzfeld was a strict taskmaster with a reputation for mordant criticism, yet he was greatly admired and liked by students who were willing to accept his demands for hard work.

This brief encounter with eastern art gained new dimensions through the impact of some memorable meetings with Aby Warburg in Rome and Florence in 1927, followed in the next year by an invitation to come to Hamburg for more talks and for a good look at Warburg's library with its unique shelving system designed to lead the user from his own specific studies into the realm of related fields. It was this visit also that occasioned the beginning of a life-long friendship with Erwin Panofsky. Iconology – a term coined by Warburg as early as 1912, but then still much debated – had won a new adherent. When Rudolf Wittkower joined the Warburg Institute six years later in London, he himself began to take up iconographical studies. Some of the results are contained in this book.

The essays here reprinted were published between the years 1937 and 1972. As in the preceding volumes, they have been left in their original form, with two exceptions: the '"Physiologus" in Beatus Manuscripts',

which had appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* (vol. I, 1937–38) under 'Miscellaneous Notes' as part I of a brief, two-part paper on 'Miraculous Birds', has been incorporated into the later (1938–39) essay on 'Eagle and Serpent'; and two pages from 'Marco Polo' have been omitted because they repeated points covered in 'Marvels of the East'.

For help in getting the illustrations together I am again greatly indebted to the Warburg Institute, especially to Miss Jennifer Montagu, Curator of the Photographic Collection. My thanks for loans of photographs are due to Professors Julius S. Held, H. W. Janson and Edith Porada. Above all, my deepest gratitude goes to those who have to remain unnamed for reasons of etiquette.

New York, April 1976 MARGOT WITTKOWER

1 'Confucius: Le plus célèbre Philosophe de la Chine', engraving from J. B. du Halde's *Description of Geography and History of China*, 1735

I EAST AND WEST: THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

East and West: the Problem of Cultural Exchange

IN THE LAST two or three generations an ever-growing number of scholars have turned their attention to the links between the arts of Europe and of non-European civilizations. We are concerned with cultural and artistic exchanges over immensely wide spaces – 6000, 7000 miles, and more. While this does not present a problem in the age of jet propulsion, the question must be asked, and has often been asked, how such distances were traversed in times long past when the means of locomotion were primitive.

For almost a century ethnologists have worked with two antagonistic theories: diffusion of techniques, ideas, concepts, and art forms *versus* independent, 'spontaneous generation' of culture in different parts of the world. These mutually exclusive working methods have been hotly debated ever since A. Bastian, in the second half of the 19th century, propounded his evolutionary thesis that similar cultural characteristics arise at parallel phases in the development of different societies. The advocates of diffusionism and the defenders of independent convergence are still at each others' throats. Their discussions pertain mainly to pre-literary civilizations. For the high civilizations with literary traditions diffusionism has been developed into a universally accepted technique of research; in art-historical controversies the degree and character of diffusion may be debated, but the principle of diffusion is not called into question.

The historian of culture or art who, through the study of high civilizations, has learned to operate with diffusionist interchanges is more readily prepared than the ethnologist to extend the method to nonliterary, so-called primitive cultures. Nobody can deny that the artifacts of the northern nomad tribes are found distributed over an enormous area, though the precise roads of transmission may never be traceable.

Acceptance of diffusion does not, however, preclude the possibility of convergence and parallelism of cultural phenomena. Certain art forms, which we conventionally designate as archaic, classic, baroque, etc., recur in widely separate civilizations at unrelated periods, a sign perhaps of the comparative dearth of basic artistic expressions, the world over, at the disposal of our species.

The ultimate test of diffusion lies, of course, in the proof of the existence of definitely traceable roads of migration. Even in prehistoric times there existed caravan roads bridging the 2
vast expanses of the Asian land-mass between China and Europe, a northern route via the Caspian and Black Seas and a southern route via the highland of Iran and Syria. In historic times, the Romans, who kept the southern road open for hundreds of years, imported much coveted silk from China. Although the road was virtually cut with Arab ascendancy and was reopened only in the middle of the 13th century when the *pax mongolica* had pacified the largest part of Asia, the areas along this road always remained the great melting pot of cultural and artistic currents. But just when the material regarding the roads of transmission is ample, we must sharpen our critical judgment, for the pitfalls of superficial affinities may lead and have led to strange misconceptions.

A famous test case may illustrate the seriousness of the charge. During the hundred years of Mongol domination of Asia, East and West drew closer together than ever before. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV sent the Franciscan Giovanni Pian del Carpini as envoy to the court of the Grand Khan; in 1253 William of Rubruck followed him as envoy of Louis IX of France. The brothers Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, who left Venice in 1255, travelled fourteen years through Asia. When they set out on a second journey in 1271, they were accompanied by their young son and nephew Marco, who remained in East Asia until 1295. While Marco Polo's account has no equal, there were many other travellers at this period who have left fascinating records of their experience, such men as John of Monte Corvino, the founder of the Latin Church in China, who remained there from about 1293 to his death in 1328; Andrew of Perugia, who was

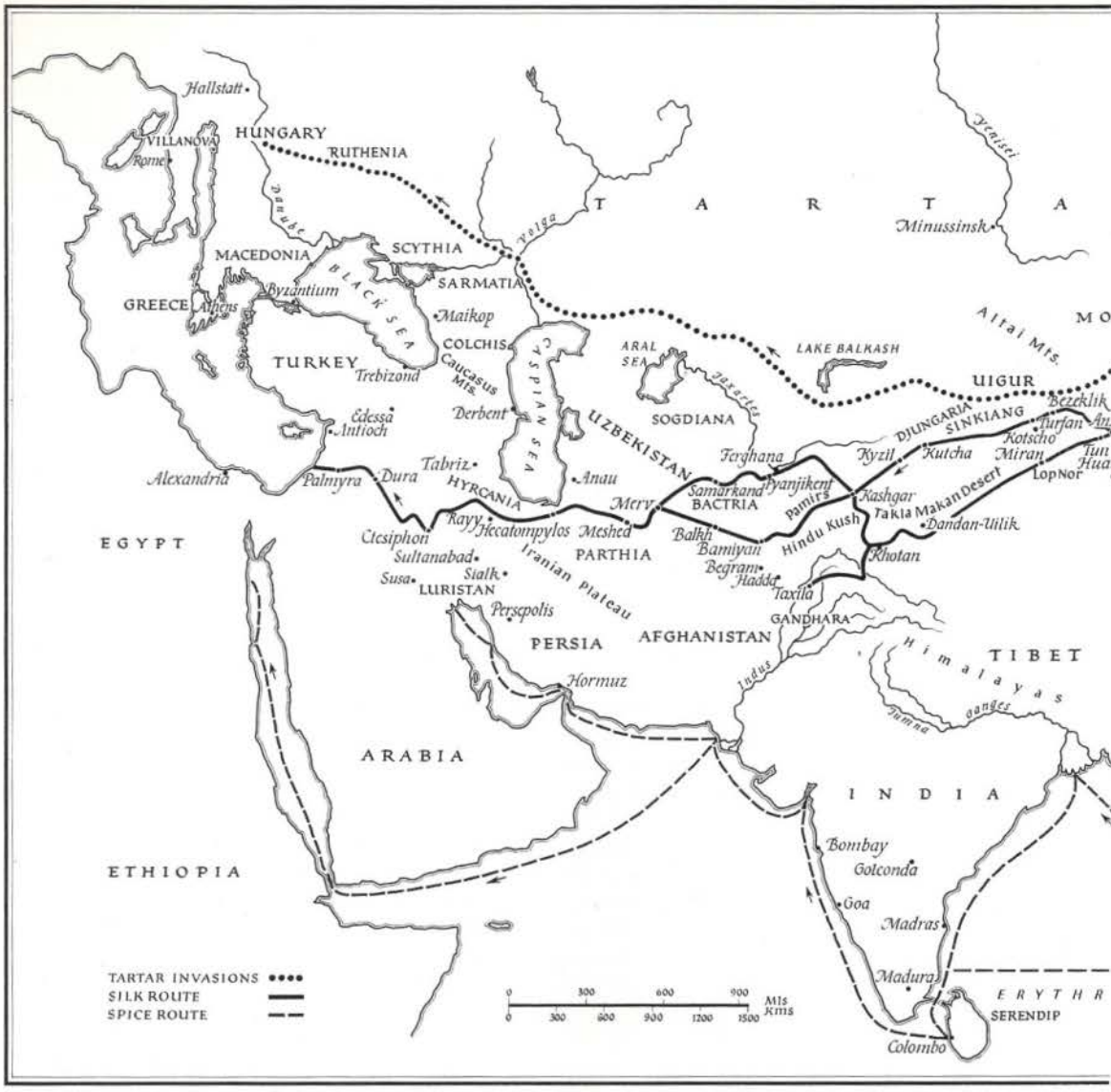
engaged in missionary work in Peking between about 1308 and 1318; Friar Odoric, who spent six years – between 1322 and 1328 – in northern China; John of Marignolli who reached Peking at the head of a papal embassy in 1342; and Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, the agent of the Florentine house of Bardi who wrote, in about 1340, a kind of merchant's manual concerning the trade with the East.

The long period of peace when, according to Pegolotti, the trade routes were secure, when Franciscan friars set up convents in China and Genoese merchants had a settlement at the port of Zaiton north of Canton, came to an end in 1368. In that year the Tatar dynasty was driven out by a revolution and was replaced by the native Ming dynasty. From then on and for the better part of two hundred years an iron curtain shut off Europe from China.

The rich contacts between Europe and China that had flourished from the mid-13th to the mid-14th century have fired the imagination of some scholars. They construed Chinese influence on landscape backgrounds in Sienese paintings of the 14th century and, moreover, made China responsible for a variety of aspects in European painting of the 15th century as well as later. There is no serious basis for such claims, quite apart from the chronological consideration that most of these posited influences would have had to have become operative after the contact with China was broken. The similarities between the painting of East and West are the result of convergence rather than of Western assimilation of Chinese imports.

After this warning example, the vexing problem of diffusion requires further consideration. The term 'diffusion' signifies only that migration of cultural products from one civilization to another has taken place. Cultural products do not, of course, migrate. People move about and may transport objects across wide spaces. Such transmissions may be accomplished in a great many ways: by the migrations of whole populations, by wars and conquests, as well as by wandering craftsmen, by traders, travellers, embassies, pilgrims, and missionaries.

The high civilizations of Europe and Asia are rightly regarded as entities with specific cultural characteristics of their own, but, in fact, conquering armies and vast shifts of populations have always convulsed the history of these areas and have led to ideological, technical, and artistic interchanges that tend towards a merging of culture with culture. The Achaemenid Empire of Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC) stretched from India to Egypt. Two hundred years later the West advanced and Alexander opened up the same part of Asia to Greek colonization. In the mid-3rd century BC the process was reversed: a Central Asian people, the Parthians, became rulers of Iran for five hundred years, but they also had to measure their strength against Roman might. Roman culture reached Afghanistan and the Indus valley. The successors of the Parthians, the Sasanians (AD 224–651) broke the Roman legions and thrust the West back into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. During this period of Sasanian power, the Roman Empire was wide open to oriental penetration. In the course of the 8th century AD the map of the Near East changed beyond recognition. Arab tribes had burst forth from the interior of their peninsula with irresistible force after the Prophet's death in 632, and within the span of a century they overran not only the large territories from Persia and India to Egypt but also drove on through North Africa to Spain, the greater part of which came under Islamic domination. The Islamic world soon adopted Persian culture, and Persian artisans were called upon to work for the Islamic conqueror from Samarkand to Gibraltar. The face of Asia changed once again with the all-embracing Mongol conquest. Mongol descendants, the Mughal Emperors, established their sovereignty over India and central Asia in the early 16th century and remained masters of the subcontinent for over three hundred years, while at the same time Turkish tribes became heir to the Near East, North Africa, and even large parts of the Balkans. No wonder that the East-West cultural exchanges and interpenetrations are infinite. Historians of science, of literature, and comparative languages have all contributed to the unravelling of these mutual influences. Hindu works on mathematics and medicine found their way to Muslim Cordoba and Christian Europe. Babylonian astrology, which gained a firm foothold in imperial Rome and the Hellenistic world, reached India, China, and Japan at an early period, in Persia met Arab scholars, and invaded Renaissance Italy through Arab sources that



2 Map showing the routes by which oriental influence reached the West

were translated in Spain into Hebrew and from Hebrew into Latin.

Our knowledge regarding commercial activities, explorations, and travellers' reports – besides those of the century of Tatar domination to which I have referred – is much fuller than is often realized. Herodotus and Ktesias had given descriptions of India, admittedly fanciful, even before Alexander's conquest. Later, in the 1st century AD, the sea route to India via the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea was opened. This route remained an important link between East and West, although only Arab traders handled the cargoes. The Mediterranean had always been an inland waterway that united peoples rather than kept them apart. At an early period of our era the old ports of Marseilles, Amalfi, Salerno, and Naples were wide open to oriental commerce. Venice's predominant share in the oriental trade dates back to the 10th century and Genoa's to the 11th. These great seafaring city-states followed a most liberal commercial policy; they preferred fighting each other for Eastern markets to combining forces against the Infidels. In the 13th century Venetian interests were entirely

cosmopolitan; they extended to the shores of the Black Sea, to Armenia and beyond. The commercial geography of the Middle Ages would not be complete without mentioning the trade routes that connected Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea through Russia with Constantinople and Baghdad, the principal trading centre for India and China. The importance of this route from the 9th century on is evidenced by the discovery in Sweden of many thousands of Arab coins from Samarkand and Baghdad, and along the shores of the Baltic, of upward of ten millions.

In 1497 Vasco da Gama opened the sea route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and seventeen years later the Portuguese reached China. Europe's explosive age of discovery initiated European supremacy throughout the world for four hundred years. Direct contacts with all parts of the globe were established, and there ensued the development of a vast travel literature – a repository of boundless information, a stimulus to further action, and a new vehicle for the diffusion of ideas. Diffusion took on an entirely new aspect. While Europeans sought to transmit mainly the questionable blessings of technical know-how and spiritual welfare, they often got more in return, especially works of art from all over the world, which soon began to accumulate in European and, later, American collections. Oriental styles ranging from Turkish to Chinese and Japanese captured European imagination.

Clarification of the roads of transmission is only the first step when dealing with the problem of diffusion. In considering the transplantation of forms, designs, and styles, we are faced with a triple challenge, from the simplest cases – the trading of objects and the migration of artisans – to the assimilation and adaptation of imported material, and then to its complete transformation. On the level of such artisan media as ceramics, metalwork, and textiles, modern techniques of research make it possible to establish conclusively how this kind of import was assimilated and transformed in a new cultural environment. But when we have to deal with works of 'high art' such as painting and sculpture, the same questions are more difficult to answer, owing to the fact that such creations are inseparable from philosophical and religious concepts. Even where, in the process of translation from one civilization to another, essentials of stylistic formulas or representational patterns survive, their meaning may have changed beyond recognition. This kind of change is surely true for the formal typology of the ancient Near East that reemerged, Christianized, in Romanesque art; for Greco-Roman sculpture that reached India, and even China transformed through Buddhist Gandhara mediation; and for much of the orientalism and exoticism that invaded Europe in recent centuries.

It is rarely possible to recapture fully the

thought processes behind the more complex transmissions and transformations. The fairly well-documented Sinomania in 18th-century Europe allows some insight into the nature of this kind of quest. Thinkers of the Enlighten-
1 ment embraced wholeheartedly Confucius' moral philosophy which, based upon reason and tolerance, seemed to offer a better foundation for a harmonious communal life than a revealed religion with its fanaticism, obscurantism, and intolerance.

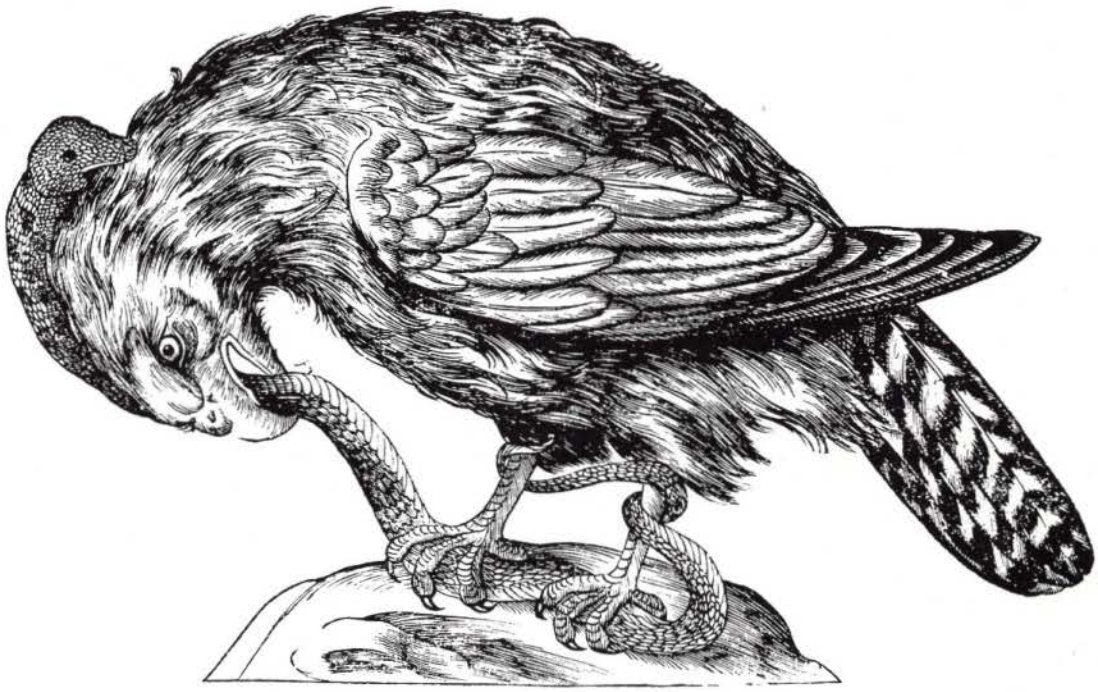
There is a large body of cultural material, perhaps best subsumed under the vague terms 'symbols' and 'archetypal images', that we encounter through long periods of time and wide spaces, the origins of which are lost in the early dawn of history. The gammadion or swastika, the winged globe, the Tree of Life, the eagle and snake, the Great Mother, the mythical hero as animal-tamer, the dragon, and the totemistic fauna of animals and monsters all form part of this material. Scholars who tread this complex territory diverge widely, for the permutations of both type and meaning seem almost infinite. Nevertheless, such symbols no longer elude the persistent and judicious investigator who, by inquiring into their pedigree and history, can often throw unexpected light on the give-and-take between East and West.

To talk of cultural homogeneity of East and West may sound strange, but let us recall a few simple and obvious facts. Large mountain ranges bisect the Asian land-mass and its western peninsula, Europe, into a southern half with rich geological formations and continuous access to the open sea and a northern half with wide, inner-continental, almost featureless plains that stretch from the Pacific to the Atlantic. All the high civilizations of antiquity – China, India, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome – lay in the southern belt. They all were urban civilizations with – broadly speaking – similarly structured societies. They all developed classic literatures, believed in a similar moral code and boasted great law-givers and founders of religions. They all produced monumental stone buildings and monumental sculpture and painting, focused on the representation of godhead, man, and beast. But despite such homogeneity, variety is the hallmark of these civilizations. Each had developed a distinct character of its own that was maintained throughout history.

By contrast, the wide steppes of the northern belt produced a fairly uniform nomad or semi-nomad civilization without any of the features peculiar to the southern urban civilizations. Thus, nomad art is the very antithesis of southern monumental art: nomad art is confined to portable objects, to weapons, implements of daily use, and personal ornaments; this art is, moreover, intrinsically abstract and, in spite of sober observation, tends to ornamentalize animal and man. The constant pressure of the semi-barbaric nations, from the northern borders of China all along the Asian mountain barrier to the Danube and the European heartland, erupted from time to time and engulfed the high civilizations. Obviously, the interpenetration of nomad and high-culture art continued without interruption for over two thousand years.

The stranger, the foreigner, the barbarian, and the race that is different were often endowed with grotesque and monstrous appearances. But misshapen men and animals, hybrid formations, hallucinatory deformations played a part in the thought and imagery of all peoples at all times. The tenacious belief in monsters – helpmates and evildoers, gods and demons – leads into the substratum of magic conceptions and rituals. The rise of Greek civilization is symbolized by the victory of the Olympian gods over chthonic monsters. Yet at the same time the Greeks created a large repository of monstrosities. Derived from the East, they were handed back to the East; they also nourished the European conception of monsters down the ages. East and West thus responded to the same galaxy of monsters.

The problem of cultural homogeneity linking Europe and the high civilizations of Asia has many facets. The West and China and Japan share an interest in art produced for edification, meditation, and aesthetic enjoyment, in the representation of the human body and face, in the narrative theme, in nature and the mute objects of our daily life, in the individual artist's self-surrender and emotive experience. At the same time the difference of interpretation of similar themes East and West, as well as similarities of formal approaches potentially embedded in different traditions, cannot be overlooked.



3 Eagle and serpent, from Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Ornithologia*, 1599

II EAGLE AND SERPENT

IN SEEKING to prove their case, 'diffusionist' ethnologists, who are concerned with the migration of symbols,[1] have perhaps paid insufficient attention to those historical periods and civilizations in which the transmission of rites, symbols and ideas is adequately documented. And their opponents have been inclined to forget that in many fields of historical study the diffusionist method is already regarded as the natural starting-point of any discussion and, indeed, has often become a highly developed technique of research. On the other hand, students of European history have long realized that it is not enough, in order to understand a particular historical situation, to know whence a symbol came and whither it went. This method needs to be supplemented by the 'functional' method: that is, the attempt to understand the significance of a particular symbol in a given context. European history provides such a quantity of documentary material that it has long been possible to apply to it the functional method with positive results.

In the present essay we shall deal with a very common symbol, the struggle between the Eagle and the Snake. Fights between eagles and snakes have actually been observed,[2] and it is easy to understand that the sight of such a struggle must have made an indelible impression upon human imagination in its infancy. The most powerful of birds was fighting the most dangerous of reptiles. The greatness of the combat gave the event an almost cosmic significance. Ever since, when man has tried to express a struggle or a victory of cosmic grandeur, the early memory of this event has been evoked.

Our procedure will be to argue from evidence to be found in the Mediterranean world. Since the migration of our symbol can be traced with certainty in Europe and the Mediterranean world of antiquity, it is reasonable to suspect that when the same symbol appears outside that area in different places and at different periods, it was not invented again independently, even if the connecting links are still missing. The most important part of such an investigation is the chronology, for the proof of the migration theory depends on it. Dates in ethnological material must quite often be based on uncertain suppositions; but in general, I hope, the chronological scheme here presented can be accepted.

The 'functional' method applied to the European material shows that the same pictorial symbol, although always expressive of identical pairs of fundamental opposites, has in each case a very distinct meaning in the special historical setting in which it occurs. Lack of space and lack of knowledge have compelled me to leave the non-European material in a more generalized form, although very often the exact function of the symbol could be worked out by specialists.

Diffusion of the symbol in non-classical civilizations

Representations of eagles are known on pottery and cut stones of the very earliest civilizations, in Babylonia, in Elam, and also in the Indus valley. In Elamite pottery from Susa, where the 4
persistence of an eagle-type can be followed up for many centuries from the early specimens of the 4th millennium,[3] the bird with outstretched wings appears in three different ways: first alone, secondly with a snake placed near it, thirdly grasping in its beak or talons its prey, which is sometimes a snake.[4]

It has been proved that in many fields a connection existed between the early Indus civilization and the cultures of Elam and Mesopotamia. As eagle representations are rare in the Punjab and in Sindh,[5] it may be inferred that the subject was introduced from the West without becoming indigenous in India. This inference is supported by the discovery at Harappa of a steatite pendant (*c.* 3000 BC) 5

4 Detail of vase from Susa II

5 Indian steatite pendant, *c.* 3000 BC

showing an eagle with two snakes placed symmetrically above its wings without touching the bird,[6] a type otherwise unknown in India.

The eagle is here probably a solar symbol. Such an interpretation need not altogether surprise us if we consider the stability of a number of symbols and conceptions in the Near East over thousands of years and the fact that later the eagle definitely appears as the bird of sun and heaven. In this context a sculpture in the round of an eagle, probably found at Adab,[7] is of importance. Taken by itself its meaning would be obscure, but it is really the first in a long series of similar free statues representing eagles, of which the latest examples are unquestionably solar in character.[8]

Moreover there seem to be traces of a connection between the eagle and light in Babylonian thought as early as in the 3rd millennium BC. Ningirsu, the god of the Sumerian town Lagash, is the god of fertility, of war and of storm, and in inscriptions of King Gudea (*c.* 2500 BC) he appears as the master controlling 'the order of the Heavens'.[9] The lion-headed eagle Imgi or Imdugud is the attribute of this god,[10] who sometimes actually takes on its shape.[11] Imdugud is the divine bird who 'shines on the firmament';[12] he is often associated with rays, and one inscription of Gudea suggests that he fights with the serpent.[13] From Hammurabi's time onwards (*c.* 2000 BC) the god Ninib clearly has the solar qualities which were apparently associated with Ningirsu since Gudea's reign, and Assyrian hymns narrate his fight with the monster.[14] Moreover it seems likely that Ningirsu himself was also a monster-killer[15]

6 Etana upon the eagle, Babylonian cylinder seal of the Sargonid Age, dynasty of Akkad (London, British Museum)

and that the vanquished monster is the daimon of darkness and evil.[16]

A fight between eagle and snake occurs in the Etana myth.[17] The eagle is first overpowered by the snake of the night,[18] but the hero Etana frees the bird, and as a reward the animal carries him up to heaven. To the eagle, the bird of light, the heavenly sphere is accessible.

We come across the transport of the hero on the eagle's wings in Babylonian seals of the 6

7 Babylonian seal, 3rd millennium BC

8 Eagle and serpent relief on a steatite or chlorite bowl from Bismaya, ancient Adab (Iraq), *c.* 2900–2700 BC (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum)

middle of the 3rd millennium BC[19] – the prototype of Ganymede and the source of the Roman apotheosis[20] – but representations of an actual fight between eagle and snake seem rather rare. 7 They occur on a seal of the 3rd millennium BC with an eagle heraldically grasping two snakes[21] and on the fragment in Constantinople of a 8 soapstone bas-relief from Adab[22] which had inlays of coloured paste and can be dated in the early dynastic period (first half of 3rd millennium).[23] As in both cases the eagle is victorious, a connection with the Etana myth, where the eagle is first vanquished and then liberated, is not possible. It is probably more correct to interpret these representations as Ningirsu's bird vanquishing the monsters of darkness, for this is confirmed by later developments. The type of the fragment in Constantinople with the snake standing upright close to the eagle so that both heads are on the same level is still dominant, more than three thousand years later, in Byzantine art as the symbol of Christ triumphing over Satan.

In Egypt as well as in Western Asia the kings are descended from the sun.[24] Pharaoh was the son of Rā, and appears as Horus, the divine falcon, who after Pharaoh's death flies to heaven.[25] The falcon here fulfils the same function as the imperial eagle in Roman apotheosis. The falcon is the only bird which can look unharmed into the rays of the sun, and it is at the same time the bird of oracles and prophecy.[26] Thus it has all the qualities of the eagle and it is only logical that in late Egyptian texts it should be replaced by the eagle, under whose image Horus is now venerated.[27]

The winged disk of Horus is the best known Egyptian symbol. It was set over every temple to ward off evil, in commemoration of the victory of Horus over the monster Set, of light and good over darkness and evil. The solar disk consists of three different parts: the actual disk, the wings of eagle or falcon attached to it, and two *uraeus* snakes. In early times the first two elements appeared alone; the snakes are a later addition and do not occur regularly before the Eighteenth Dynasty.[28]

The Egyptian solar disk recurs during the 9 2nd millenium in Western Asia[29] where it was identified with the solar eagle.[30] We find it very often in Hittite representations above the head of the king, where again it symbolizes the descent of the ruler from the sun. From here it was taken over into the Assyrian Pantheon as the sign of the solar god, Ashur, hovering over the heads of kings, and from Assyria it finally passed into Persia as the symbol of the god of light, Ahuramazda. In Assyrian representations the half-figure of the god Ashur frequently emerges from the solar disk. Both types, the simple solar disk and that with the god in the centre, passed on to Persia.

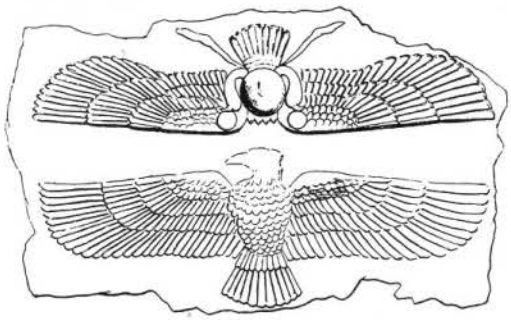
Large eagle statues have been found in various civilizations of Western Asia belonging to the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. The gigantic stone eagle from Yamoola in the Hittite Empire, 11

seven feet high, indicates the importance of this cult.[31] Some scholars interpret this eagle as holding a twisted serpent in its talons,[32] and, if this view is correct, it seems evident that the snake represents a vanquished opponent of the sun. Hittite eagle statues have been found as far away as Aleppo.[33]

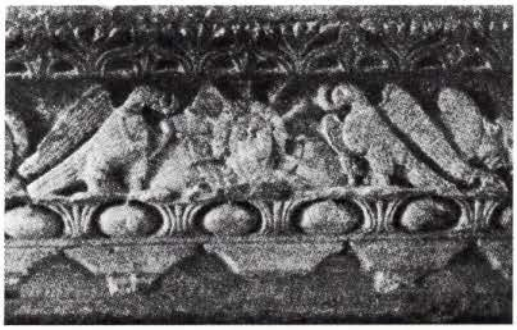
In Hellenistic and Roman times eagle statues still appear on Syrian soil,[34] though much reduced in size. They represent Helios and under their naturalistic form we can still sense the old Hittite conception. The link between the Hittite and the late Syrian monuments is provided by Assyria and Persia. There are many instances which suggest that the eagle as the bird of the sun was of fundamental importance in Persian belief and imagery. Zoroastrianism is based on the conflict between the god of light and goodness, Ahuramazda the eagle, and the power of darkness and evil, Ahriman the dragon.[35] Such late monuments as the lintel of
10 the porch of the sun-temple in Hatra, where a bust of Helios appears between two symmetrically arranged eagles with serpents in their beaks, is proof of the persistence of these ideas.[36]

Long before the foundation of the Achaemenid Empire (550 BC) eagle representations appear in the decorative stylized bronzes of
12 Luristan, made between the 9th and 6th centuries BC by the Persian mountain tribes who between 1761 – 1185 BC were masters of Babylonia and brought back to their homeland Mesopotamian ideas and symbols. In some of these bronzes eagles are placed above the heads of human figures.[37] We shall prove later that the eagle appears as the bird of resurrection in Syria from the 3rd century BC onwards and afterwards in imperial Rome and in Christianity. We have already seen that the falcon, whose function was later usurped by the eagle, was the bird of resurrection in late Egyptian civilization. The same association with the eagle can probably be found in archaic Greece,[38] and, in view of this chain we think it possible to ascribe the same meaning to the Luristan bronzes – all the more since they were found in graves.

We have already mentioned the fact that there was intercourse between the Near East and India in very early times.[39] Literary sources show that the Indian conception of the eagle is



9 Sun-disk and eagle, Phoenician relief from Aïn el Hayyât



10 Lintel in the Great Palace at Hatra, 1st century AD

11 Hittite Eagle from Yamoola, *c.* 1400 BC

12 Bronze funerary statuette from Luristan, 9th–6th century BC (Collection A. Godard)

13 Vishnu riding upon Garuda, contemporary coloured print

astonishingly near to that of the Near East and it has long been established that this is due to the exchange of ideas. One of Aesop's fables provides proof of a connection between India and Greece before Alexander the Great brought these two worlds into contact. The fable relates that in a fight between an eagle and a snake the latter was on the point of overpowering the bird when a reaper, witness of the fight, came to the help of the eagle and killed the snake with his sickle. Later on the grateful animal saved the same man from death. In the version of the fable known to us through Ælian the decisive element is the old antagonism of good and evil and the final victory of the good.[40] A story definitely related to this occurs in India.[41] It is an old point of discussion whether the fable migrated from India to Greece or vice versa.[42] Recently its origin has been placed hypothetically in the Achaemenid Empire of Darius.[43] But as the essential features of the tale: the overpowering of the eagle by the snake, the rescuing of the bird, and his gratefulness, already appear in the Etana myth there is no

14 Garuda and Naga, relief from Amaravati, 2nd century AD

15, 16 Garuda and Naga, drawings from frescoes at Qyzil, Turkestan, 7th–9th century AD

reason why the story should not belong to a very old stock of Babylonian tales, particularly since the origin of certain animal tales has been traced to Babylonia.[44]

Indian literature from the earliest times onwards relates the enmity between the eagle-like bird Garuda or Suparna and the snake 13 Naga. Garuda is the carrier of the sun-god Vishnu,[45] and Indra, in the form of an eagle, steals the soma, the drink of immortality.[46] Agni, the god of fire, is the eagle of the sky and a divine bird.[47] All the gods sing a hymn to Garuda in which he is addressed as the sun, Indra, Vishnu, Agni, etc.[48] It seems therefore certain, that the bird and snake fight had originally a cosmic meaning which was lost with the penetration of the motif into fairy tales and fables.[49] Buddha himself or his pupils successfully reconciled the hereditary cosmic feud between bird and snake.[50]

The fight of Garuda and Naga is a favourite subject in Indian art, particularly with the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara.[51] In such versions of the theme the Naga appears in human form, the type being clearly dependent on the Greek group of Ganymede by Leochares.[52] One also finds representations with a griffin-like Garuda under Near Eastern influence.[53] Particular importance attaches to an 14 Indian relief from Amaravati (2nd century AD, British Museum)[54] because it points to the Indian derivation of similar Oceanic works. 18

In the North, Garuda and Naga representations can be found in frescoes in Chinese 15, 16 Turkestan of the 7th-9th centuries AD.[55] But the heraldic type of these monuments with the double-headed eagle proves them to be offsprings of the same Western Asiatic prototypes, coloured by Persian influences, which we find in contemporary works in Byzantium.[56]

From India the eagle and serpent myth spread also to the East and South. It was carried into China with Buddhism[57] (introduced in China AD 65) and from here reached Japan through Korea.[58] With the dissemination of Indian culture it appears in the islands of Indonesia: in the Philippine Islands, in Sumatra, Borneo and Java.[59] In Java the Indian influence is particularly strong. One of the finest Javanese sculptures of about AD 1043 shows the portrait-statue of Airlanga, the first great king of Eastern 17 Java, in his apotheosis as Vishnu riding upon Garuda who holds a Naga in his talons[60] – exactly as deified Roman emperors appear on coins above the eagle of Zeus. As in the Near East, kings in India were of divine origin, and after their death they became once more the deity from whom they were descended.

From India the eagle and serpent myth spread over the wide regions of the Pacific.

17 Apotheosis of King Airlanga, stone sculpture from Belahan, Java, *c.* AD 1043 (Java, Museum of Mojokento)

18 Wood carving from New Ireland

Anthropologists have not yet satisfactorily explained the origin of the peoples in the Oceanic area, although we now know that a series of waves of migration from the west followed one after the other. It is now almost generally accepted that the last invaders of the islands had originally occupied India and had retired slowly to the islands of the Pacific before the advancing newcomers. The final settlement on the islands may not have been accomplished until about AD 1000.[61]

The many affinities of Indian and Polynesian mythology thus become intelligible by the contact of the two races. It is therefore not surprising to find in Melanesia and Polynesia a special bird-cult of definitely solar character. In Maori ceremonies of New Zealand the bird is called 'Manu-i-te-Ra', that is 'Bird in the Sun'. Its name is also changed to 'Tama-nui-te-Ra', the actual name for Sun.[62]

The southern tribes of Australia venerate their supreme god, who again is connected with a solar cult, in the shape of an eagle.[63] In Melanesia and Polynesia the fight of eagle and bird is a familiar theme. We know wood-carvings of the scene from New Guinea, New Ireland, New Zealand, and other islands of the 18
Pacific. [64] The bird is the totem sign of the dead, and the evil spirits conquered by it, are represented as serpents or lizards.[65] A great number of legends exist which relate this struggle and each carving is associated with a particular version of the story. There exist carvings in which the bird grasps the sickle of the moon instead of the serpent,[66] and this points to the fact that the fight of bird and snake was also associated with the old cosmic struggle of sun and moon, light and darkness.[67]

The highland of Iran is the centre through which Scythian tribes became acquainted with the eagle cult. The Scythians, who through their contact with the Greeks in the 7th century BC added to their Asiatic heritage a strong archaic Ionian influence, developed a distinct animal style in which fighting animals play a prominent role. But, unlike the heraldic style of Asia Minor or the Western naturalistic style this animal style follows its own laws of extreme decorative ornamentation, a style which in essence remained identical – in spite of many important changes – for fifteen hundred years over the whole north of Asia and Europe from the Pacific to Ireland. At a relatively early date (6th to 4th century BC) Scythian civilization spread along the Danube up to Eastern Germany on the one hand and into the steppes of Central and Northern Asia on the other hand. Thus representations of the eagle occur not only in Southern Russia,[68] east of the Bosphorus, but also in the famous find ploughed up near Vettersfelde in Lower Lusatia (Germany, end of the 6th century BC),[69] as well as in Little Russia west of the Urals[70] and in 19

Northern Siberia.[71] Some of these objects closely recall Persian art, and even sometimes Babylonian types.[72] On the other hand we know
20 of a Scythian sword-sheath of the 6/5th centuries BC ornamented with a griffin-like bird holding a snake in its beak which is related to the archaic Greek tradition.[73] The long life of the Scythian types and the contact of Scythia
21 and India can be illustrated by an Indian seal, a thousand years later in date, which derives from a work such as the sword-sheath illustrated here.[74] The Indian seal can perhaps be interpreted as a Garuda-Naga group.

The solar conception of the eagle migrated from Iran through Scythia to the Mongolian countries of the North. But the Persian-Scythian filtration was not the only way by which the eagle symbolism reached Siberia. India is the second centre which – probably at a later date – strongly influenced the northern regions. The eagle plays still today an important part in the religious thought, the myth and the magic of the Mongols of Siberia.[75]

In Mongolian tales there appears an evil snake, which the hero Otshirvani engages in battle. As his power was not sufficient to crush the animal he fled to a mountain – the Mountain of the World familiar in many mythologies – and changed himself into the bird Garide. In this shape he was able to overcome the monster. The names of the Mongolian Pantheon reveal the origin of this myth. Otshirvani is a distortion of the Indian Bodhisattva as Garide derives from the Indian Garuda.[76] With most of these Siberian tribes the eagle is taboo. The bird is the master of the sun, which appears after being called six times by him.[77] As totem of the North Siberian Yakuts it is called Tañara, that is 'the protector'. Now, Tänära appears to be the solar deity of Turkish tribes.[78] The eagle as master of light, as founder of the world, and as father of magic[79] is called 'Ajȳ' by the Yakuts, the same term (Aijo, Aija) occurs with the Lapps and the Finns (Aijä).[80] The same complex of ideas associated with the solar nature of the eagle is to be found in a great number of tribes, from the Ainu,[81] the aborigines of Japan, and the Yakuts in North Eastern Siberia, the Manchu-Tunguses[82] and the Mongol-Buriats[83] to the Turks and the European Finns.[84] With all these peoples we find the same characteristic combination of the eagle cult with the Mountain

19 Copper eagle from Perm, *c.* 500 BC

20 Scythian sword sheath, 6th–5th century BC

21 Indian steatite seal, from Taxila, Mohra Moradu, 5th century AD

of the World and the Tree of the World, [85] two elements of universal occurrence which can again be traced back to Babylonia.

In exact correspondence with these mythological conceptions of the Altaic and the Finno-Ugric races we find in Germanic mythology Odin in the form of an eagle nesting in the Tree of the World. Under its root dwells the snake; while trying to tear down the tree it is attacked by the eagle.[86] It seems that these conceptions were introduced rather late into Northern Europe. The sun cult was known already to the inhabitants of Sweden during the Stone Age.[87] But there is no trace of a special function of the eagle before the great nordic epics were composed at the end of the 1st millennium AD.[88]

It is one of the achievements of ethnological research of the last decades to have shown in many fields the connection of Ancient America with the Old World, a hypothesis already propagated by Alexander von Humboldt. It is now believed that the American continent was populated by aborigines coming from Asia at a time when a land-bridge existed in place of the Bering Strait, and that even at much later periods continuous waves of immigration followed the same route and also came across the Pacific.[89] In many fields of civilization a common Asiatic-American stock of beliefs and traditions can be established, not only with regard to the primary implements of civilization, such as the stone axe – *toki*, the same word in Melanesia, North and South America[90] – the canoe, baskets, etc.,[91] but also with regard to the complex conceptions of magic and divination, astronomical observations and folklore.[92]

The ethnographical unity of North Eastern Siberia and North Western America has long been recognized.[93] The Chukchee, a tribe of North Eastern Siberia, are acquainted with the giant Noga-bird which preys on reindeer and man, elks and whales; and the tales about it show definite affinity with the Perso-Arab bird Roc and stories of 'Sindbad the Sailor' (see p. 95). Exactly the same stock of legends occur in Alaska.[94] With all these tribes the eagle is known in the twofold function as ruler of the world and as shaman; it is also the thunderbird, and, even to the present day, taboo.[95] Sometimes it is identified with the raven which appears as a solar bird over wide regions, from China and Japan to north-east Asia and north-west America.[96]

It is well known that for the Indians of North America the eagle is a special object of worship. Many tribes venerate eagle deities; the eagle plays a prominent role as a totemic animal, is associated with sky- and sun-gods and appears depicted on pottery, textiles, shields, etc. [97] But there are much stronger links with the conceptions of the Old World. In the myths of the Kwakiutl, an Indian tribe on Vancouver Island, the poisonous double-headed water serpent which has the power to transform everything, men and objects, into stone, is the food of the thunderbird, the chief of the birds associated with the sky.[98] Moreover we find among the Indians of North America a number of versions of Aesop's fable of the grateful eagle which we related above.[99] We do not know if this story is traceable between India and North America, but in view of all our arguments it is much more probable that the connecting links have been lost than that the story was invented more than once.

The eagle motif is of paramount importance in the civilizations of Central and South America appearing again with the same implications as in the Old World. The Cora Indians, who belong to the linguistic family of the Old Mexicans, have the following myth: in the West lives a powerful snake, symbol of the night, which is killed by the morning-star, and devoured by the eagle, the day-sky. The power of this belief was such that people enacted the overcoming of night by day in a magical ritual: they represented this scene at dawn in mimic dances. The myth has it that the eagle lives at night near the fire, with which it is identical. As solar bird and bearer of the surname of the sun god, it rises to heaven at daybreak and takes its place in the centre of the sky.[100]

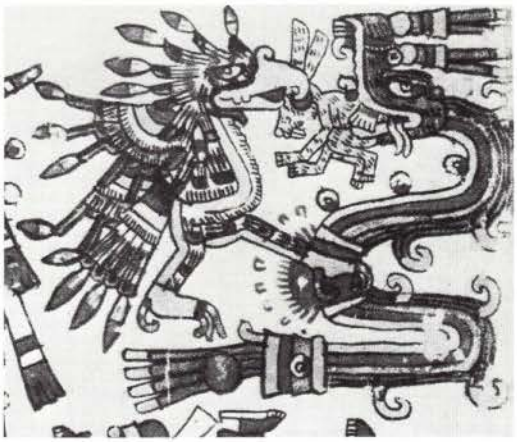
The conception of the old Mexicans is very similar. In the morning prayer the rising sun is invoked as an ascending eagle.[101] The sun, the supreme deity appears in the shape of an eagle and tears to pieces a snake and a rabbit, symbols of night-sky and moon.[102] The scene is often represented in Mexican manuscripts.[103] The same symbolism occurs in the strange ritual of human sacrifices, the keynote of Mexican religion. The heart and blood of the victim were offered to the sun-god in a bowl,

with the sign of the sun in its centre and a border, representing eagle feathers. Underneath the earth monster is carved. Such bowls which the Mexicans called 'cup of the Eagle'[104] are not rare in European collections.[105] This sacramental ritual was intended to increase the vigour of the sun and to rejuvenate nature.[106] The ritual is still more complicated, as the warriors who offer the victims are themselves identified with eagles. The conventional designation of brave warriors is actually 'eagle',[107] and there exist shields with the image of the eagle holding a serpent in its beak, just as on Corinthian vases.[108]

The eagle tearing a serpent whilst sitting on a nopal cactus is the old emblem of the Mexicans. It is in fact the hieroglyph of the Aztec centre of civilization, the town Mexico-Tenochtitlan, which was founded about 1325. A detailed analysis has shown that the name Mexico-Tenochtitlan is merely a designation of the old cosmological contrast of sun and darkness.[109] This national emblem has proved to be of extraordinary tenacity; it survived the Spanish conquest of the 16th century, the short reign of the Emperor Maximilian (1864–67),[110] and is still used at the present day by the Mexican
23 Republic as a coat-of-arms and on coins,[111] although it has long lost its magic power.

The Incas, probably coming from the north, united the indigenous tribes of Peru. Connected as they were in many ways with the Aztecs of Mexico, their religion was based on sun worship and their government was a theocracy founded on the divine kingship of the rulers who claimed to be the direct representatives of the sun on earth. Manco Capac, the child of the sun and reputed founder of Inca civilization (*c.* 1100),[112] was joined in his childhood by an eagle which never left him. This recalls many Asiatic legends, among which the most famous is the legend that Achamenes, the ancestor of the Persian dynasty, was brought up by an eagle.[113] The 'Ganymede-motif' which was also known to the Indians of North America[114] appears again in the Peruvian setting. The life of Manco Capac's grandfather was saved by an eagle which carried him away in its talons.[115] The eagle in Peru is clearly a solar symbol.

The Inca tradition also incorporates the fight between eagle and snake. A Peruvian legend recalls that the Inca Pachacutec (15th century)



22 Mexican miniature, from Codex Borgia (Rome, Vatican Library)

23 Mexican peso, 1891

once vanquished an enemy tribe with the help of an eagle which descended from heaven and overcame the snake, the supporter of the enemy.[116] Whether or not these two animals should be regarded as totems, the fact remains that through the eagle the child of the sun achieves victory over evil in the shape of the snake.

When Columbus landed on the coast of Costa Rica, he saw the natives wearing necklaces of gold in the form of eagles, lions and other animals. Modern excavations in the south of Costa Rica (Talamanca) have yielded many of these amulets, among which appear eagles 24
carrying in their beaks serpents shaped like lightning.[117] Traces of sun-worship were discovered by early travellers in these regions, which, being placed half way between the

24 Gold amulet from Talamanca, Costa Rica (London, Museum of Mankind)

Mayas of the North and the Inca Empire of the South, were influenced by these highly developed civilizations.[118] It seems therefore justifiable to associate the eagle and snake amulets with sun-worship.

The reader will have noticed that in discussing the occurrence of the eagle symbolism in America we have been dealing with relatively late dates, and, in view of the earlier migration of such symbols, which we have traced from Western Asia through India to Polynesia on the one hand, through Scythia to Eastern Siberia on the other, it seems likely that these symbols travelled slowly to America along these routes. Although so far we have been dealing with scattered and fragmentary material, we have been able to show that the meaning of our symbol varied in different contexts, that the eagle could be the bird of kingship as well as of prophecy, of magic as well as of mantic, an attribute of the sun as well as a symbol of resurrection, that its struggle with the serpent could denote earthly victory or triumph on a more cosmic scale. But when we turn to more recent history and examine the occurrence of the same symbols in European culture since classical times, we shall be able to determine with much greater exactness the variations in their meaning – remembering, however, that all these variations are linked up by a single basic idea: the struggle of eagle and serpent always represents the fundamental opposition of light and darkness, good and evil.[119]

Greece and Rome

If we now turn to the Mediterranean world, we are faced with a number of puzzling problems. Classical archaeologists have collected the relevant material in Greece and Rome,[120] but without always offering satisfying interpretations. In the following notes I shall only attempt to suggest possible solutions for some few of the vast number of recorded instances of eagle symbolism.

In Greek mythology the eagle is the only bird of strictly divine character.[121] In a chapter entitled 'The Sun as the Bird of Zeus', Cook[122] argues convincingly that in early Greek belief the sun was already conceived as a bird. Cook also proves that in pre-Hellenic times Zeus, before becoming the anthropomorphic individual sky-god of the Greeks, was the animate Sky itself.[123] It is true that in early Greek religion there was no room for a proper solar cult. Only after the supersession of demons and earth-gods by the Olympians does the sky become the centre of the anthropomorphic Greek Pantheon and the eagle find its place by the side of the sky-god Zeus. The conception of the eagle as bearer of the thunderbolt and as carrier of lightning and fire (πυρφόρος),[124] so familiar to us with the bird of Zeus, is a common denominator in a great many civilizations.

But the eagle is not only the attribute of Zeus; it is often identified with the god.[125] This identification confirms the view that the eagle was originally the sky. An old myth supports this view; it relates that Zeus in the form of an eagle came from his birthplace in Crete to Naxos.[126] It is also tempting to relate the eagle cult in Asia Minor to that of Greece.[127] Just as the eagle stood on top of a column next to the altar in the temple at Tell Halaf,[128] so before the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion were two columns with figures of gilded eagles facing the sunrise.[129]

There are other instances pointing to the early association of the eagle with light. In Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (212 f.) the sun is invoked as the bird of Zeus. In popular belief the eagle still haunts the heights of Olympus as a symbol of the sun.[130]

The eagle is also in Greece and Rome the bird of divination *par excellence*.[131] We have here again the old double nature of the eagle as bird

of light and bird of magic common to many civilizations.[132] These two sides are reflected in Greek literature in the fight of the eagle with the snake.

The fighting motif occurs for the first time in the Iliad (XII, 201 ff.), here with a specifically mantic meaning. An eagle with a snake in its beak appears above the heads of the Trojans while they assault the ships of the Greeks. The snake liberates itself from the claws of the bird, and falls into the Trojan lines. This is taken as a bad omen, and, in fact, the attack on the ship fails. Aristophanes still uses the same symbol for a political oracle, but makes a travesty of it (*Knights*, 197 ff.). In the mystic atmosphere of late Greek civilization the magic power attached to this symbol is strange enough to be explicitly mentioned. Apollonius of Tyana (2nd century AD) tries to get rid of a snake plague by putting on a column the figure of an eagle with a snake in its claws. In a rite of sympathetic magic he employs the symbol of the good to overcome the evil.[133] As the bird of magic the eagle is especially significant in the interpretation of dreams.[134] These qualities have an inexhaustible underground life in folklore. Eagle and snake or bird and monster survive in the
25 books of dreams of the Middle Ages.[135]

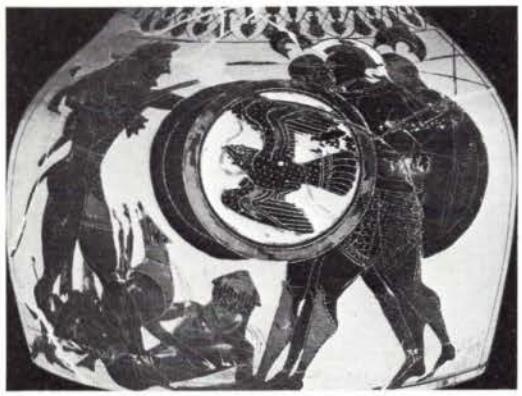
It is instructive to compare a Roman tale in Dio Cassius[136] with Homer's narrative. In Caesar's fight against the younger Pompey the eagles of Pompey's legions dropped golden thunderbolts from their talons into his camp, and then flew off to the camp of Caesar, thus indicating that the victory would be with the latter. Here the thunderbolts bring destruction, like the snake in Homer. In both cases the bird of victory carries the symbol of defeat. This parallelism of snake and thunderbolt points back to a magical stage in which the zigzag form of the snake made it the natural equivalent for lightning.[137]

In its classical period Greek civilization evolved a scientific natural history. Aristotle[138] states that eagle and snake are enemies and that the eagle feeds on the snake. But besides this scientific statement we can see in Aristotle a survival of the old association of the eagle with light and sky. For he goes on to say that the eagle flies to great heights in order to have a wide view. This is the reason why this bird alone is held by man to be the bird of the gods.

25 Drawing from a German Book of Dreams, 15th century (London, British Museum, MS Add. 15696)

26 Greek cinerary urn from Grächwil, 6th century BC (Berne, Historical Museum)

There exist a number of scattered early monuments showing the fight of eagle and snake. In the versions on Minoan[139] and early Greek engraved stones[140] the struggle can only have talismanic significance. At a much later period, according to literary tradition,[141] King Areos of Sparta used a signet ring with this symbol as a protective amulet: evil (snake) is to



27 Greek black-figure vase, 6th century BC (London, British Museum)

29 Greek coin from Elis, 5th century BC (London, British Museum)

28 Corinthian vase (Heidelberg University)

be warded off by the magic effect of the picture.

In a special case it seems possible to show that in early Greek thought the eagle was connected with the souls of the dead. The famous bronze hydria of Grächwil (near Berne),[142] the product 26
of a Greek workshop of the 6th century BC, has a handle decorated with the 'Great Mother', the Mistress of Animals of oriental origin. To the left and right of her head are chthonic snakes, and on her head stands the eagle, a unique feature which can only be explained through the function of the vessel as a cinerary urn.[143]

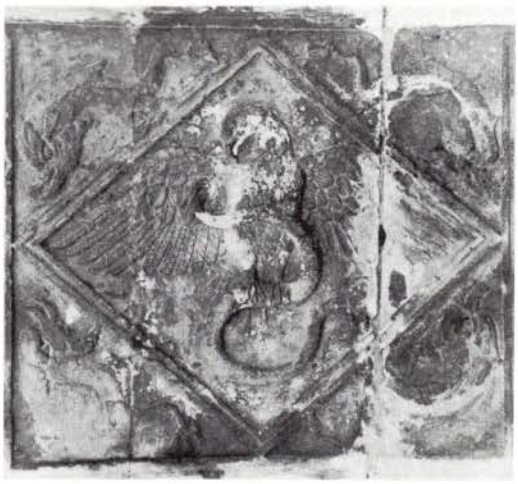
There are two larger groups of objects showing the fight of eagle and snake. In the first, consisting of Corinthian vases of the 6th century, the device occurs with its mantic significance. The eagle alone, or eagle and serpent, are the accompaniment of the departing warrior,[144] or appear hovering above the head of the seer[145] – omens, as in the story of the Iliad. And when the Greek warrior decorated 27
his shield with the symbol, it was to attract victory by an act of sympathetic magic: as the eagle kills the snake, so the warrior will slay his enemies.[146] In such cases the symbol is relevant to the story told on the vase, but when it occurs as the only decoration it is related directly to the 28
spectator in an apotropaic sense, like the contemporary 'eye-cups'.[147] It is, of course, difficult to decide when the device has sunk to the stage of pure ornament.

The second group in which the symbol frequently appears consists of coins of Greek cities 29
particularly between the 6th and 3rd centuries

BC.[148] There are reasons for supposing that in this context it was often used to bring about or to preserve political or athletic victory.[149] This is obvious in coins from Elis in which Nike appears on the reverse; in coins from Cyrene, which show the eagle-snake symbol on one side and the quadriga on the other; and in coins from Agrigentum, in which eagle and snake hover above the quadriga.[150] Sophocles in *Antigone* (110 ff.) employs the fight of eagle and snake as a simile for the fighting armies and it was even used in the same sense by Horace in the famous fourth ode (Book IV). In modern times the image is still used as a symbol of victory and as a political emblem; it conveyed the same meaning to the enlightened Greek communities of the classical period, though the mantic implications seem still to be quite alive.[151]

In the Roman Empire too the eagle had a political and military bearing. The eagle of the legions is the emblem of Roman power and majesty.[152] When the conquest of the snake by
30 the eagle appears on the Triumphal Arch at Pola[153] it is an emblem of victory and triumph. In this case one can still discover an apotropaic echo – just as in the coins of Greek cities – but when the symbol appears on the base of the Farnese Bull it seems to have become a pure emblem. Zethos and Amphion bind Dirke to the horns of the bull because she had tormented their mother. She must now suffer death at the hands of the righteous as the evil snake is killed by the eagle.[154]

But the symbol plays a more important part in the religious sphere. The eagle is the bird of apotheosis and resurrection. As Jupiter is
31 carried aloft by the eagle[155] so the soul of the
32 deified emperor is carried by him to heaven.[156] But this device is not limited to the emperor; it
33 also occurs on Roman tombstones,[157] and when
34 it is replaced by the fight between eagle and snake[158] it signifies the triumph of the heavenly realm over the dark chthonic forces. The occurrence of the symbol on the famous sarco-
36 phagus in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura is particularly instructive. Cumont[159] has shown that the bacchic representations on the group of sarcophagi to which it belongs, illustrate the Dionysiac enthusiasm at the prospect of eternal happiness in heaven. The small eagle-snake device which accompanies the large Bacchic



30 Detail from the vault of the Triumphal Arch at Pola, Yugoslavia, 1st century AD

31 Zeus upon the eagle, Hadrianic coin from Alexandria (London, British Museum)

32 Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius, coin (London, British Museum)

33 Tomb of Q. Pomponius Eudemon (Rome, Vatican Museum)

34 Detail from a Roman tomb (Rome, National Museum)

35 Syrian relief from Suweida

36 Detail from a sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, 3rd century AD

scenes must stand for some such idea as the victorious liberation of the soul.[160]

This sarcophagus also shows the source of these ideas. It was made in Athens at the beginning of the 3rd century AD on the basis of Syrian models.[161] On Syrian soil Hellenistic religion was the vehicle for the revival of old Asiatic solar conceptions. In the Greco-Roman age the local Semitic Baals were everywhere assimilated to and identified with Zeus,[162] and Zeus was transformed from the sky-god to the sun-god so that his eagle became the bird of Helios.[163] Under this spell even the Hebrew Jehovah was turned into a solar Zeus; the Jews of the Dispersion called their god *Theos Hypsistos*,[164] and represented him as an eagle.[165] And just as in the Mithraic liturgy the initiates enter heaven as eagles,[166] the bird of Helios is endowed with the task of carrying the soul of the deceased up to the sun.[167] Tombstones with representations of the eagle occur often in Levantine art from the 3rd century BC onwards,[168] and even in Arabia.[169] These tombs also show the bird killing the snake[170] or both creatures separately,[171] symbols which can only stand for the deliverance of the soul from earthly chains. Diodorus' description of the

35

37

37 Drawing from a Lydian tomb, 2nd century BC

pyre prepared by Alexander the Great for the body of Hephaistion must be interpreted in this sense: on the second storey of the pyre there were eagles bending down towards snakes.[172]

The varied use made of the eagle-snake symbol in the Greco-Roman world may seem puzzling at first. Yet it is not difficult to explain how the same sign can assume at the same time a supernatural and a distinctly worldly meaning. Both uses have their roots in primitive magic and ritual. Both are based on the belief in the practical efficacy of symbols. Since material victory and spiritual salvation are not distinguished, the same sign if painted on a shield will bring victory in battle, and if carved on a tombstone will secure immortality. Moreover, the simultaneous use of the symbol for divination on the one hand, and for victory on the other, can be understood as implied in the natural development of society. Frazer has shown that the king in many parts of the world is the lineal successor of the magician in primitive society;[173] therefore the eagle as the sign of magicians and kings is identical, and the magician overcoming the powers of darkness is in another stage of society equivalent to the king vanquishing his enemies.

The Christian interpretation

Christianity, which grew up in the midst of the Syrian solar cults, turned the eagle symbolism into a specifically Christian formula.[174] The actual identification of Christ with the sun, and therefore with the eagle, became an integral part of patrological and later theological literature.[175] On the Antioch chalice (*c.* 4th–5th century AD) Christ is enthroned with the eagle under his footstool, like a new Jupiter.[176] And the eagle appears as a hieroglyph for Christ in a great many oriental capitals of the 5th and 6th centuries AD, as well as on mosaics and sarcophagi of the same period. Together with other symbols of faith, victory and eternity it occurs on innumerable Coptic tombstones where, with reference to the Psalm (103, v. 5), 'thy youth is renewed like the eagle's', the old idea of resurrection and salvation lives on.[177]

But Christian eagle symbolism covers a much wider range of meaning. A number of different ideas current in the Hellenistic world were taken up by the Christians and adapted to the exposition of their faith. In reviewing the situa-

38 Christ above the eagle, detail from the Antioch Chalice, silver, partially gilt, *c.* 5th century AD (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection)

tion one finds that round the eagle four main subjects were evolved.

The Greek *Physiologus*, a collection of animal tales with Christian allegorizations probably brought together in Egypt in the 2nd century AD, contains the following story about the eagle: When he grows old, his flight becomes heavy and his eyesight dim. He first seeks a pure spring of water, then flies aloft towards the sun, burns off his old feathers and the film over his eyes. Finally he flies down to the spring, dives into it three times, thereby renewing himself and becoming young again. This curious story is used as a simile for man: when the eyes of his heart are grown dull, he should fly aloft to the sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, and rejuvenate himself in the ever flowing spring of penance in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[178] This is meant as an interpretation of the words of the psalm mentioned above: 'so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.'

This same text was also accompanied by another legend. In Augustine's commentary on the Psalm[179] we read: 'In a way suggested by nature he dashes his beak against a rock and smashes off the encumbrance, and so returns to his food; in everything he is restored, so that he becomes young. Hence, thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.' The rock is Christ (I Cor. X, 4) and He is the means of resurrection.

Still another quality of the eagle occurs in early Christian literature, prominently in Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*[180] (*c.* 389). He tells us that the eagle rears only one of its two eaglets and kills the other. He rejects Aristotle's opinion that this is done because the eagle is too mean to feed two offspring; he quotes Moses[181] as his testimony for the eagle's sense of pity. Ambrose argues that the eagle flies with its young into the rays of the sun to find out which of them is the true offspring and which the changeling. The bird that cannot endure to look into the glaring light will die, and its death is therefore actually brought about by the eagle's intrepidity.

In the Pseudo-Ambrose's *Sermones* we find the story of the eagle and the snake. The devouring of the snake by the eagle is interpreted as a simile for Christ overcoming Satan.[182]

These are the four main aspects of the eagle symbolism in early Christian literature: the bathing in the Fountain of Life, and the sharpening of the beak, which stand for rejuvenation through baptism and penance; the flight towards the sun as a symbol of intrepidity, or in other words of the unshakable belief in Christ; and the fight against the snake as the victory of Christ over Satan.

The *Physiologus* story of rejuvenation is made up of at least three different main motifs: the preliminary flying towards the sun,[183] fall and rebirth, and the 'pure spring'. The Water of Life is one of the universal myths familiar in the Near East for thousands of years. Fall and resurrection – for the rejuvenation of the *Physiologus* is a spiritual resurrection – has also a long history in the East. We may call to mind the Etana myth where this motif occurs in another setting.[184] But the whole idea is a direct offshoot of the pagan designation of the eagle as the bird of resurrection.

Our second tale about the bending of the eagle's beak with growing age occurs in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*.[185] But according to him the bird must die of starvation. This story is of Egyptian origin, as we find it in Horapollo[186]: 'Desiring to represent an old man, dying of hunger, they paint an eagle with its beak extremely hooked; for as it grows old its beak becomes extremely hooked, and it dies of hunger.'

The passage of the Psalm on which both rejuvenation tales comment must be an adaptation of the old Egyptian legend of the miraculous Phoenix which renews its youth every 500 years.

Although we can thus trace antecedents of the two rejuvenation allegories their composite epic character limits their use to the Christian world. This is also partly true with the story of the eagle's flight towards the sun to test its offspring. The tale actually consists of two different parts: the solar flight and the test, and this must be a relatively late fusion. It is also perhaps first to be found in Egypt;[187] it is related by Aristotle, and later by Pliny, Aelian and many other ancient writers.[188] From these sources the combined motifs migrate into the writings of a great many Christian authors.

The solar flight alone has a much longer pedigree. In a way the solar flight of the eagle and its fight against the serpent are two sides of the same problem. The solar flight and the gazing into the sun symbolize the sun-nature of

the eagle, [189] and the fight with the snake the victory over the powers of darkness.

In contrast to the eagle-snake motif the dissemination of the three other eagle-motifs ensues primarily through literary channels. In the later revisions of the *Physiologus* all three motifs occur together. From the early sources they migrate singly or together into the bestiaries of the later Middle Ages.[190] Another way of filtration is through the encyclopaedists, from Isodore and Rabanus Maurus to Vincent of Beauvais and Brunetti Latini. A last channel is formed by the histories of natural science which since the 13th century (Thomas of Cantimpré and Albertus Magnus) take up the tradition of Aristotle and Pliny but always mingle it with features of the Christian animal tales. From now on the popular animal tales live side by side with learned works. But there exist many transitions, for a great number of authors tried to combine both trends. This type of literature ends in the late 16th and 17th centuries with
3 the erudite works of Gesner, Aldrovandi and Bochart,[191] who in an encyclopaedic attempt such as has never been undertaken since, collected an enormous mass of material about the eagle, scientific as well as legendary, from Christian, ancient and even Arabic sources.[192]

The only motif readily expressible in visual terms, the fight of eagle and snake, although described in a number of ancient authors from Aristotle to Cicero,[193] occurs rarely in Christian theological literature,[194] but retains unimpaired its old efficacy as a pictorial symbol.

It seems that the symbol did not become current in Christian imagery before the 6th or 7th century AD. At that time we find it established in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; it occurs in Syrian MSS,[195] on a church wall in
39 Athens,[196] or on an Egyptian incense box,[197] always reminding the spectator of the Christian mystery of salvation. But the period in which the symbol is commonest begins in the 10th century and culminates in the 12th and 13th centuries.

After our survey of the pre-Christian history of this symbol its migration into Europe can easily be disentangled.[198] Early Christian artists were faced with two basic pictorial types of the symbol, the eastern and the Greco-Roman. The stylized heraldic composition of the Near East had been transformed into the naturalistic

39 Coptic incense box in bronze, *c.* 7th century (Paris, Louvre)

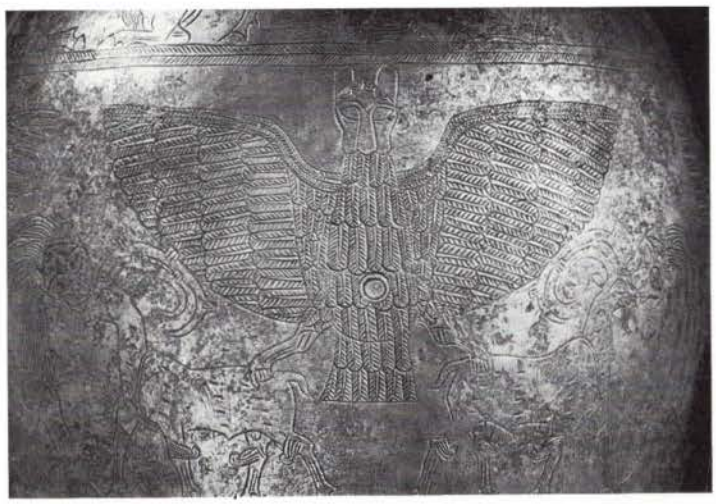
Greco-Roman group even in the frontier provinces of the Roman Empire. But under the surface the oriental type survived, coming to the fore again in Byzantine times. On the other hand the Western naturalistic conception never loosened its grip throughout the centuries.

The oriental type found its way to Europe directly through Byzantium or with the Arab migration through Spain. This explains the appearance of very similar representations in Spanish Beatus MSS of the 10th to the 12th 50
centuries[199] and on a relief on the façade of the ancient Metropolis in Athens (6th–7th century 41
AD).[200] In both cases the bird is shown in profile pecking at the head of the snake which stands erect before it, its body twisted into a curious knot. This type is strongly influenced by Persian designs of Sassanian times on bronze jugs and silver bowls, but it can be traced back to Babylonian prototypes of the 3rd millennium.

Another similar oriental type, with the eagle seen frontally, bottle-like in shape, its legs straddled and its tail spread out, points to an

40 Detail from a manuscript of the Gospels, *c.* 800 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 176, f. 62r)

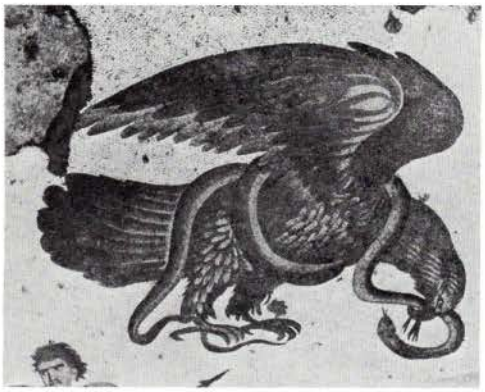
41 Detail from a relief on the façade of the Ancient Metropolis, Athens, 6th–7th century AD

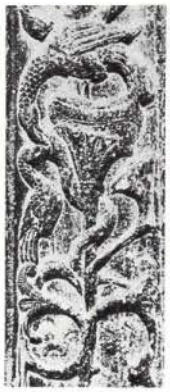


42 Detail from the silver and bronze vase of King Entemena, *c.* 2900 BC (Paris, Louvre)

43 Detail from the wooden door of St Nicolas, Ochrida, 13th–14th century

44 Marble relief, Byzantine, 11th century (London, British Museum)





45 Mosaic from the Great Palace at Constantinople, *c.* AD 400

46 Detail from the frame of the main door, S. Nicola, Bari, 2nd half 12th century

47 Detail from the inlaid pavement, S. Miniato al Monte, Florence, 13th century

42 even more direct influence of early Babylonian representations. The purest embodiment of this type can perhaps be found on a rather late
43 monument, the wooden door of St Nicolas in Ochrida in Macedonia, datable to the 13th or 14th century.[201]

44 A Byzantine relief of the 11th century in the British Museum unites both these types. Two eagles in profile standing on hares are placed symmetrically on either side of the central group of eagle and snake, which appears in the frontal position with the body of the snake twisted. 'Eagle on hare' is a symbol widely disseminated in the Old World, and it plays an important part in Christian thought.[202] Just as the serpent stands for the devil, the hare stands for the quick course of human life.[203] Since Christ vanquishes the devil, the sign of salvation can appear over the symbol of man.

It is not always easy to determine how far the fight between eagle and snake has a symbolic significance. As long as it appears on the wall or the door of a church, as in Athens or Ochrida, the symbolic intention is evident: this is still the same apotropaic practice which induced the Egyptians to place the solar disk above their temples. But when we find the motif on the wooden box at Terracina[204] where the eagle fighting a serpent appears in conjunction with all sorts of fighting animals, much of the magic power seems to have faded, and the symbol has become predominantly decorative.

The Greco-Roman type as we know it from Greek coins, Roman tombstones, and other monuments has left its traces wherever Greco-Roman civilization penetrated. It advanced with Alexander to the East,[205] we find it in Iran as well as in Syria, Egypt and Constan- 45
tinople,[206] it dominated in the Middle Ages in Italy, and in France it was fused with the hieratic eastern type.

About the beginning of the 2nd millennium of our era the symbol appears with ever growing frequency in Italy and France. The centre of its occurrence about 1200 in Italy is Apulia and Campania.[207] We find it, for instance, on door frames of S. Nicola at Bari, of the Cathedral at 46
Benevento,[208] of S. Giovanni at Brindisi, on the exterior of the Cathedral at Troja, on capitals of the Cathedral at Taranto and on Campanian pulpits.[209] It spreads to Central Italy where it occurs in Torriti's apsidal mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (1295), on the pulpit of S. Maria in Araceli and above the porch of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; it is a feature of Abbruzzese pulpits of the 13th century,[210] and
can be found in the inlaid pavement of S. 47
Miniato al Monte in Florence (13th century).

In all these cases the symbolic intention on the lines we discussed above is quite obvious.[211] To mention one or two details of special interest: the representation in S. Nicola at Bari, where an old and a young eagle defend themselves against the attack of a snake, is probably closely related to the passage from Deut. XXXII, 11 commented upon again and again by Christian writers.[212] In Torriti's mosaic, together with other symbolic emblems, it

48 Capital, 12th century (Nevers Museum)

49 Crypt capital, Canterbury Cathedral, *c.* 1180

accompanies the central scene of the crowning of the Virgin by Christ. And in the inlaid floor of S. Miniato it takes up the central position between friezes of heraldic doves. The *Physiologus*[213] mentions an Indian tree, called *Peridexion*, upon which dwell doves, feeding on its fruit. The dragon, the enemy of the doves, cannot approach this tree, but whenever a dove leaves the tree, he instantly devours it. The dove is man and the tree the symbol of the Trinity. As long as man lives under the shelter of belief in the fruits of the Holy Spirit, Satan is powerless. But once he turns to the ways of darkness, Satan is ready to kill him. This story is literally illustrated in the Florentine pavement. In each panel a pair of doves feed on the fruit of a three-branched tree and in the centre the act of salvation is shown: Christ in the shape of the eagle destroys Satan in the form of a snake. To support the meaning of the story – the victory of light over darkness – the eagle-Christ is accompanied by spoked wheels, a very old symbol for the sun.

From the 11th century onwards the symbol appears in French Romanesque churches, mostly on capitals. A representation such as the 48 one on a capital in the Museum at Nevers[214] proves that the motif penetrated into France via Spain together with the general trend of the Hispano-Moresque influence. The eagles' bodies are given the same feather pattern as those of the Beatus MSS. The role of transmitter between Eastern prototypes and France played by the Umayyads in Spain can be illustrated by a Moorish sarcophagus with eagles preying on different animals [215] exactly corresponding to Babylonian works of the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC and at the same time absolutely identical in type with the Nevers capital. A number of similar eagle-snake representations appear at this period (11th–12th century) on capitals of churches at St Benoît-sur-Loire, of Saint-Denis-Hors at Amboise, of Ste Croix at La Charité-sur-Loire, of the church at Neuilly-en-Dun (Cher), of Notre Dame de Valère at Sion, and at the tower of Saint-Martin-d'Ainy at Lyons.[216]

From France and Italy the motif migrated to England and Germany. It occurs about 1180 on a capital in the crypt at Canterbury, and its 49 symbolical meaning is emphasized by placing it in the tympanum of the main door at Aston (Herefordshire) above the Agnus Dei.[217] In Germany it can be found about 1200 on the porches of Grossenlinden (near Giessen)[218] and on the porch of the churchyard at Remagen.[219]

In some of these examples, which could easily be multiplied, the symbol of eagle and snake forms part of a larger theological programme, but even when this is not the case the device always stands for Christ's triumph over Satan. This interpretation can be supported by the dependence of the French capitals on the Beatus MSS, which we have emphasized; for the Beatus illustrations are always accompanied by text which explicitly states that, for the salvation of men, Christ with his word, as with a strong beak, wiped out the poisonous malice of the old murderer of men.

In the Beatus MSS the bird is not an eagle but 50

a fabulous creature of the East. The scene of a bird fighting a snake appears at the end of the chapter about the Genealogy of Christ in only five out of twenty-five manuscripts (Gerona, Urgell, Paris, Turin, Manchester) which were produced between the 10th and the 12th centuries.[220]

The text, written in a rather corrupt Latin, can be translated as follows:

'It is maintained that there is a bird in a country of the Orient which, armed with a large and very hard beak, provokes the snake which he wants to fight with audacious hissing. He covers himself purposely with dirt and also covers the pearls of different colours with which nature has lavishly adorned him. Having thus given himself an insignificant appearance he surprises the enemy by this unfamiliar impression and deceives him, so to speak, by the security which the latter feels in front of his shabby appearance. Holding his tail as a shield in the manner of a warrior before his face, he boldly attacks the head of his furious adversary, pierces the brain of the surprised beast with the unexpected weapon of his beak and thus kills his monstrous enemy by his marvellous intelligence.

'Christ girded himself with human weakness and enveloped himself with the dirt of our flesh to fight in the shape of man for the benefit of salvation and to deceive the godless deceiver with pious fraud, and he concealed his former shape with the latter, throwing, as it were, the tail of humanity before the face of divinity, and extinguished as if with a strong beak the poisonous malice of the old murderer of men through the word of his mouth. Therefore the Apostle says: Through the word of his mouth he will kill the wicked.'[221]

50 In our illustration from the latest of the five manuscripts, the one in Manchester, one sees over the bird a curved blue mass signifying the dirt which the bird has thrown off in order to pierce the brain of the snake. Although this story, as Neuss pointed out, has quite a logical place at the end of the genealogy because it refers allegorically to the incarnation of Christ, it is highly surprising and certainly requires some explanation.[222]

The story contains the following motifs:

(1) The fight between bird and snake.

(2) The bedraggling to deceive the enemy.

50 Fabulous bird and snake, from a Beatus Apocalypse f. 14r (Manchester, John Rylands Library)

(3) The bird shielding his head with his tail.

(4) He is adorned with pearls.

In the *Physiologus* a story is told of the catlike Ichneumon which corresponds exactly to that of the Beatus story in each of the first three features. One also finds here the same Christian interpretation, that Christ took human shape in order to kill Satan. Thus the whole story is undoubtedly taken over from the *Physiologus*.

The substitution of one animal for the other is a very frequent procedure.[223] The question, however, arises: why was it done in this particular case?

The Ichneumon is a specifically Egyptian animal. It was already held sacred as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (2000–1788 BC), and images of it are frequent in later periods. Some Greek and Roman authors, from Aristotle[224] to Strabo,[225] and Pliny,[226] narrate the fight of the Egyptian Ichneumon against snakes, and already mention the aggressor's covering himself with dirt before the fight. Plutarch[227] and others, judging from a utilitarian point of view, believed the animal to have been considered

51 Detail from the Valerianus Gospels, 7th–8th century (Munich, MS Lat. 6224, f. 82v)

52 Initial I from beginning of St John's Gospel, detail from the Gospels of Louis the Pious, 9th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 9388)

sacred because it killed snakes and crocodiles. Thus, the *Physiologus* clearly turns into Christian allegory a purely Egyptian tradition.[228]

The Ichneumon is not well known outside Egypt. On the other hand, as we have seen, from the earliest Christian times onwards Christ appears symbolized in the image of the eagle; and the eagle overcoming the snake means Christ subduing Satan as already testified in writings of the Fathers of the Church.[229] Thus, in the Beatus miniatures, an unintelligible symbol has been replaced by a familiar one.

Our second and third motifs, although integral parts of the story of the Ichneumon, also appear separately with other animals in the *Physiologus*, and it seems that some details of the Beatus text were borrowed from these chapters.[230] We think, therefore, that the fourth motif, the adornment of the bird with pearls, is taken over from the chapter of the *Physiologus* which treats of the pearl and identifies it with Christ.[231]

This interpretation alone does not yet entirely solve the problems involved. The bird of the Beatus manuscripts is not an eagle, but is explicitly described as a bird of the East. If actually an eastern conception was mingled with the legend of the *Physiologus* the most likely source is the Indian myth of the heavenly bird Garuda. This hypothesis is the more plausible as one very rare motif occurs in both stories: Garuda uses dirt as a weapon against

53 MARTEN DE VOS. *Christ treading upon Satan*, engraving, 1585

the snakes,[232] in the *Physiologus* dirt helps the aggressor to remain unrecognized. The *Physiologus* version promotes the Christian idea of humiliation and salvation. Gnostic myths of the first centuries AD sponsored such ideas,[233] and the *Physiologus* applied them to the animal legend.[234]

There are other instances of another bird taking the place of the eagle. In a southern Italian marble slab of the 13th century a swan-like bird stands on an enormous snake.[235] This seems to be the bird Caladrius, which cured illness by its gaze, according to the *Physiologus*.[236] The bird which frequently occurs in medieval bestiaries and literature[237] is described as wholly white like the swan and with a long neck[238] so that it could easily be represented in the form of a swan. Now a number of authors, amongst them Vincent of Beauvais, say that the Caladrius absorbs the disease into itself, and then flies up to the sun and there discharges the disease. The flight to the sun and the strength of the bird's eye are common to Caladrius and eagle, and this seems to be the reason why they were confused.

The motif of eagle and snake exists also in connection with St John. Illustrations of the Gospel of St John often introduce the Saint's eagle in the initial of the first chapter or as a tail piece at the end of the last chapter. It is rare, however, for the fight of eagle and snake to be depicted here. If it appears – and we know
51 it as early as the 7th century in the Gospels of Valerianus[239] and in the 9th century in those of
52 St Louis[240] – it means that the word of St John (symbolized by the victorious eagle) becomes the weapon by which the sin of the world (symbolized by the snake) is conquered.

There was still another theological tradition which sponsored the representation of Christ's victory over the forces of darkness in the form of the eagle vanquishing the serpent. It is based on Psalm 91, v. 13: 'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.'[241] The fight of the heavenly saviour against the monsters of darkness leads us back again to ideas which had been current in the Near East since the 3rd millennium BC. This fight is also the central feature of the Iranian salvation mysteries and of Hellenistic mystery cults which deeply influenced early Christianity.[242] The verse of the Psalm is often expounded by the Christian commentators,[243] and we find pictorial interpretations on early Christian clay lamps, on sarcophagi and later on Carolingian ivories.[244] The examples in later times are very numerous, and Christ treading upon the snake is still a familiar subject in paintings of the 16th 53
and 17th centuries. Now, it is quite intelligible that the parallelism of Christ, sun and eagle holds good in the illustrations of this Psalm. For the persistency of this tradition we may quote a modern lectern in the Cathedral of Peterborough, where the eagle treads upon a serpent-like dragon, while on the shaft below are the words of the Psalm.[245]

Renaissance and Baroque

The pagan revival of the Renaissance brought to the surface again old associations, but at the same time the symbol always retained its Christian significance, handed down from the Middle Ages. Accordingly a great variety of ideas are connected with the symbol. In the religious field a few examples must stand for the many cases in which it was used in a manner recalling its old apotropaic meaning. It appears in the 16th century in the pediment of the façade of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, and in the late 15th century it is part of the decoration of Federighi's holy water stoup in the Cathedral at Siena, just as it recurs still in the 54
18th century on the baptismal font and on a carpet before the altar in St Agricol at Avignon.

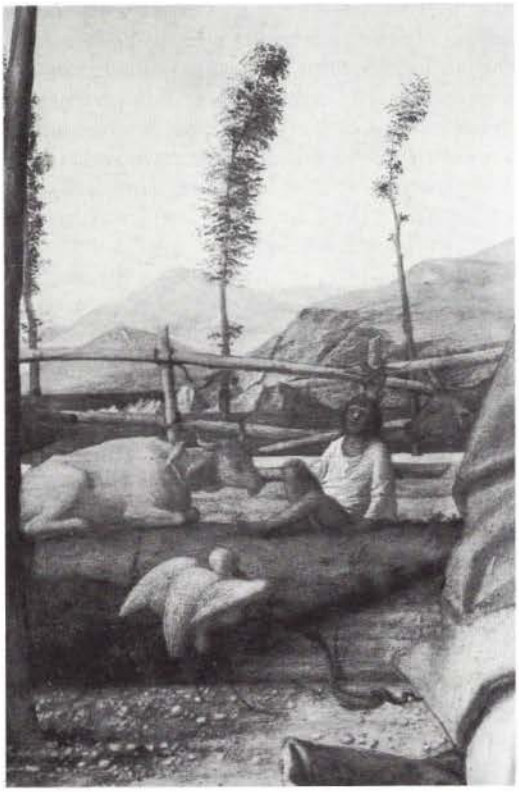
As in the Middle Ages the eagle is occasionally replaced for special reasons by another bird. A Madonna by Giovanni Bellini may be 55
quoted here where animals in the background are symbolically related to the central subject. Among these animals is the little group of a pelican fighting against a serpent. The pelican which nourished its young with its own blood became a symbol of self-sacrifice and charity and represents Christ like the eagle. Its struggle with the snake is quite unusual;[246] the special reason for its substitution for the eagle is the parallelism between the sacrifice of Christ and that of the pelican;[247] for the sleeping child in the lap of the Madonna foreshadows the Pietà, and as the pelican vanquishes the snake, so the sacrificial death of Christ destroys Satan. This interpretation is proved by a Florentine engraving of the Quattrocento where the same 56

54 ANTONIO FEDERIGHI. Holy water stoup, Siena Cathedral

55 GIOVANNI BELLINI. Detail from *Madonna of the Meadow* (London, National Gallery)

56 Detail from *The Crucifixion*, Florentine engraving, 15th century (Vienna, Albertina)

57 Contemporary sculpture from Bali



group of pelican and snake appears above the Crucifix.[248] Rubens employed the same symbol of pelican and serpent in a 'Return from Egypt'[249] and we can now safely say that it is also meant to foreshadow the slaying of Satan through the sacrifice of Christ.[250]

The device of foreshadowing a later event is, of course, not confined to sacred subjects. The Cavaliere d'Arpino in his frescoes illustrating Roman history in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome employed the symbol as a good omen predicting victory as in ancient times. But most frequently the symbol occurs from the 16th century onwards in moralizations, some very far fetched, which were applied to ancient
58 authors.[251] Otto Vaenius in his *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (Antwerp 1607) shows the symbol of eagle and snake in a surprising context, for it appears as an allegorical interpretation of Horace's remark (Book IV, Ode 4), that eagles do not engender doves.[252] The eagle appears here as the embodiment of natural vigour and strength as opposed to the tenderness of doves. As the fight of eagle and snake is described in the beginning of the ode, the author, in order to display the eagle's fighting spirit, fell back on the old symbol of its struggle with the snake and placed it like a motto in the centre of his design.[253]

Daniel Meissner, the author of one of these emblem books,[254] went so far as to apply these moralizations to cities. An eagle is shown carrying off a dragon over the town of Coburg. The motto reveals that the eagle is a symbol of vigour and generosity.

To this field of moralization also belongs the adoption of the motif as a printer's mark. We find it as the symbol of victorious virtue with
59 the printers Rovilli, de Gelmini and Thomas
60 Laisné.[255] And it is used on bookplates even today.[256]

The old story from Aesop of the eagle which a reaper liberates from the grasp of a snake (cf. above p. 20) was also revived and interpreted afresh with regard to its moral teaching. Pierio
61 Valeriano in his books on Hieroglyphics[257] illustrates it as an example of Benignity.

This story gives at the same time an insight into the curious way in which antiquity acquired a new reality during the 16th century. In Lycosthenes' Encyclopedia of Miracles[258] this story is related as an actual event with the

58 OTTO VAENIUS. *Naturam Minerva perficit*, engraving from *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, 1607

date 272 BC. It is true, these stories had a tremendous underground life and their grip on the popular mind was such that a sailor of the 16th century reported it as having happened on his voyage.[259] The original cosmic event underlying the Babylonian Etana-myth, which had been already forgotten in Aesop's moralized animal tale, came to the surface again as a real adventure, although something of its miraculous quality was preserved by removing it into a distant country.

In the field of folklore the traditional enmity between eagle and snake actually survives today. We find it in folk art[260] and proverbs[261] and in fairy tales, which like the well known story of Sindbad the Sailor, are common to all nations.[262] In this connection a group from the 62
Paris exhibition of 1900 may be mentioned which consisted of a huge cast-iron eagle crushing between its claws a dragon which clung to a rock.[263] Even the rock fits into the tradition which we have been tracing: it is the last appearance of the Mountain of the World, on which so many still more cosmic battles had been fought out in earlier mythologies.

At the same time the device lives on in a purely decorative stage.[264] But when it appears

59 Detail from the titlepage of Doni's *La Filosofia Morale*, 1588 (London, British Museum, MS 527, f. 12)

60 Modern bookplate

61 PIERIO VALERIANO. *Benignity*, engraving from *I Ieroglifici*, 1625

62 ARMBRÜSTER BROTHERS. Cast-iron group, Frankfurt, 1900

63 for instance as a doorknocker (Spital, Castel Porcia)[265] or in the form of two sculptural
64 groups framing the entrance-door like guardians[266] it still recalls the old apotropaic significance of the theme.

During the Middle Ages the fight between eagle and snake was already used as a personal device and, significantly, we meet it with religious overtones on coins of priests such as Hughes de Pierrepont, Grand Prévôt de St Lambert at Liège (1200–29).[267] Slightly later Clement IV adopted it as his emblem[268] and the Christian allusion is unaltered in medals of Paul III (*c.* 1540)[269] although a griffin replaces the eagle. When the symbol is placed in coats-of-arms its religious significance can sometimes still be grasped.[270]

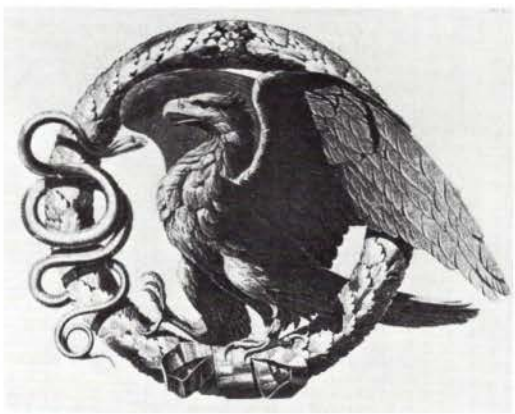
In view of the traditional sun-nature of rulers, it is quite natural that the eagle's victory over the serpent should again play an important part in the symbolizing of victory. The symbol is here transferred into the sphere of politics and applied to the divine ruler just as it had been in antiquity.[271] But it has now in many cases acquired emblematical and allegorical qualities instead of apotropaic, for it appears to commemorate actual events and victories.

63 Doorknocker, Spital, Castel Porcia, 16th century

64 One of a pair of eagles framing the entrance to Osterley Park, 18th century

Charles of Bourbon and Navarre had a medal struck with eagle and snake like the old Byzantine type and with the motto: 'Dimicandum',[272] referring to him as a victorious fighter. The same medal with the same motto was used for the Norwegian king Christian II.[273] Henry III of France adopted the symbol when 65
he celebrated the murder of his deadly enemy, Henry of Guise, the head of the League. The king appears in the motto as the representative of pious courage who vanquished the wicked.[274] The Emperor Rudolf II used the Austrian double eagle warding off snakes as a symbol for his defence of Christendom against the Turks,[275] and an eagle attacking a dragon appears on a medal of the Doge Bertucci Valier after the Venetian victory against the Turks off the Dardanelles in 1657.[276] At the obsequies of Philip IV in 1665 the Jesuits erected an eagle

65 Drawing from a medal of Henry III of France, 1588



66 GIOCONDO ALBERTOLLI. Engraving from *Miscellanea*, 1796

tearing a serpent with its claws, because by his victory over his enemies Philip had achieved for his peoples what Christ had won for humanity by the victory over Satan.[277]

In more recent times the underlying religious note disappeared and the predominance of the political or the philosophical side of the symbol
66 became absolute. In the Napoleonic era it became the emblem of the new empire.[278] But those who revolted against this empire did not revolt against the symbol: in 1913 the Prussians used it to celebrate the centenary of the insurrection against Napoleon. In the same sense the Greeks employed it to commemorate their victory in the Balkan war.

The motif appears in the early 19th century with a philosophical meaning in Blake's *Mar-*
67 *riage of Heaven and Hell,* where the eagle of genius and imagination carries aloft the unaspiring serpent.[279] Shelley used it in the *Revolt of Islam.* But in a conscious reversal of the traditional meaning the snake becomes the symbol of the achievements of the French revolution as opposed to the reactionary forces of the Napoleonic era, of which the eagle was the symbol. Yet in an act of mythical recollection only attainable by the most exalted artistic intuition Shelley showed a clear perception of the cosmic grandeur of the symbol and of its universal significance in the history of mankind:

when priests and kings dissemble
In smiles or frowns their fierce disquietude;
When round pure hearts a host of hopes assemble;
The Snake and Eagle meet – the world's
foundations tremble!

67 WILLIAM BLAKE. Detail from *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

68 People with large ears, from the tympanum of Vézelay, 12th century

III MARVELS OF THE EAST: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF MONSTERS

Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters

Vous vous étonnez que Dieu ait fait l'homme si borné, si ignorant, si peu heureux,
Que ne vous étonnez-vous qu'il ne l'ait pas fait plus borné, plus ignorant, plus malheureux
VOLTAIRE

THE FOLLOWING PAGES are concerned with a strictly limited aspect of the inexhaustible history of monsters, those compound beings which have always haunted human imagination. The Greeks sublimated many instinctive fears in the monsters of their mythology, in their satyrs and centaurs, sirens and harpies, but they also rationalized those fears in another, non-religious form by the invention of monstrous races and animals which they imagined to live at a great distance in the East, above all in India. It is the survival and transmission of this Greek conception of ethnographical monsters which will here be studied.

But even the history of this one trend in the conception of monsters cannot yet fully be written, for the 'Marvels of the East'[1] determined the western idea of India for almost two thousand years, and made their way into natural science and geography, encyclopaedias and cosmographies, romances and history, into maps, miniatures and sculpture. They gradually became stock features of the occidental mentality, and reappear peculiarly transformed in many different guises. And their power of survival was such that they did not die altogether with the geographical discoveries and a better knowledge of the East, but lived on in pseudo-scientific dress right into the 17th and 18th centuries. In order to illustrate the fluctuating history of this tradition it will be necessary to lay before the reader a great bulk of material, which may seem bewildering but which may serve to convey an impression of the impact which the Marvels made on the European mind.

The sources of the Indian monsters

It was the Greeks who were responsible for the western conception of India. The earliest surviving report of India is by Herodotus.[2] But his knowledge of that country was scanty and vague. About fifty years later, at the beginning of the 4th century BC, a special treatise on India was published by Ktesias from Knidos who had resided as royal physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon of Persia.[3] Apart from numerous fragments transmitted by later authors his work has unfortunately only survived in an abridged version of the 9th century AD by Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople, who had probably a still stronger predilection for marvels than Ktesias himself.

In any case, it is certain that, owing to Ktesias' book, India became stamped as the land of marvels. He repeated all the fabulous stories about the East which had been current from Homer's time onwards and added many new ones, including tales of the weather, of miraculous mountains, diamonds, gold, etc. He populated India with the pygmies, who fight with the cranes;[4] with the sciapodes, a people with a single large foot on which they move with great speed and which they also use as a sort of umbrella against the burning sun;[5] and with the cynocephali, the men with dogs' heads 'who do not use articulate speech but bark like dogs'.[6] There are headless people with their faces placed between their shoulders;[7] there are people with eight fingers and eight toes who have white hair until they are thirty, and from that time onwards it begins to turn black; these people have ears so large that they cover their arms to the elbows and their entire back.[8] In certain parts of India are giants, in others men with tails of extraordinary length 'like those of satyrs in pictures'.[9] Of fabulous animals he describes the martikhora with a man's face, the body of a lion and the tail of a scorpion, the unicorn and the griffins which guard the gold.[10] Indian cocks, goats and sheep, he asserts, are of prodigious size.[11]

In 326 BC Alexander the Great invaded India, and his conquest changed the western conception of India completely. Alexander's own geographical ideas were still so vague that, when he first came to the Indus, he was convinced he had reached the sources of the Nile[12] –

a confusion between India and Ethiopia which goes far back into the past and existed throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages.[13] Alexander took with him numerous scientists to describe his expedition and the countries through which they passed. As a result several works were written which have been lost, but which appear condensed in later authors.[14]

The most important book on India was, however, produced after the end of the campaigns. Its author, Megasthenes, was sent about 303 BC by Seleucus Nicator, the heir to Alexander's Asiatic empire, as ambassador to the court of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), the most powerful of the Indian kings who resided at Pätaliputra – the modern Patna – on the Ganges.[15] Megasthenes' treatise survives in Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Aelian and others.[16] Megasthenes gives for the first time comprehensive statements about the geography of India, about its inhabitants, its social and political institutions, its natural products, its history and mythology. Although this report was unsurpassed in reliability and abundance of material for many centuries to come, Megasthenes relates in it the stories of Indian marvels, of fabulous races and animals.

He not only repeated the old tales but added considerably to the list.[17] We hear of serpents with wings like bats, of winged scorpions of extraordinary size;[18] he repeats from Herodotus the story of the gold-digging ants;[19] he knows of the people whose heels are in front while the instep and toes are turned backwards,[20] of the wild men without mouths who live on the smell of roasted flesh and the perfumes of fruit and flowers.[21] The Hyperboreans, he relates, live a thousand years;[22] there are people who have no nostrils, with the upper part of their mouth protruding far over the lower lip,[23] and others who have dog's ears and a single eye in their forehead.[24]

Megasthenes' report on India remained unchallenged for almost 1500 years. Through the political confusions in the East direct contact by land between the West and India was made difficult. Owing to the emancipation of Bactria and Parthia from the Seleucid Empire (about 250 BC) and the disruption of Chandragupta's Maurya dynasty (about 185 BC) the land-route to India was almost closed. Communications, however, were never wholly interrupted, even after the foundation of the Sassanid Empire in AD 226.[25] Meanwhile the sea-route to southern India grew steadily in importance. And when, in the first century AD, a captain, Hippalus, discovered how to make use of the monsoon for navigation, merchandise from India flowed into the Roman Empire on a considerable scale.[26] However, this trade was almost completely in the hands of the Arabs.[27] The lack of direct contact also barred the way to an expansion of geographical and ethnological knowledge, and Greek and Roman authors of the last centuries BC and the first centuries of our era continued to transcribe faithfully the by then classical accounts of India.[28] Thus, the knowledge of India in the Hellenistic and Roman world and consequently in the early Middle Ages was based mainly on the two works by Ktesias and Megasthenes.

How was it possible, it will be asked, that such a scholarly mind as that of Megasthenes, not to mention Ktesias and other writers, could be induced to accept the fabulous stories which have been mentioned? The reasons seem to have been manifold. In some cases, as for instance the cynocephali[29] and the cyclopic races,[30] the Greeks brought with them ideas which were similar to those of the Indians; they may have had a common mythical origin in times beyond our historical reach.[31] In other cases the Greek writers thought they found in India – probably without basis – their own conceptions such as satyrs and sirens. Sometimes the visual arts had their share. The description of the griffin was obviously influenced by representations which were current in Greece.[32] Sometimes real observation may have been at the bottom of the story. It has been established beyond doubt that Ktesias' and Megasthenes' unicorn is the Indian rhinoceros; for in India and China people still attribute the power of protection against poison to the horn of this animal – the same power which Ktesias reported about the unicorn.[33]

But the majority of the fabulous stories were of literary origin; they were borrowed from the Indian epics. Megasthenes himself said that he owed his knowledge of some of the marvels to the Brahmans,[34] and he had, of course, no reason to distrust the reports of the highly esteemed cast of philosophers. An example may show how his conceptions originated. Races with

long ears were quite unknown to western mythology, but they are frequently mentioned in the Indian epics, particularly the Mahabharata, as *Karnapravarana,* i.e. people who cover themselves with their ears;[35] other races were called 'the camel-eared', others 'people having hands for ears', others again 'people having the ears close to the lips'.[36] For the Indians of the epic period, barbarous tribes had long ears, and the story that people exist who sleep in their ears was still current in Hindustan in the 19th century.[37] A translation from the Sanskrit has also been discovered in the peculiar story of the gold-digging ants. The gold collected in the plains of Tibet or East Turkestan was commonly known as 'Pipilika', signifying 'ant-gold'. This name was probably due to the shape of the gold-dust brought to light not by ants, but by marmots or pangolins while they were excavating their holes.[38] Possibly these animals may have been seen by the Greek authors.

It may not now seem so strange that even an accurate observer like Megasthenes should have believed the fabulous stories, which – it must be remembered – played only a negligible part in his work. They formed part of his own Greek heritage and were too well attested by Indian verbal and literary tradition to be disregarded.[39]

An enlightened interlude

It is characteristic of the progressive scientific attitude of the Greeks that they themselves turned against the stories of marvels, prodigies and fabulous races. Censure by a number of later authors has survived. The most critical is perhaps Strabo, whose *Geography* was written in the first years of our era. However Strabo's merits as a geographer may be judged, he did not hesitate in dealing relentlessly with old superstitions.

> Generally speaking, he says,[40] the men who hitherto have written about India were a set of liars. Deimachos holds the first place in the list (he was like Megasthenes, ambassador at an Indian court; his work is lost), Megasthenes comes next; while Onesikritos (the pilot of Alexander's fleet) and Nearchos (Alexander's admiral) with others of the same class, manage to stammer a few words of truth . . . . They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider legs, and with fingers bent backward . . .

and he goes on with the whole list of absurdities reported by earlier authors.

No less refreshing is what the learned Aulus Gellius has to say about 150 years later in his *Noctes Atticae.*[41] He had studied in Athens, and on his way back to Italy he strolled along in the streets of Brindisi and found in a book-shop some old Greek works 'full of marvellous tales of things unheard of and incredible, but written by ancient authors of no small authority'. After recording the superstitious beliefs found in them concerning the existence of cynocephali, sciapodes, pygmies, etc., he thus concludes:

> The books contained these and many similar stories, but when writing them down I was seized with disgust for such worthless writings which contribute neither to adorn nor to improve life.

While some enlightened men of the Hellenistic world thus dismissed the tales about marvels,[42] Strabo had nevertheless to rely for his material on India almost exclusively on Megasthenes and other writers of Alexander's time. In more than 300 years of geographical research the knowledge about India had hardly been increased.

The main progress lay in another field. From Aristotle to Ptolemy geography had developed into a true science. It may be recalled that it was Aristotle who proved that the earth was a sphere,[43] that as early as the 3rd century BC Eratosthenes, the head of the great library in Alexandria, had employed a modern astronomical method for measuring the circumference of the earth,[44] and that about 350 years later Ptolemy, in prosecution of this work, determined the location of places by means of latitudes and longitudes.[45] It is true that most of his mathematical locations were not the result of astronomical calculation, but had been determined through measuring and comparing itineraries. But he drew up *ex post* long tables in which he laid down in degrees and parts of degrees the position of every place known to him. Six of the eight books of his *Geography* consist of such tables and with them his map of the world can be reconstructed.

Ptolemy came near to a precise geographical description of the world as it was then known. But the parts concerning India demonstrate that his knowledge of that distant country was still very inadequate. Above all, he made the old mistake of letting the coastline run from the mouth of the Indus almost due east and he also greatly overestimated the size of Ceylon.[46] Still, with Strabo's practical geography and Ptolemy's mathematical geography Hellenism had achieved a rational conception of the world in which the Indian marvels had no place. But here the development of scientific geography breaks off for no less than 1200 years. From the 5th century AD onwards, when East and West became definitely separate entities, Eratosthenes, Strabo and Ptolemy were almost completely forgotten. The Latin West, without knowledge of the Greek language, lost for a time direct contact with Greek scholarship of the past.

The heritage of Antiquity and the Christian standpoint of the Middle Ages

One of the main sources for the medieval lore of monsters was Pliny's *Historia naturalis* (finished AD 77). Pliny's work is a vast uncritical collection of miscellaneous material, and the geographical parts have been censured as the most defective portions of the whole. It is in line with this unscientific approach that Pliny – unlike his Greek contemporary Strabo – accepted all the miraculous stories related by earlier authors. He introduced the fabulous races of India with the following words: 'India and the regions of the Ethiopians [characteristically enough, they appear here together again] are particularly abundant in wonders . . .'[47]

But the Christian writers of the Middle Ages gave preference over Pliny to yet another author. He is Solinus who in the 3rd century AD wrote his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*,[48] large parts of which are based on Pliny with an emphasis on remarkable and strange occurrences, on fables and marvels. This vast storehouse of wonders is cast in a geographical setting in which something of the great wealth of the Greek tradition is still alive. The 5th century AD brought about a further narrowing of geographical knowledge with the works of Macrobius[49] and Martianus Capella.[50] The latter, who drew his geographical material largely from Pliny and Solinus,[51] not only abounds in misconceptions and geographical mistakes but displays above all a wealth of geographical mythology which includes, of course, a great number of fabulous races.[52] The importance of Martianus Capella's work, one of the most popular sources of the Middle Ages, hardly needs stressing. Medieval writers had to rely for their geographical material on books like these, in which sound judgment and exact knowledge were replaced by imagination and fanciful stories, curiosities and marvels.

But Christianity could not simply swallow this geographical and ethnographical heritage of pagan antiquity. It had to be brought into line with the authority of the Bible. The way to reconcile the marvels with Christian doctrines was shown by St Augustine. Chapter 8 of the 16th book of the *Civitas Dei* is entitled: 'Whether certain monstrous races of men are derived from the stock of Adam or Noah's sons?'[53] The Christian outlook was founded upon the words in Genesis (IX, 19): 'These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.' Augustine's answer is given with cunning ingenuity.

He argues: the stories about fabulous races may not be true – that would be the simplest way out. If, however, these races do exist, they may not be human; certainly some authors would describe monkeys and sphinxes as races of men and be even proud of their ingenuity if we did not happen to know that they are animals.[54] If, on the other hand, these races exist and are really human, then they must be descended from Adam. Just as there exist monstrous births in individual races, so in the whole race there may exist monstrous races. As no one will deny that the individual monstrosities are all descended from that one man so all the monstrous races trace their pedigree to that first father of all. Man has no right to make a judgment about these races. For God, the creator of all, knows where and when each thing ought to be or to have been created, because he sees the similarities and diversities which can contribute to the beauty of the whole. After having first used the individual case to prove the general one, Augustine, in a final *tour de force*, suggests that God may have created fabulous races so that we might not

think that the monstrous births which appear among ourselves are the failures of His wisdom.

Augustine's subtle deductions were accepted by all the writers of the Middle Ages. Isidore, in his encyclopaedic work, the *Etymologiae* (written probably between 622 and 633), simply stated that monstrosities are part of the creation and not 'contra naturam'.[55] His material, largely dependent on Solinus,[56] appears in a chapter entitled *De Portentis*. In accordance with the plan of the whole work he begins with an etymological explanation of 'portenta', that is to say, signs which portend and foretell the future.[57] He then deals first with individual monsters and after that with the monstrous races. Yet he never mentions under the single items what the monstrosity is supposed to portend. The monster as magical prodigy – this idea is, of course, thoroughly classical and points back via Rome and Greece to Babylonia.[58]

But as his material was taken from the geographical and not the magical branch of ancient knowledge there was no literary basis for more than the general allusion contained in his explanation of the term portent[59] – quite apart from his religious standpoint. And indeed, Isidore's reason for the discussion of monstrosities lay in the encyclopaedic plan of his work; from the 7th book onwards the reader is led from the Holy Trinity through the hierarchy of the Church to man himself, and here the fabulous races had to appear as inhabitants of the distant parts of the globe; after that the survey of the animal world begins.

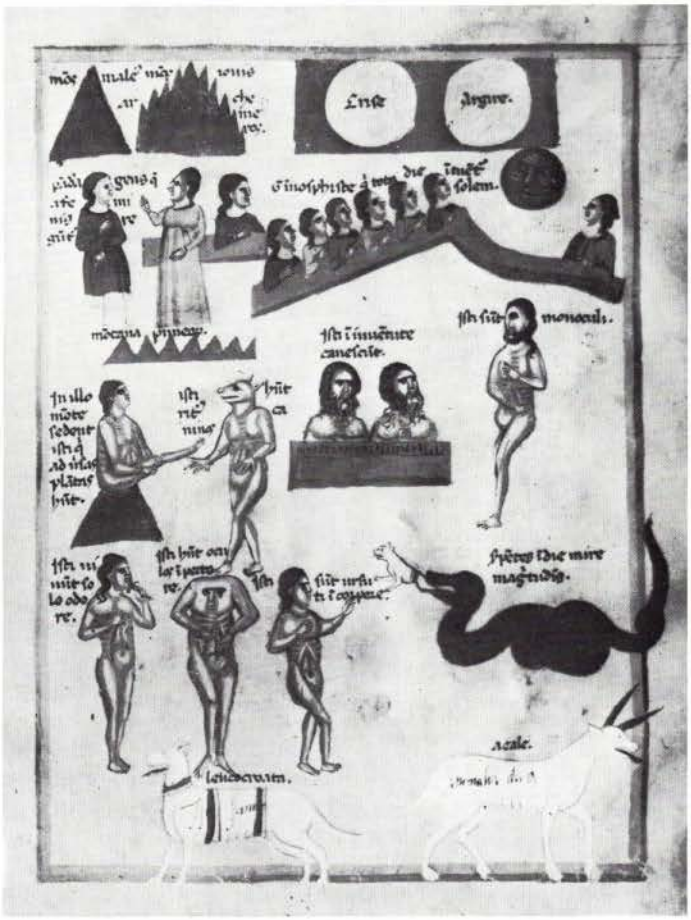
The same purely descriptive enumeration of fabulous races and marvels after Isidore's example occurs almost without exception and with only minor divergencies in encyclopaedias, cosmographies, and natural histories of the following centuries. The long list begins with the 7th century cosmography of Aethicus of Istria, a fabulous description of the world full of geographical mythology, probably after Isidore and Solinus, which was widely used also in the cartography of the Middle Ages.[60] Isidore's chapter on monsters appears verbally in Rabanus Maurus' encyclopaedia *De universo* (*c.* 844); the whole work is a copy of the *Etymologiae* enriched by a mystical commentary. But it is noteworthy that in his chapter on 'De Portentis' Rabanus abstained from a mystical or allegorical explanation of the single monsters.[61]

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace all the works of the Middle Ages in which the marvels made their appearance. Nor can the shades of opinion, temperament and imagination of different writers be touched upon. The importance that had been attached to the marvels may be judged from the fact that we find them in all the great encyclopaedias of the 12th and 13th centuries: in the *Imago Mundi*, attributed to Honorius Augustodinensis,[62] in Gauthier of Metz's *Image du Monde* (1246)[63] in Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*,[64] in the popular encyclopaedia by Bartholomew the Englishman, written between 1220 and 1240,[65] in the widely read *Trésor* of the Florentine Brunetti Latini from the 1260s,[66] as well as in Vincent of Beauvais' standard encyclopaedia of the later Middle Ages.[67] The 'Mirabilia Indiae' still form a chapter of Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi* of 1410.[68] We find them also in historiography. Adam of Bremen included in his history of the diocese of Hamburg down to the year 1072 a cosmography of northern Europe and transplanted the fabulous races to these parts of the world.[69] We find them in the world chronicles from Rudolf of Ems in the 13th[70] to Hartman Schedel in the 15th century,[71] and in the natural histories from the credulous Thomas of Cantimpré[72] to Conrad of Megenberg's *Book of Nature*.[73] Even scholars of the calibre of Albertus Magnus[74] and Roger Bacon[75] fell under their spell.

The pictorial tradition

The literary transmission from Ktesias and Megasthenes through Pliny and Solinus to Isidore and down to Vincent of Beauvais and the encyclopaedists of the later Middle Ages was not the only way in which the western world came into contact with the Marvels of the East. We know that pictures of the fabulous races existed in antiquity. St Augustine mentions a mosaic in the harbour esplanade of Carthage with elaborate representations of monstrous peoples.[76] This pictorial tradition can be retraced though many of its mile-stones seem to be lost.

The first links in this reconstruction are the works of late classical authors themselves. We



69, 70 Whole page, and part of page showing an ape and satyr, from a 13th-century Solinus manuscript, probably copied from a 9th-century original (Milan, Ambrosiana, cod. C. 246 inf., f. 57r and 37r)

have good reason to believe that an early illustrated Solinus existed, and it is also not unlikely that Martianus Capella manuscripts were illuminated at an early date though no fully illustrated manuscript has so far come to light.[77] But the Italian miniatures of a Solinus 69
of the 13th century[78] in many ways point back to an archetype of the 6th–7th century AD. The greater number of the illustrations appear to be copies after a 9th-century Solinus which must have had qualities similar to those of the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes. This is borne out by the spaceless arrangement and the loose assemblage of figures and groups, by the insertion of the numerous explanatory inscriptions, as well as by the frames, on the lower edges of which figures and animals are standing. Also the modelling of the figures, their 'top-heaviness', their meagre legs and their characteristic profiles disclose a prototype with the stylistic peculiarities of the Cosmas illustrations. Now it has been shown that the latter are the 9th-century transformation into framed pictures of 6th-century strip compositions, made in Alexandria.[79] It is perhaps therefore not too daring to suggest a corresponding genesis for the Solinus illustrations. Moreover, there are indications that the original Solinus contained late Egyptian features. Folio 37[r] of 70
the Milan manuscript shows a scene in which a seated ape ('Scimia') is confronted by a standing satyr ('Saturis').[80] A similar grouping of two figures is well known to us from innumerable Egyptian examples, the satyr seems to be dependent on the jackal-headed Anubis, and the staccato movement and gestures of the figures still betray something of the Egyptian prototype.[81]

A second class of illustrations has survived in manuscripts which deal exclusively with the

71 Man with long ears, from *Marvels*, English, *c.* 1000 (London, British Library, Cotton Tib. BV, f. 83v)

72 Man with long ears, from *Marvels*, English, *c.* 1000 (London, British Library, Cotton Vit. A XV, f. 104r)

Marvels of the East. The earliest text of these treatises seems to go back to the 4th century AD and is probably a Latin version from the Greek. It is written in the form of a letter from a certain Fermes addressed to the Emperor Hadrian, and pretends to be the report of a journey to the remote East.[82] Three other similar treatises, variants of the first one with modifications mainly taken from Isidore, originated between the 7th and the 10th centuries.[83] Through the interest in geography fostered by Alfred the Great's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius these texts seem to have attracted a lay public in England and were therefore translated into the vernacular.[84] The best illustrations have come to light in the Tiberius B V of the British Museum of about AD 1000.[85] The pictures of this manuscript have simple rectangular frames and the types and structures of the bodies have a decidedly classical quality. Moreover, they sometimes represent a genuine classical creature where the text describes an 'Eastern' non-classical monster. So an ancient centaur (f. 82^{v}) illustrates the words 'men down to the middle, then wild asses, with birdlike legs'.[86] While this is a valuable hint as to the derivation of the pictures from an antique model, more definite conclusions can be drawn from another inaccuracy. The specimen of the race with long ears (f. 83^{v}) has his snakelike ears wound round his arms, but the text says that these people 'have ears like winnowing fans; at night they lie on one and cover themselves with the other'.[87] It is obvious that the picture has been derived from a different source from the text. 71

The illustration in the British Museum manuscript Vitellius A XV (f. 104^{r}) shows this man, as one expects to find him, with fan-like ears. And this type is to be found again in the realm of monumental art in the famous 12th-century tympanum at Vézelay. Here three representa- 72 68

73 Page from a manuscript of Rabanus Maurus, Italian, *c.* 1023 (Redrawn from Montecassino, cod. 132, f. 166)

74 Page from a manuscript of Rabanus Maurus, German, 1425 (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 291, f. 75v)

tives of this race appear, father, mother and child, the last demonstrating ingeniously how, in accordance with the text, the ears may be arranged for sleeping.

These two different pictorial types have their origin in different translations by Greek authors from the Sanskrit. Skylax, writing in the 6th century BC, called this race ὠτόλικνοι, i.e. people with ears as large as a winnowing fan,[88] and added that they sleep in their ears, while Ktesias said that their ears cover the arms as far as the elbows.[89] The picture of the Tiberius B V coincides with the description given by Ktesias, and the text with that of Skylax; as the Latin authors are in this case general and vague,[90] it must be assumed that a pictorial formula based on Ktesias' text had been evolved in Greece.

Still another pictorial type of this race exists in the 11th-century Rabanus Maurus in Monte-
73 cassino.[91] The ears of this specimen hang down to the ground like huge palm leaves. Although this picture could be an *ad hoc* interpretation of Rabanus' own words,[92] it corresponds exactly to the text of Megasthenes[93] and may reflect a much older type. There is general agreement that the Rabanus in Montecassino is an Italian copy after an early illustrated Rabanus of the 9th century and the dependence of the illustrations on classical models has been stressed.[94] Moreover, Panofsky and Saxl have shown that not only the text but probably also the illustrations of Rabanus were copied from Isidore,[95] that, in other words, the late antique illustrated Isidore is still traceable in the Montecassino manuscript. A measure of what the stylistic change from the early to the 11th century manuscript involves may be given by the comparison of the Montecassinensis with the 15th-century Rabanus in the Vatican.[96] But on 74
the other hand this comparison also gives evidence of the stability of the old types.

75 Left: Dog-headed men from the Hereford Map, 13th century (Hereford Cathedral)

76 Dog-headed men from Kazwini's cosmography, 1280 (Munich, cod. arab. 464, f. 211v)

A further, and perhaps the most important, class of works which shows marvels going back to classical prototypes consists of the maps of the world. On these the representation of marvels is a constant feature. The Hereford map of the last quarter of the 13th century is perhaps the most outstanding example. Here we find pictures of the fabulous races and animals distributed all over the globe.[97] India and Ethiopia have the main share. In India live the sciapodes, the pygmies and giants, the mouthless people, the martikhora and the unicorn. North of India, in Scythia and bordering countries and islands, there are horse-hoofed men, people with long ears, Anthropophagi and Hyperboreans and also the Arimaspians who fight with the griffins. Ethiopia is inhabited by satyrs and fauns, by people with long lips and people with their head in their shoulders and breasts, by basilisks and gold-digging ants, etc.[98] The accompanying texts are largely based on Solinus.[99] Some of the figures are similar to those of the Solinus manuscript,[100] others to the Rabanus illustrations.[101] But it is not likely that the Hereford monsters depend on either of them; they have probably another pedigree.

It seems that by far the greatest number of medieval maps depend directly or indirectly on the famous *mappa mundi* which Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, had had designed and which was painted on a wall of the portico of Vipsania in Rome.[102] But whether this map did or did not show all the main features familiar to us from medieval cartography – namely the eastern orientation, painted symbols for towns, harbours, deserts, etc., long written commentaries, and the pictures of fabulous races and monsters – it could only have been a link between Greece and the Middle Ages. One example may make this evident. In the Hereford map there appear under the inscription 'Gigantes' two dog-headed men facing each other 75
in a symmetrical group;[103] it is clear that instead of talking they are barking at each other. Now the fabulous races form part of Arabic illuminated manuscripts also. Manuscripts of Kazwini's cosmography, the Arabic Pliny of the 13th century, exist in which some of the representations of these races show an astonishing similarity to the western types, as can be seen from the cynocephali group of the famous 76
Kazwini in Munich.[104] According to the sources the cynocephali have no articulate speech and express themselves by barking.[105] The grouping together of two of them is a typical pictorial creation to bear out this idea, and it cannot be doubted that the same prototype lies behind the Kazwini and the Hereford pictures. This prototype must ultimately have been Greek;[106] it spread on the one hand through Byzantium to

the East, and possibly through illustrations on Roman maps to the West.[107] A very similar cynocephali group is to be found again in the 77 tympanum at Vézelay. The monsters are here arranged with less rigid symmetry, but they still reveal the same source of inspiration as the Hereford and Kazwini groups.

From all this material the conclusion can be drawn that there must have been a large stock of classical marvel illustrations.[108] They reached the Middle Ages through different channels: the maps of the world, the monster treatises, the illustrated Solinus and probably the illustrated Isidore. It is this visual material which, together with the literary transmission, impressed itself on the minds of the people and proved so influential in many branches of medieval thought.

77 Dog-headed men from the tympanum of Vézelay, 12th century

The fabulous races moralized; their part in Medieval art and literature

From about the 12th century onwards the marvels penetrated into the field of religious art. The fabulous races were the products of God's will who 'is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his works'.[109] It was, therefore, part of the mission of the apostles to bring them the Gospels. This idea is expressed in the tympanum at Vézelay, which represents Christ's summons to the apostles on Ascension Day: 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Matt. XXVIII, 9).[110] Rays go out from the fingers of the Christ in glory to the foreheads of the apostles, and in reliefs below and round the half-circle all the peoples to whom the apostles preached the Gospels are represented. Amongst them are the fabulous races from the borders of the world who, as descendants of Adam,[111] are capable of redemption.[112] Mâle has shown[113] that representations of the apostles bringing the word of Christ to the pagan nations were a Byzantine conception which can be traced back to the times of Justinian. It may be added that the seated Christ of the Ascension in the tympanum is a Syrian type, that the cynocephali from Vézelay appear in the Kazwini manuscript, and that in 1939 a 12th-century Syrian miniature was published[114] which shows the conception of the tympanum in a peculiar contraction. A king and a cynocephalus stand here for the peoples to whom the Gospels were preached. It is not impossible, therefore, that the sculptor of Vézelay may have drawn for his composition on a manuscript from Asia Minor.

Though the elaborate programme of Vézelay is unique, the marvels were a favourite subject in Cluniac churches; we find specimens on the column in the Abbey of Souvigny, on capitals of the (destroyed) church of Saint-Sauveur at Nevers, in the western doorway of the Cathedral of Sens, in St-Lazare at Autun, on a capital of 78 St-Parize-le-Châtel (Nièvre), etc.[115] In England a rich collection of monstrosities, mostly carved on misericords, appears during the later Middle Ages.[116] And in Italy the fabulous races seem to have been often represented on mosaic pavements of the 11th and 12th centuries. The best example has survived in the Cathedral of

78 Sciapod from a capital at St-Parize-le-Châtel, 1113

79 Page from a Bestiary, showing a triple-headed giant, pygmy, sciapod and four Brahmins in a cave, English, 13th century (London, Westminster Chapter Library, Cod. 22, f. 3r)

Casale Monferrato where they appear together with the seven-headed dragon of the Apocalypse and a representation of Jonah;[117] unfortunately also this pavement is too fragmentary to disclose its iconographical programme.

The interpretation of a number of monsters in ecclesiastical art is sometimes not easy, for it has to be established whether the medieval craftsman received his material through the geographical-ethnological tradition or from the *Physiologus* and its derivatives, the Bestiaries. However, from the 13th century onwards the marvels were incorporated into a group of Bestiaries and in this way the two branches – the encyclopaedic and the mystical – which had sprung from the same antique roots, were again united. In their new sphere the marvels were invested with an allegorical meaning and adapted to the *Physiologus*-Bestiary character.

79 In a 13th-century Bestiary in the Westminster Chapter Library,[118] for instance, the pygmies stand for humility and the giant for pride, the cynocephali typify quarrelsome persons and the people who cover themselves with the lower lip are the mischievous, according to the word of the psalm: 'Let the mischief of their own lips cover them.'[119]

It is not surprising that the idea of looking at the monsters as 'moral prodigies' was evolved in the later Middle Ages when the allegorical aspect and interpretation of the world, as conceived by M. Capella and other late antique authors, was extended into a comprehensive system. This is the time which saw moralizations of the Bible and of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, of the gods of antiquity, of history and science. This is also the time in which preachers used for their sermons the stories of the *Gesta Romanorum*, that late medieval collection of moralized fables and tales which had an unrivalled success down to the 16th century. In such a collection the marvels could not of course be omitted. The 175th tale 'De mirabilibus mundi' contains a full account of them. The people with the long lower lip appear here as symbols of justice, those with the long ears listen to the word of God, the cynocephali are the preachers who ought to be coarsely clad just like the dog-headed people, and the headless monsters are the symbol of humility, and so on.[120]

It appears that, unlike the immutable Christian allegories of the *Physiologus* tradition, such late medieval moralizations are interchangeable

80 Page from Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de monstruosis hominibus*, Flemish, 15th century (Bruges, Cod. 411)

81 Above: Page from Megenberg's *Buch der Natur*, Augsburg, 1475

and attach to the moral values of human society.[121] This was carried to the point of using the marvels as material for satirizing contemporary failings. In a French 14th-century translation of Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de monstruosis hominibus*[122] such a commentary was added to the original scientific text, and the cynocephali with their inarticulate barking are now the symbol of calumny, and the people without heads are the lawyers who take excessive fees in order to fill their bellies.

In view of the complexity of the material it is at present impossible to trace exactly the infiltration of the visual heritage of antiquity into the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The monsters of the Westminster Bestiary, for instance, are thoroughly 'modernized' specimens of the old stock, and a 15th-century manuscript of Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de monstruosis hominibus*[123] shows most of the fabulous races in Flemish bourgeois costume. Here also influences from outside the monster tradition seem to be traceable. The anthropophagus appears eating a naked human being. This is the traditional occupation of the god Saturnus who is shown in innumerable manuscripts – astrological and mythological – in a similar pose devouring one of his children.

80

The woodcut illustrations of the many early
81 editions of Megenberg's *Book of Nature*[124] show certain types, such as the sciapod with the webbed foot, the bearded woman and the monster with six arms, corresponding to those in the Bruges manuscript of the *Liber de monstruosis hominibus*. This indicates that just as Megenberg's text was a translation after Cantimpré, the illustrations too were taken from the same author. Moreover, the figures are naked and in their delightful *naïveté* far from the fashionable Bruges illustrator, and their arrangement reveals that an older strip composition has here been turned into a uniform picture – the same transformation which could be found from the Montecassinensis to the Vatican Rabanus. It is therefore almost certain that these woodcuts preserve a good deal of the original 13th-century Cantimpré illustrations.[125]

One of the most important sources of inspiration during the Middle Ages was the 'Romance of Alexander' which contains under the guise of the great king's adventurous campaigns many of the Indian fables. The original had been written in Greek;[126] in the early Middle Ages translations into every conceivable language followed, and in the middle of the 10th century it was recast by the archipresbyter Leo of Naples. It is this version, commonly called the *Historia de proeliis*, which was of the greatest importance for the future spreading of the Romance and on which most of the translations into the vernacular down to the 14th century depend.[127] In addition the letter by Alexander to Aristotle on the Marvels of India[128] had a wide circulation, which was current as a separate work by about 800, and which was used over and over again until it appeared in print in 1499 and several times throughout the 16th century.

A number of the Alexander manuscripts is adorned with a wealth of miniatures which show conspicuously all the fantastic creatures
128– encountered by Alexander in Asia.[129] Examples
130 from a 13th-century Italian manuscript of archipresbyter Leo's version may show that traditional formulas were used to visualize these adventures.[130] On the other hand here was a field for creative artists to show their
82 mettle. The illustrator of a 13th-century manuscript in Brussels[131] let loose his imagination; he emphasized in the picture of Alexander's fight

82 Alexander's fight against the one-eyed race, from a 13th-century manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Cod. 11040)

against the one-eyed race the grotesque side of the horrifying encounter, and he seems to have had a sense for the fairy-tale character of his text. Alexander's exploits were also an inspiring monumental decoration of the palaces of princes. Philip the Good of Burgundy had them represented in two great tapestries (now Palazzo Doria, Rome);[132] on one of them there appear Alexander's flight to the sky, his journey to the bottom of the sea, and the fight 83
of his knights against the awe-inspiring headless monsters.

Just as the maps of the world were considered a true image of the world, so for the Middle Ages the Romance of Alexander was real history. It was attributed amongst other classical authors to Callisthenes, one of the historians who had taken part in Alexander's campaigns, and was generally accepted as the most important source of information about India and the East. Historians did not hesitate to embody information drawn from the Romance into their works. Frutolf of Michelsberg inserted the *Historia de proeliis* and the *Epistola ad Aristotelem* into his world chronicle, written shortly after 1100, and it was probably through him that they became known to the great Otto of Freising.[133] Even writers of contemporary history reverted to the marvels as indispensable sources for the enrichment of their narratives. When Foulcher de Chartres wrote his history of the Crusades in the early 12th century, he drew on Pliny and Solinus for the description of wild men, griffins, dragons and the martikhora, and

83 Alexander's fight against the headless monsters, detail from a tapestry made in Tournai, 15th century (Rome, Palazzo Doria)

adduced Alexander's Indian adventures as historical material.[134] The most conspicuous case, however, is Jacques de Vitry who worked into his history of the Holy Land (written between 1219 and 1226) an abundant collection of marvels taken from different sources, amongst which the Alexander romance plays a prominent part.[135]

But the impression made by the marvels did not stop here; they even had their share in the making of history. They played an important part in an historical mystification which excited the people of the 12th and 13th centuries and found an echo in Europe down to the 17th century. This is the story of the great Christian kingdom of Prester John in the remote East. The first mention of his realm occurs in Otto of Freising's chronicle about the middle of the 12th century. In 1164 the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus received a letter from this imaginary ruler which was soon circulated throughout Europe and survives in many copies.[136] It contains a long description of the unequalled power and wealth of Prester John's empire. All the marvels appear prominently in the narrative which is a conglomeration of everything that was current about the East at the time. And it was just this fact which helped to convince people of the existence of that empire, for all their sources confirmed that the marvels existed in those distant parts of the world. The legend of Prester John became not only a stimulus to poets[137] but it was above all one of the strongest impulses for the exploration of Asia. Travellers set out to bring more news about Prester John, missions were sent to his court, and the peoples of Europe expected to find in this Christian ruler a mighty ally in their fight against the Saracens. In fact, every rumour of revolution in Asia was connected with him and he was even mistaken for Chinghiz Khan.[138]

The letter of Prester John pictures his realm as a sort of earthly Paradise, and this had a special appeal to men of the West, who had always connected India and the Paradise. According to all reports, India lay on the eastern borders of the world and this was also the position of Paradise, for it is said in Genesis (II, 8): 'And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden.' It is therefore habitual in medieval geography to show Paradise in the extreme East: and there it remained as part of the marvellous country India right into the 16th century.[139]

84 Antipode from a 12th-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 614, f. 50r)

One of the most heated discussions of the Middle Ages was that about the existence of the Antipodes. St Augustine[140] had rejected the idea and almost ridiculed the notion that there are men who walk with their feet opposite ours, i.e. on the other side of the globe, and from the 8th century onwards the belief in them was banned as heretical. How, it was argued, can the descendants of Noah's sons have reached that part of the world and how could Christ bring salvation to all mankind, if a portion of it was cut off from the rest?[141] But there was an inconsistency which seems to begin with Isidore. He refused to believe in the existence of the Antipodes in his survey of the peoples of the world,[142] but mentioned them again as a race living in Libya in the chapter on monstrosities. By a masterstroke of medieval logic the Greek word 'Αριμάσπεια i.e. with the feet opposite, was applied to the people with feet

turned backward whom the Greek authors had described in India.[143] The race led its dual
84 existence throughout the Middle Ages; it was located everywhere between Ceylon and Ethiopia and conceived in visual form[144] without the contradiction ever being so much as discussed.

Monsters as portents; humanist historiography

Although during the 14th century men like Nicolas Oresme and Henry of Hesse mark the beginning of a strong opposition against occult sciences and credulity in monsters,[145] the belief in the marvels only died very slowly. In fact, even the enlightenment brought about during the 15th century by the geographical expansion and the rediscovery of Ptolemy's geography[146] did not lead to a noticeable break in the tradition. Quite apart from the popularity during the 15th and 16th centuries of such older works as Conrad of Megenberg's *Book of Nature,* Bartholomew the Englishmen's encyclopaedia or the *Gesta Romanorum,* modern authors appeared who professed their adherence to the old superstitions. Hartmann Schedel, in his World Chronicle (1493), followed the old Isidorian pattern of the ages of the world, and on the whole did not advance much beyond the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. It is in keeping with this conservative spirit that the second *aetas* of the chronicle opens with a complete list of the fabulous races.[147] True to the Augustinian tradition they appear as the offspring of Noah; Schedel based his account about them on the ancient authors, above all Pliny but also Solinus, Augustine and Isidore,[148] and accompanied his text by twenty-one woodcuts most of which were taken from current models. The success of this work and of its innumerable illustrations was very great, and the influence of the chapter on monsters considerable; it can be found in works like Sebastian Franck's Chronicle of 1531[149] and right into the second half of the 16th century.

The opinions of two outstanding cosmographers of the 16th century, the Frenchman André Thévet and the German Sebastian Münster, may show further how difficult it was to discard the legacy of classical authority. Thévet (1502–90) was 'historiographe et cosmographe du roi' under Catherine de Medici and Charles IX. In 1571 and 1575 he published a *Cosmographie universelle,* in two voluminous folios, and in looking through them one readily accepts his assurance given in one of his books: 'Je puis assurer que la plupart des bibliothèques, tant françaises qu'étrangères, ont été par moi visitées, à celle fin de pouvoir recouvrir toutes les rarités et singularités.'[150] In the introduction to the cosmography he mentions, characteristically enough, Solinus as his favourite model. Although his position and prolific pen made Thévet a figure of importance, he was in his own time and later attacked for ignorance and credulity.[151] Yet he did not accept all the stories of marvels recorded by previous writers.[152] His method is, however, all the more dangerous when he speaks as an eye-witness. One example of it may be given. 'When I travelled on the Red Sea,' he says, 'some Indians arrived from the mainland . . . and they brought along a monster of the size and proportion of a tiger without a tail, but the face was that of a well formed man.'[153] This creature is, of course, illustrated in the text – but is it a pure 85
product of Thévet's imagination? Thévet saw probably an anthropoid ape, but for its description and illustration he used the old pattern of the martikhora which on its mythical journey has lost its tail.[154] The martikhora from the 86
Hereford map is proof enough to show that Thévet followed a pictorial tradition.[155] Also the reference to the tiger in Thévet's text is not accidental; he may have recollected the words of Pausanias: 'The animal mentioned by Ktesias called by the Indians the martikhora, but the Greeks ἀνθρωποφάγος, is, I believe, the tiger.'[156]

Sebastian Münster (1489–1552) from Ingelheim was one of the most widely read authors of the Renaissance.[157] As professor in Basle this true polymath taught Hebrew, Theology, Geography, Astronomy and Mathematics. His copious *Cosmographia,* first published in German in 1544, contains a description of all countries and peoples, their laws and institutions. This work, which also appeared in Latin, French and Italian translations,[158] was one of the standard encyclopaedias for the layman right through the 17th and even in the 18th century. Münster still accepted the story of the gold-guarding griffins and many other fabulous tales, but he is hesitant about the monstrous races. 'The an-

85 Martikhora from André Thévet's *Cosmographie universelle*, 1571

86 Martikhora from the Hereford Map, 13th century (Hereford Cathedral)

87 Woodcut from Johann Herold's *Heydenweldt*, 1554

88 Sciapod from Lycosthenes' *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon*, 1557

cients have devised,' he says, 'many peculiar monsters which are supposed to exist in India. . . . However, there is nobody here (i.e. in the West) who has ever seen these marvels. But I will not interfere with the power of God, he is marvellous in his work and his wisdom is inexpressible.'[159] Yet by inserting illustrations of the fabulous races, which are partly dependent on Schedel, the visual appeal favours belief in what is left open to doubt in the text.[160]

Münster's text and the rather naive woodcuts of his work enjoyed great popularity. His blocks were used by other authors and in other contexts. The picture with the fabulous races reappeared in 1554 in Johann Herold's *Heydenweldt*, which consists mainly of a translation of
87 Diodorus Siculus into German. The woodcut from Münster shows a grotesque assembly of the most conspicuous absurdities: to the left the sciapod, then the cyclops, the man with his head in his breast and the cynocephalus. The small creature in the centre is a fusion of the pygmy with a double-headed giant who is a regular feature in manuscripts of the marvels.[161]

Herold lived at Basle like Sebastian Münster. A third member of this circle has a claim to be

89 Above left: Sciapod from Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Cronicarum*, 1493

90 Left: Sciapod from a Beatus Apocalypse, 12th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acqu. lat. 1366)

91 Below left: Sciapod from the portal of Sens Cathedral, 13th century

92 Above: Sciapod from the Hereford Map, 13th century (Hereford Cathedral)

mentioned in this connection, namely Conrad Wolffhart, known under his Greek pseudonym Lycosthenes, who lectured in Basle from 1542 onwards on grammar and dialectics. His literary activity had a much wider range. In 1557 he published a large folio with the title *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon*, which appeared in the same year in a German translation by J. Herold, the author of the *Heydenweldt*. This book deals exclusively with marvels all over the earth in chronological order, it is a universal chronicle of monstrosities and wonders. Even more than in Münster's book identical woodcuts were used to illustrate marvellous events widely separate in time and space. The woodcuts were mainly based on the two works by Schedel and Münster. But these books themselves were no more than links in the old monster tradition. Lycosthenes' sciapod, for instance, was copied from that of Schedel. Schedel's sciapod in turn 88 89

90 can be retraced step by step through 15th-,
92 14th-, 13th- and 12th-century monuments[162]
to the Rabanus of Montecassino, and thus to its
73 classical source.

Lycosthenes' work leads away from cosmologies and encyclopaedias and back into the world of magic. The subtitle to each book of the German edition runs: 'About the unfathomable wonders of God, which he has created with a particular significance . . . since the beginning of the world in the form of peculiar creatures, monsters, phenomena in the sky, on the earth and in the sea as an admonition and a horror for mankind.'[163] While the Augustinian conception had made the monsters acceptable to the Middle Ages and monuments like the tympanum at Vézelay had given them their due share in the creation, while the later Middle Ages had seen in them similes of human qualities, now in the century of humanism the pagan fear of the monster as a foreboding of evil returns. We are faced with the curious paradox that the superstitious Middle Ages pleaded in a broadminded spirit for the monsters as belonging to God's inexplicable plan of the world, while the 'enlightened' period of humanism returned to Varro's 'contra naturam' and regarded them as creations of God's wrath[164] to foreshadow extraordinary events. Lycosthenes is an exponent of ideas which having long been in abeyance were revived in the circle of the German emperor Maximilian. Their effect was immediate and widespread, and they brought to the surface popular beliefs which had had no place in the official medieval conception of the world.

A. Warburg has brilliantly interpreted the awe of monsters in Maximilian's circle[165] resulting in the collections of prodigies by Joseph Grünpeck for Maximilian's secretary Blasio Höltzl (1502)[166] and by Jakob Mennel for the emperor himself (1503).[167] Previously Sebastian Brant had dedicated to Maximilian his augury about the monstrous sow, born at Landser in 1496, which is so well known through Dürer's 'scientific' engraving. Such extraordinary births were now connected with extraordinary events in the sky, like eclipses of the sun and comets, and linked with the astrological belief in the power of the stars. Luther himself saw an omen of the death of the Elector Frederick the Wise in the appearance of a rainbow together with the birth of a child without a head and another with inverted feet.[168] These superstitions remained alive in Protestant circles. Publications of portents like that by Jobus Fincelius[169] were made up to foster antipapal tendencies, and the encyclopaedic collection of mirabilia by Johannes Wolf, first printed in 1600–08 and reedited in 1671,[170] is the most comprehensive expression of this superstitious trend in Protestantism.

From the early 16th century onwards an ever increasing number of prophetic treatises based on monsters appeared in all European countries. Aldus Manutius, the Venetian publisher who more than any other man was responsible for the dissemination of the finest classical scholarship, also unearthed and published in 1508 the chronicle of prodigies by the 4th-century writer Julius Obsequens which was later reedited by Lycosthenes.[171] Authors like Pierre Boaistuau[172] and Marcus Frytschius[173] and even physicians like Jacob Rueff,[174] Ambroise Paré,[175] and Cornelius Gemma[176] correlated monstrous births with political events. One or two examples may give an idea of the trend of these works. The famous monster born in Ravenna in 1512 which was never left out in any monster treatise for almost two hundred years was commonly regarded as a portent of the devastation of Italy by Louis XII of France. The interpretation of the monster as well as its picture were standardized and accepted by a host of able scholars as above reproach.

Boaistuau who protested that he had not included any fables in his work but only data supported by the authority of famous authors,[177] published as a foreboding of the peace between Venice and Genoa a monster born in Italy with four legs and arms.[178] The same story with the same woodcut reappeared in Paré, Fenton and others. However, this monster has an old pedigree; it is hardly distinguishable from that described by Julius Obsequens in the year AD 164 and illustrated in Lycosthenes' edition of 1552.[179] John Bulwer, an empiricist who went out of his way to profess in the terms of Lycosthenes that monsters are sent by God 'for the punishing and admonishing of Men', repeated Boaistuau's story in the middle of the 17th century, and at the same time adduced the six-armed people mentioned in the Romance of Alexander to prove that the multiplication of limbs can hardly be called monstrous, 'because

93 Dog-headed monster brought before Louis the Pious, from Jakob Mennel's *Tractatus de Signis, Prodigiis*, etc, 1503 (Vienna, National-bibliothek, Cod. 4417*, f. 9v)

there are many Nations who appeare with such a Bracchiall Redundancy'.[180]

Most of these prognostications were based on actual or imaginary individual monsters rather than on monstrous races, and therefore seem to lead into a somewhat different field. However, writers saw a genetic link between the individual monsters and the monstrous races. Up to the destruction of the tower of Babel 'the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech' (Gen. XI, 1), 'and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth' (Gen. XI, 9). Only then could the monstrous races originate and by implication also the individual monsters. It is for this reason that Lycosthenes gives in his first book all the monstrous races which have come to life after the dispersion of mankind, and from the second book onwards the individual monsters and portents in chronological sequence. Cornelius Gemma linked up the creation of monstrous races 'after the Babylonian cataclysm' and the existence of individual monsters in the same way.

At the same time imagination was so much fettered by classical accounts and the pictorial tradition that many of the individual monsters were represented in the shape of a familiar
93 type. Jakob Mennel, for instance, in his historical survey of prognostics, shows, among many other portents of the sky, a dog-headed monster which was supposed to have been brought before the emperor Louis the Pious in 814.[181] The creature corresponds exactly to the cynocephali of the monster tradition and the arrangement of the picture with the seated monarch taking stock of the compound being appears to have been derived from illustrations of the Alexander Romance. This monster was for Mennel a sign of the vacillating character of people during that particular epoch.

The dawn of science and the fabulous races

The works by Jacob Rueff, Cornelius Gemma, Ambroise Paré and others are not histories or annals like those of Schedel, Mennel, Lycosthenes and Wolf – they are concerned with a systematic study of monstrosities, that branch of natural science for which the term teratology has been generally accepted.[182] From the 16th century literature of this kind sprang up in every country of Europe in ever increasing quantities. The technique was to pile together material known from classical and post-classical sources, to arrange it methodically and interpret it with the new weapons of anatomical and biological research. But the sober and scientific approach was often overshadowed by the indiscriminate discussion of the available 'cases': mythological creatures, imaginary monsters and general descriptions in literature were allowed to rank on the same level as direct observations, and a

number of standard illustrations were repeated in scores of books for more than a century to represent different monsters.[183]

It would make a fascinating study to describe the success and failure of these 16th- and 17th-century scholars. Some of them saw interesting problems which still engage the scientist today. The question of the pathological causes of individual monstrosities was tackled with great assiduity and, although one cannot expect satisfactory answers in an age when so little was known about embryology, not to speak of hormones, the stage was set and the material gathered for the critical minds of the following centuries. A few examples may suffice to show how progress was made while the old mythological tradition continued.

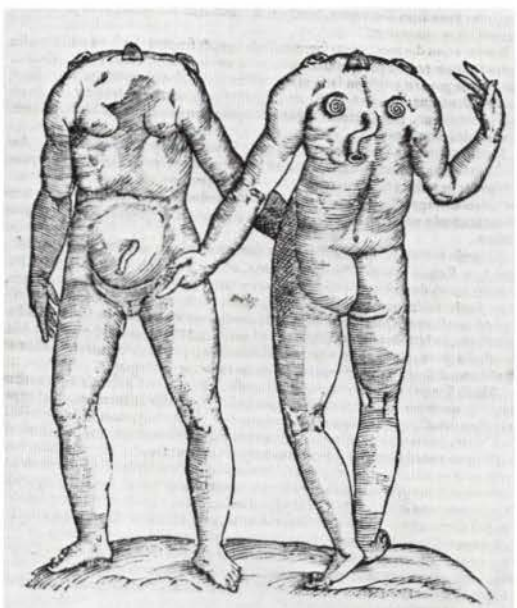
A number of scientists group the monstrosities according to the parts of the body in which the irregularity occurs. Head, breast, arms, hands, etc., follow each other in long-winded chapters. The system is purely formal and the spirit encyclopaedic. The German physician Johann Schenck at Grafenberg brought together a massive folio[184] on these lines, accumulating under each item excerpts from various authors in chronological order, and the material from classical sources and such writers as Lycosthenes completely overshadows the few real observations. In another of these encyclopaedic collections by Henri Kornmann[185] the fabulous races were treated as being of equal importance with individual monsters and there are long and weighty chapters about the people with their head in their breast, on the monoculi, the people with long ears, etc., before the discussion about deformities in the single parts of the body begins.

The fabulous races also appear one after the other in large woodcuts accompanied by learned texts in the classical work of this type, Ulisse
94 Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum Historia* of 1642.[186] His 'Homo pedibus aversis' is nothing but the Antipod of the marvel treatises and the woodcut
96 is an almost exact copy of the Schedel-Lycosthenes figure. In the chapter about the errors of nature regarding the form of the head
95 the *monstrum acephalon*, the headless monster, is shown which, Aldrovandi informs us, was born at Villafranca on 1 November 1562, with its eyes and nose in its back. This monster may well serve to illustrate that even such individual cases dating from Aldrovandi's own lifetime were represented in the traditional shape of the marvels. More surprising than the likeness to the old type of the headless race is the fact that this monstrous embryo was shown – as was the rule with these illustrations – in the form of a grown-up person. When this monster appeared in Aldrovandi it was already a cliché, for Aldrovandi copied an illustration which had been published by Ambroise Paré and which was repeated in numbers of other books.

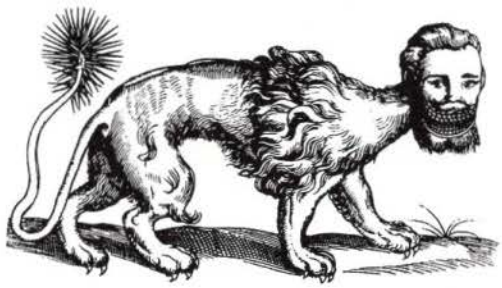
A second more progressive, but slightly earlier, group of scholars attempted a classification according to the biological causes producing monstrosities. Their mind was focused on the Aristotelian conception[187] that nothing can happen contrary to nature and at random. The growing sense for causation in nature and the desire to discover its functions were weakened, however, under the weight of literary authority and time-honoured tradition. Pioneers in this field like the Swiss J. Rueff and the Frenchman A. Paré, paradoxically enough, did not even escape from the belief in the monster as a portent, and they regarded God's will or rather His wrath as the primary reason for monstrous births. Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624), an anatomist and botanist of great reputation from Basle, who gave in his work on monsters[188] an extremely involved table with all the reasons for monstrous births ranked the influence of the stars and the winds in addition to the wrath of God above biological causes. The purest revival of Aristotelian views on monsters is due to Fortunio Liceti, the author of one of the best known books on the subject.[189] He held for a time a professorship of Aristotelian physics in Pisa and his work is imbued with the critical and experimental spirit of his great master. But although he refutes explicitly prognostic qualities of monsters and fabulous accounts about them and describes much from his own experience, his discrimination often falls short of his intentions and he only uses the old set of standard illustrations.

Meanwhile new systematizing efforts on Aristotelian lines were made in other fields of science. Edward Wotton of Oxford (1492–1555) who has been credited with one of the first modern classifications in zoology based on Aristotle,[190] still included in his treatise *De*

94, 95 'Homo pedibus aversis', and 'Monstrum acephalon', from Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum Historia*, 1642

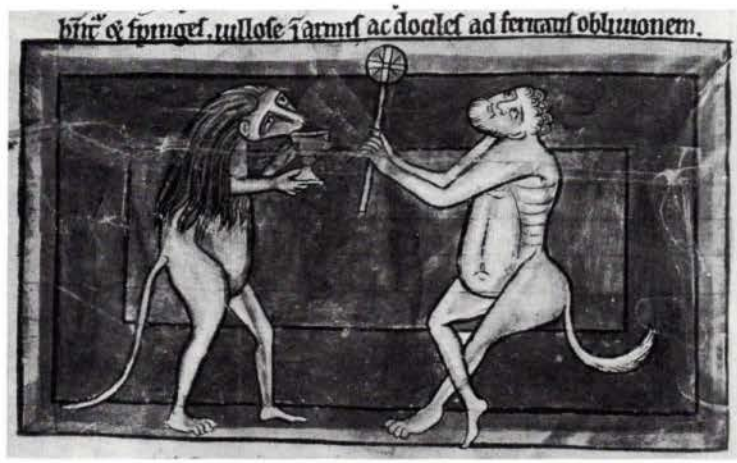


96 Antipode from Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Cronicarum*, 1493



97 Martikhora from Edward Topsell's *Historie of four-footed beasts*, 1607

differentiis animalibus libri decem (Paris 1552) the monstrous animals from India and Ethiopia and, on the authority of Pliny and Solinus, gave a full account of all the fabulous races.[191] Wotton's Swiss contemporary, the immensely learned Konrad Gesner (1516–65) was one of the humanists with whom the written word weighed more than experiment and observation. His vast *Historia Animalium* (Zurich 1551–87) is an encyclopaedia of the zoological material then available, in which, of course, all the legendary animals of classical authors are included. Gesner's zoology enjoyed an enormous success. In England it was popularized by an abstract arranged by Edward Topsell, which appeared first in 1607 and was re-edited in 1658.[192] The cynocephali, satyrs and sphinxes are ranged under the species ape.[193] A very detailed chapter is devoted to the unicorn and



98 'Homo Sylvestris' from Dr Tulp's *Observationum Medicarum Libri Tres*, 1641

99 Above: Ape and satyr from a Bestiary, 12th century (London, British Library, MS Harley 4751, f. 11v)

the old subject of the medical use which can be made of its horn.[194] The description of the
97 martikhora still follows Ktesias, while the illustration of it is in line with the pictorial tradition.[195]

With the accretion of zoological material during the 17th century a critical stage was reached in the rivalry between classical authority and exact observation. One example may show how scientists tried to reconcile the new with the old knowledge. Dr Tulp, the Amsterdam physician who has become immortal through Rembrandt's 'Anatomy Lesson', published in his *Observationum Medicarum Libri Tres*[196] a few monstrosities which he had himself dissected and which he reproduced in pictures of rare precision. He also shows an excellent engraving of an ape with the inscrip-
98 tion: 'Homo sylvestris – Orangoutang'.[197] In a long chapter entitled 'Satyrus Indicus' Tulp came to the conclusion that either satyrs do not exist, or, if they do, they must be the animal shown in the plate.

This identification has an interesting genesis. Ktesias had compared a tailed race in India with satyrs.[198] Pliny went a step further and located tribes of satyrs in India as well as in Ethiopia and in one case classed them amongst the apes.[199] In this respect he was followed by Solinus who placed the satyrs in Ethiopia.[200] Consequently the illustrated Solinus in Milan shows in one picture ape and satyr together.[201] The Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, whose treatise *De Bestiis* became so important for the Bestiaries, accepted Solinus' classification of apes almost verbatim.[202] Therefore in Bestiaries with the text of Solinus the 'satiri monstruosi'[203] follow directly after the 'simiae'.[204] And there are Bestiary illustrations in which the Solinus 99
formula survived.[205] The same tradition was still alive in an Italian Bestiary of the 15th 100
century,[206] But the picture was now translated into the easy-going manner of the Italian Renaissance; moreover, the satyr has taken on his mythological and the ape his zoological shape. This separation contains the germ of subsequent development. The complicated tradition about satyrs led 16th-century writers to attempts at proper classification. Caspar Bauhin, in the beginning of the 17th century, treated this question possibly in greater detail than any other author.[207] He came to the conclusion – anticipated by the Italian miniaturist – that there are two classes of satyrs, real and fictitious ones; both classes have to be divided into two subsections. Real satyrs are either men or a species of apes; fictitious satyrs are either poetical or demoniacal. Dr Tulp, with the mind of the practical man, made a clear sweep of all this complex analysis, but in accordance with

100 Ape and satyr from an Italian Bestiary, 1460 (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Urb. lat. 276, f. 51r)

101 Headless man from John Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*, 1653

the general trend of natural science[208] still tried to harmonize textual tradition with factual observation.

Meanwhile the increase in anthropological and ethnological knowledge during the 16th and 17th centuries could not fail to lead to new reflections about the old fabulous races. A most
101 surprising line was taken by John Bulwer, who has made his name as a pioneer of the deaf and dumb alphabet. He accepted the existence of monstrous nations, but explained their deficiencies as artificial for 'men have taken upon them an audacious art to forme and new shapen them'. In no other work, to our knowledge, did the divergent claims of the written word and of sober and unbiased judgment lead to such peculiar results. It was indeed difficult for Dr Bulwer to disregard Sir Walter Raleigh's detailed report[210] about the Ewaipanoma, the headless nation living in the jungle of the Amazon, even if he was prepared to cast doubt on the accounts of similar races given by Pomponius Mela, Solinus, St Augustine,[211] Mandeville and others. Accurate observation of the native custom of artificial bodily changes like tattooing, enlargement of lips and the lobes of the ears induced him to think 'that it is an affectation of some race to drown the head in the breast';[212] and one is not surprised that he visualized this race in its classical shape. John Bulwer's pragmatic approach to the problem of monsters foreshadows the attitude of 19th-century scholars.

While thus in medicine, zoology and anthropology old and new values were in the balance, the end of the 17th century brought about a complete change of approach to our particular problem. Scepticism about the existence of fabulous races had, of course, always been alive. Rabelais, equipped with a wide knowledge of classical sources, had treated the matter with sharp irony.[213] But there is a new spirit in a treatise, full of common sense, published in 1663 'to the discouraging of a superstitious study of the singularities in nature' by John Spencer, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who won fame as the founder of comparative religion.[214] This work appeared a year after the Royal Society had received its charter, and it was this authoritative body, which finally banished all marvels and fabulous stories and based research solely on experiment and exact observation.

Monstrosities in popular imagery

Most of the authors mentioned in the last chapter belonged to the learned world of scholars and their books were hardly known to a wide circle. In spite of this their ideas reached,

Four examples of the Crane Man:

102 From Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum Historia*, 1642

103 From Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Cronicarum*, 1493

104 From Lycosthenes' *Prodigiorum . . .*, 1557

105 From an Italian pamphlet of 1585

often curiously distorted, the 'man in the street'. The better educated public knew such works as Topsell's from which it got its information on natural history.[215] On a much lower level, publications like that by F. W. Schmucken[216] provided it with the monsters, 'as [in the words of John Spencer] there never wanted those which would farme the weakness and easiness of the multitude.' But the appeal to the largest, worst educated and most superstitious section of the people was reserved to popular pamphlets. After the invention of printing this method was chosen to advertise monstrosities far and wide. The reasons for it were manifold: prognostications, satire, political and religious propaganda and, above all, business, which can always rely on the attraction of the horrible. The material used for these pamphlets was frequently borrowed from the higher flights of literature and adapted to the newsreel character required. One example of this method may suffice.

In Schedel's list of monsters appeared the
103 crane-man with enormous neck and long beak whom he had taken over from the *Gesta Romanorum*.[217] The same monster was pub-

106 Crane Man from a Cologne pamphlet of 1660

108 Crane Man from an English pamphlet of 1664

107 Crane Man from a Cologne pamphlet of 1664

lished after Schedel with a learned text by
102 Lycosthenes, and later by Aldrovandi. But as
104 early as 1585 the monster was also presented to
105 the public in an Italian popular pamphlet.[218] According to the inscription, based on Lycosthenes' text, it lives in the remotest parts of Africa where this race fights the griffins. It is evident that this monster owed its existence to a late amalgamation of the old crane and pygmy story, the process being that the pygmy has grown and has assumed certain features of the bird. A similar pamphlet appeared in
106 Cologne in 1660[219] and here, characteristically enough, the creature is no more a member of a whole race but an individual monster. Its place of origin is now Madagascar where it is said to have been captured by a captain of Marshal Milleraye. The text goes on to say that it is at present at Nantes and that it will be exhibited in Paris. The imaginary monster, the late degenerate descendant of Homer's, Ktesias' and Megasthenes' mythical fantasies on the East and India has become the show-piece of a fair. The pamphlet seems to have sold very well, for in
107 1664 another Cologne publisher produced it after it had undergone a double metamorphosis. It appears now with human head and has become a tatar whom Count Nicholas of Serin has captured in this very year.[220] Labelled in this
108 way the monster reaches England via Holland.[221] And more detailed information was now available. Count Serin had captured it in the month of February 1664 and it was taken prisoner in Hungary fighting, of course, with the Infidels against the Christians.[222] From the English pamphlet the monster migrated back into 'literature' and was recorded by James Paris du Plessis in his *Short History of Human Prodigies* as having been on view at 'Ye Globe in the ould Baily in February 1664'.[223] After it had haunted in turn Italy, France, Germany, Holland and England for almost a century, it sank into well earned oblivion.

The marvels in travellers' reports

The classical conception of India as the land of fabulous races and marvels kept its hold on Europe right into the 15th and 16th centuries. At that time the outlook began to change. The Indian marvels were by no means discarded, but they lost their connection with India and were located in other parts of the world. Moreover, they were revitalized in prognostications, teratological treatises and popular imagery. With the increase in geographical knowledge due to the reports brought back by travellers, it was no longer possible to maintain the old views about India, and yet people were unwilling to renounce the Indian monsters which had a grip on man's mind as persistent as that of the Apollo Belvedere.

But the reports by travellers, though finally decisive in revolutionizing our conception of the inhabited world, did not further the advance of natural science, ethnology and geography in a straight line.[224] They were almost without exception a curious mixture of solid observation and fabulous tradition. These men, from the Dominican and Franciscan monks of the 13th century to Columbus and Fernao de Magellan, went out to distant countries with a preconceived idea of what they would find. Many of the travellers were learned; they had a knowledge of classical authors, they knew their Christian encyclopaedias, their treatises on natural science, their romances, they had seen on their maps the wondrous nations in those parts of the world to which they were travelling – in short, their imagination was fed from childhood with stories of marvels and miracles which they found because they believed in them.[225] Most of them reported about Prester John and his country, many located Paradise. Friar Jordanus placed it between the 'terza India' and Ethiopia,[226] John of Marignolli believed it to be in Ceylon,[227] Odoric of Pordenone found it fifty days west of Cathay,[228] John of Hese on a mythical journey professed to have reached it in the extreme East;[229] and Columbus, who thought until his death that he had discovered the sea route to India, was convinced that he had passed near it.[230] These men found and described the fabulous races, pygmies and giants, cyclopes, sciapodes and people without heads. Friar Jordanus mentioned the unicorn in India, John of Hese saw it with his own eyes in the Holy Land and still shortly before 1600 John Huyghen van Linschoten said of the rhinoceros that 'some thinke it is the right unicorne'. [231] Giovanni Pian del Carpini reported about the cynocephali,[232] Marco Polo found them on the Andaman Islands,[233] Odoric in Nicobar Island,[234] Friar Jordanus on islands

109, 110 Sciapod and cynocephalus from a German edition of Mandeville's *Travels*, Augsburg, 1482

between Africa and India,[235] Ibn Battuta in Burma,[236] while a friar Benedictus Polonius discovered them in Russia.[237] Columbus found them on the West Indian Islands,[238] and they were mentioned as late as 1549 in Herberstein's *Rerum Moscovitarum commentarii*[239] as being in Siberia together with the other fabulous races. It was common belief that Pigafetta had visited the Antipodes,[240] and in his account of Magellan's conquest of the east-west passage occur amazons, pygmies, and people who sleep in their ears.[241] Those at home were busy collecting and bringing to the notice of the public the wonderful experiences of these travellers. As early as 1351 the Benedictine Jean Le Long published such a collection and accompanied it with a series of exquisite illuminations, which were of course faithful re-editions of the fixed marvel types.[242]

So far no mention has been made of the travels of Sir John Mandeville who left a long narrative of a journey to Africa and Asia in the middle of the 14th century which, as is now well known, never took place. His report is one long story of marvels and fabulous tales, and it seems characteristic of the disposition of the human mind that it was this work which had the greatest success of all descriptions of travels. It circulated in beautifully illuminated manuscripts and from the end of the 15th century onwards appeared in all languages and in innumerable editions, decorated with a vast number of woodcuts.[243] The picture of the sciapod from the Augsburg edition of 1482 109 shows how strictly these illustrations follow the old tradition. One of the few unusual representations is that of the cynocephali who 110 carry little oxen on their heads. This is based on Friar Odoric's story, that the dog-faced people live in an island near India and worship the ox, 'wherefore they always wear upon the forehead an ox made of gold and silver, in token that he is their god.'[244]

The real and imaginary travellers of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance brought back these stories and inevitably influenced science and literature at home. For men like Aldrovandi and the encyclopaedists of the 16th and 17th centuries these eye-witnesses were still a welcome support of the classical authorities. On the other hand people slowly learned to discriminate between fictitious and trustworthy

matter in the reports from Marco Polo to Sir Walter Raleigh, and the belief in the existence of fabulous races in Asia was already shaken in the 14th century.[245] But instead of repudiating the whole story, some writers now located the marvels in the still unexplored corners of the world. Abyssinia, from times immemorial a favourite alternative to India, became the kingdom of Prester John,[246] Paradise was banished into the South of Africa,[247] just as the sciapodes and many of the other monsters found temporary exile there.[248] It was also in the interior of Africa that travellers of the 19th century rediscovered Ktesias' race of tailed men.[249]

Monsters – composite beings, half-human, half-animal – play a part in the thought and imagery of all peoples at all times. Everywhere the monster has been credited with the powers of a god or the diabolical forces of evil. Monsters have had their share in mythologies and fairy-tales, supersitions and prognostications. In the Marvels of the East this old demonic inheritance was at the same time preserved and made pseudo-rational. But their ethnological shadow existence sank back into the sphere of magic whenever the innate awe of the monster came to the fore. The Greeks gave to some of these primeval conceptions visual forms which were generally accepted for 1500 years. They shaped not only the day-dreams of beauty and harmony of western man but also created symbols which expressed the horrors of his real dreams.[250]

111 The Island of Madagascar, from a Burgundian manuscript of Marco Polo, included in the *Livre des Merveilles*: griffin, roc and elephants, 15th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 2810, f. 88)

IV MARCO POLO AND THE PICTORIAL TRADITION OF THE MARVELS OF THE EAST

Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East

IN HIS *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, and again in *Marco Polo's Precursors*, Professor Leonardo Olschki demonstrates convincingly that patterns of thought arising from the literary conception of Asia current in Europe determined the character and structure of Marco Polo's *Milione*. Asia was for Marco Polo a fabulous land of wonders, as it had been for Europeans from Alexander the Great's days onwards; wonders he set out to find and wonders he certainly did find. On the other hand, he was a keen and accurate observer and in this respect, on the whole, far in advance of other travellers of his period. He had, of course, one inestimable advantage over contemporary travellers, quite apart from his many uncommon qualities: when he began his journey he was still so young that neither his thought nor his power of observation was dulled by habit; and although he was keyed up to notice the extraordinary rather than the ordinary, most of the strange tales he had to tell have a factual basis and are often eye-witness reports.

His comparative freedom and independence of perception led to incredulity in his readers, and this is not quite as astonishing as it may appear. Our own ways of assessing facts, of thinking and seeing are divided by a deep gulf from those of the Middle Ages; but the species *homo sapiens* has not changed. As with the people of seven hundred years ago, our thoughts and ideas follow patterns familiar to us through tradition, education, cultural setting and all kinds of conventions, and as with the people of the Middle Ages we only understand, are willing to notice and to see what we know and believe in. We need not wonder, therefore, that there were people who regarded Marco Polo – as Friar Jacopo of Acqui informs us[1] – as a liar and impostor. They were not prepared to believe him because many of his stories transgressed the expected pattern. According to Jacopo of Asti, he was asked by his friends before his death to correct the book by removing everything that went beyond the facts. To which his reply was that he had not told one half of what he had really seen. As far as I am aware, no such doubts were expressed in their days about the veracity of Friar Odoric's stories, or those of the notorious impostor, Sir John Mandeville, although they would appear to us much more fanciful than those reported by Marco Polo. Odoric and Mandeville were more readily accepted because they pretended to have seen marvels which people expected to hear of, marvels with which they were familiar through their encyclopaedias, their geographical, scientific and historical literature and, above all, their romances. It is probably not far from the truth that many readers of Marco Polo's *Milione* endeavoured to retranslate into the accustomed pattern of marvels relatively sober reports which they could not relate to known 'facts' and which therefore required some corrective adjustment. How can we prove that this really happened? It would not be easy for the literary historian, but the art historian can do it, and most of the following remarks will be concerned with this problem.

Amongst the many Marco Polo manuscripts there is only one with a large and splendid cycle of illuminations; namely, the well known Codex 2810 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, written at the beginning of the 15th century for John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy.[2] It is mainly the illustrations of this manuscript that will be used to supply an answer to our question. There are revealing discrepancies between text and illustrations. The latter tend to interpret and even 'correct' the text so as to harmonize it with traditional conceptions. Marco Polo himself could never obliterate the visual recollections stored up in his memory. But his method of dealing with them is very different from that of the illustrator.

A few examples may show where his own and his illustrator's ways part. When Marco

112 Unicorn from a *Physiologus*, 13th century (London, British Library, MS Royal 12 F XIII, f. 10v)

described the rhinoceros in Sumatra, the horn immediately evoked associations. He calls the animal 'unicorn', but states explicitly that this ugly beast has nothing in common with the unicorn which, according to 'our stories', is caught in the lap of a virgin.[3] How could he be so sure that the two species of unicorns were utterly different? Clearly, he must have seen and remembered pictorial representations.

The story of the unicorn which can only be caught when lulled to sleep on a virgin's bosom appears first in the *Physiologus*, the late antique handbook of animal tales with Christian allegorical interpretations, and from there it migrated into Bestiaries, into the sculptural decoration of churches, into pictures and tapestries: it became one of the most widely current symbols of Christ's incarnation. No wonder, therefore, that the story of the unicorn as well as pictures came to Marco Polo's mind; they must have been similar in character to the
112 early 13th-century illumination shown above.[4] And although his description of the animal was coloured by literary tradition – he relates as true the Chinese legend of the rhinoceros' prickly tongue[5] – his discrimination between the pictorial and the real 'unicorn' proves that his critical sense was not marred by traditional imagery.

The artist of Codex 2810 did not illustrate Marco's passage about the rhinoceros-unicorn, but otherwise he was rather generous in studding his pictures with the customary type of unicorns. A characteristic example is his illustration of Marco Polo's description of the Indian Kingdom of Eli which – the latter in- 113
forms us – teems with lions and other wild beasts.[6] The artist interpreted the passage by showing steep and desolate rocks enlivened by lion and fox, swan, boar and bear – and, most conspicuously in the centre, a unicorn.[7] Not a word about unicorns in the text! But when attempting to translate into tangible visual language the generic term 'wild beasts' the artist not unexpectedly thought of the unicorn – for the West the fierce beast *par excellence*, which could only be caught by the stratagem I have mentioned. Thus by placing the 'emblem' of the rearing unicorn in the centre of the page, the meaning of the scene was most strongly and most vividly conveyed to every reader.

A parallel case is that of the Roc. When 136
describing Madagascar, Marco Polo relates the 137
miraculous story of the giant bird which is so large and powerful that it makes short work even of elephants.[8] It can seize an elephant in its talons and lift it into the air. This exhibition of strength is a crafty device, for the Roc lets the elephant fall to the ground and then preys upon its carcase. This legend has its mythological origin in the Indian solar bird Garuda, and the transformation of the cosmological Garuda into the monstrous Roc can be traced and its migration followed from India through Persia to the Arab world, where the Roc even made its way into scientific literature.[9] In contrast to the mid-14th-century traveller Ibn Batuta who, while sailing in the Chinese Seas, asserts to have seen the Roc, Marco Polo truthfully reports that his informants were people in Madagascar. When he heard about the bird, interesting associations came to his mind: he immediately thought of griffins – and, in fact, he called the bird 'griffin'. The passage is extremely revealing, for he refers to representations: 'One knows', he says, 'that these birds are not such as we represent them in pictures, half birds and half lions. Those who have seen them declare that they are like enormous eagles.' Thus again, as in the case of the unicorn, traditional images are called up from memory and rejected without much ado.

There cannot be any doubt that Marco Polo had seen in Venice representations of griffins. The 12th-century relief of Alexander's journey 114
to the sky on the front of S. Marco, facing the

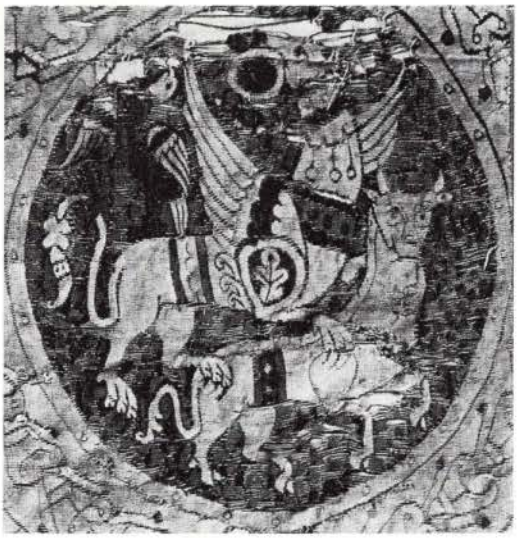
113 The kingdom of Eli, Malabar Coast, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 85)

114 Alexander's journey, relief from San Marco, Venice, 12th century

Piazzetta dei Leoni, comes immediately to mind. In addition, there is another relief with a conspicuous representation of griffins in the same façade. It hardly needs recalling that their number is legion inside medieval churches. In this context it is perhaps even more important that Byzantine and oriental silks and tapestries reached Venice in great numbers, and a re-
115 current motif of their decoration is a griffin lifting a bull in its talons.[10]

111 When illustrating Marco Polo's text, the artist seems to have been ill at ease.[11] The bird near to the beholder may be regarded as an attempt to conform with the text, for although not attacking the elephants in the foreground, it shows eagle-like features. But further back appears the forepart of a real griffin with its prey in its beak. The illustrator cunningly hid the lower part of the bird so as not to contradict Marco Polo's explicit statement. Now the Paris manuscript also contains, amongst other texts, that of Sir John Mandeville's travels. The author talks about the Roc, this time in Bactria. And like Marco Polo he calls it griffin without, however, doubting, as Marco Polo did, its mythological composite shape. It is evident that Mandeville, in contrast to Marco Polo, complied with notions readily accepted in the West. It is griffins, according to him, which carry to their nests a horse with rider or a pair of oxen yoked together. The artist happily re-
116 turned to a large-scale specimen of the traditional classical griffin and showed, facing him, a classical centaur, for, according to Mandeville, centaurs also live in Bactria.[12]

There are cases where Marco Polo's observations seem to have been blurred by recollections of imagery. He describes how a fearful type of serpent is haunting the Chinese province of Caragian, a reptile of enormous size, with jaws wide enough to swallow a man and with teeth sharp and large.[13] It has been surmised, probably correctly, that he is talking about crocodiles.[14] But his description of these formidable beasts goes wrong. They have, he informs us, only two short legs near the head with claws similar to a falcon or a lion. This account was evidently coloured by visual reminiscences. He must have had at the back of his mind the familiar type of dragon, oriental in origin, but forming part of western iconography from the early Middle Ages on-



115 Griffin lifting a bull, tapestry in S. Gereon, Cologne, late 11th century

wards. This westernized oriental monster could be seen, before Marco left Venice, not only in such manuscripts as Bestiaries, but also innumerable times in the pictorial and sculptural decoration of churches, in portals and capitals, pavements and mosaics. The traditional dragon invariably has wings similar to those of bats. Marco correctly omitted mention of this fantastic feature when he compounded visual recollections of dragons with first or second hand information about crocodiles.

The artist must have felt that he had to 117
correct this omission.[15] He juxtaposed prominently in the foreground a traditional winged dragon and a wingless one, probably in order to comply with Marco's description. To allow some latitude of choice he added at the right border a four-footed winged specimen. Moreover, he gave his winged dragons tails with snakes' heads, a feature not at all warranted by Marco Polo's report. This is again a kind of hieroglyph, to which medieval people readily responded: it indicated quite exceptional fierceness and wickedness. The ultimate source for this monstrous formation may have been the Greek Chimaera. To a Christian, a serpent- 118
tailed winged monster evoked associations with the Basilisk, the symbol of the Antichrist.[16]

Of the negro population of the Andaman Islands Marco Polo had the lowest possible

116 Episode from Mandeville's *Travels*, included in the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 211v)

117 The dragons of Caragian, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 55v)

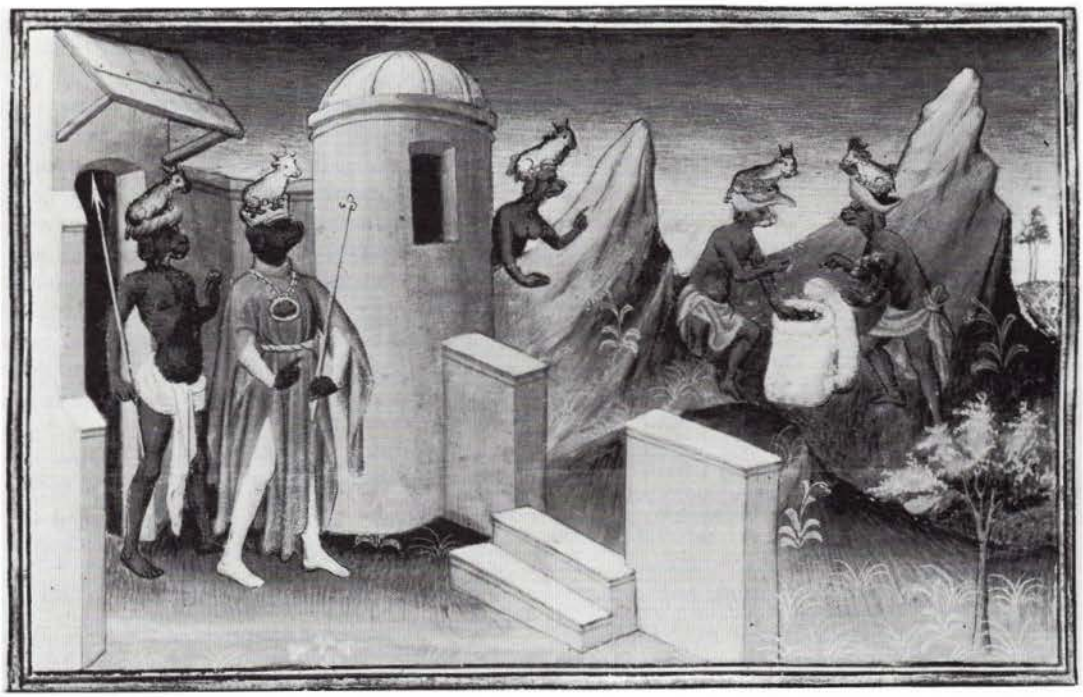
118 Greek bronze Chimaera (Florence, Archaeological Museum)

opinion. In fact, even in Yule's days they were still living in a state of complete barbarism.[17] Marco Polo assures us that these people have heads, eyes and teeth resembling those of dogs.[18] This may have been a good description, but can one doubt that it was influenced by images of cynocephali which he had ample opportunities of seeing in Venice? From Ktesias' days on – i.e. since the 4th century BC – people with dogs' heads belonged to the unchallenged stock of Indian marvels. No wonder then, that our
119 artist represented what everybody expected to see – a dog-faced race – thus turning Marco's analogy into a plain statement of fact.[19] Moreover, by showing nicely tamed the wild, cannibalistic race of the text, the artist made it easy for the medieval spectator to visualize the private life of dog-faced men who behaved so much like Europeans.

In connection with the cynocephali another story should be mentioned. Marco Polo gives a clear report of Indian Yogi. He talks of their ascetic life and mentions that they walk about stark naked. Then follows the remark that they worship the ox and wear as a kind of emblem a small ox of brass or bronze over the forehead.[20] It was Friar Odoric who combined this story with the cynocephali. In his fantastic version it is the dog-faced people living in an island near India who worship the ox, 'wherefore they always wear upon the forehead an ox made of gold and silver, in token that he is their god.'[21] The Paris manuscript also contains Odoric's illustrated text and in his picture[22] the artist 120
makes the story again palatable and credible to western eyes by representing familiar incidents: a king walking with his body-guard and men haggling over the price of corn. Naturally, Sir John Mandeville cribbed this story from Odoric, and through illustrated Mandeville manuscripts and printed editions[23] it reached a wide public far into the 15th and 16th centuries. This success was due to the fact that an originally sober report had been transmuted and assimilated to the expected pattern of eastern marvels.

The relation between text and picture is not always as clear and simple as in the cases so far discussed. No more than a few hints can here be given. Marco Polo tells us that in a place probably to be located in the region of the Altai mountains an incombustible material is won 'of

119 Dog-headed men of the Andaman Islands, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 76v)



120 Dog-headed men of the Nicobar Islands, from Friar Odoric's *Travels*, included in the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 106)

121 A man unconsumed by fire, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 23)

122 Detail from an Alexander Romance (London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E VI, f. 18r)

which one makes salamander'. The truth is, he reports, that the salamander is not a beast as people allege, but a substance. The story that the serpent-like creature salamander (or for that matter any animal) can live in fire he declares to be fabulous nonsense.[24] But this story has a venerable pedigree. Aristotle writes that the salamander extinguishes fire;[25] and through the *Physiologus* and the Bestiaries the legend was disseminated in Christian Europe. The artist's illustration to Marco Polo's anti-traditional exposition is rather surprising, for he
121 represents an old man on a pyre surrounded by flames without being burned by them.[26] The connection with the text is anything but obvious. One may argue that the man might be protected by a salamander shirt. But a more likely explanation offers itself. In Christian allegorical thought the salamander typifies the righteous man, who is not consumed by the fire of luxury and lust. Thus the prophet Isaiah says of the just man: 'When thou walkest through fire thou shalt not be burned.'[27] Some such current ideas may have crossed the artist's mind. Moreover, recollections of illustrated Alexander romances with which, as we shall see, our artist was conversant, seem to have stimulated him. It is even probable that he used as prototype for his composition an Alexander romance illustration of the kind reproduced on the preceding page, showing in an entirely 122
different context a man tied to a post and surrounded by leaping flames.[28]

The most revealing relation between text and picture occurs where Marco Polo talks about the inhabitants of Siberia. He only mentions that they are a very wild race.[29] The illuminator shows three specimens of this race:[30] one a 123
headless man with the face placed between the shoulders, the second a man who is lying on his back lifting his one leg with its outsize foot, and the third a one-eyed giant with club and shield. Are these strange creatures fanciful inventions by the artist? Far from it: he depicted representatives of well-established fabulous races of the East which every reader expected to find in a work about Asia. If Marco Polo was satisfied with the generic denomination 'wild

123 Three inhabitants of Siberia, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 29v)

124 Headless men, from Mandeville's *Travels*, included in the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 194v)

race', he was probably not fully or correctly informed – so the artist might have argued – and the picture had to put this right. Here you see, the reader was told, what wild races in the Far East look like. Somewhere amongst the 84 illustrations of the text such a picture had to appear.

By contrast to Marco Polo, Mandeville enumerates, of course, all the marvellous races of the East one by one, nor does he forget the people who have their faces in their breasts.
124 This gave the artist an opportunity for a more detailed anatomical statement and it appears that this race, quite sensibly, has also faces in their backs.[31]

In all the examples so far given Marco Polo's acumen is remarkably penetrating, but that does not mean that there are not pure flights of fantasy in his work. One such case may here be mentioned although it was not illustrated. In Sumatra Marco found a race of tailed men.[32] His information is rather detailed; the tail is similar to those of dogs, but without hair; the people live wild in the mountains. It is unlikely that he intended to describe apes, as has been suggested. Somewhere else he clearly discriminates between man and beast. There is a reference in the land of Comari to 'great apes of such build that they have the appearance of men', an extraordinarily acute statement. In fact, this passage is the first intimation by a European that the difference between man and anthropoid ape had been noticed. For the next 250 years that knowledge was lost again.[33] On the other hand, wild men with tails were a stock feature of classical and medieval literature. Marco Polo's description of this race derives, however, from pictorial rather than literary sources. Ktesias, in the 4th century BC, had already located in India men with tails 'like those of satyrs in pictures',[34] and Marco Polo had ample opportunity of seeing them in Bestiaries and allied representations. One such late 12th-century Bestiary illustration, in which 125
ape and tailed man ('satyr') are juxtaposed, is shown overleaf.[35] It may be added that tailed men always had a peculiar attraction for travellers, as imaginary observations and reports right into the 19th century prove.

The few examples which have here been

125 Ape and satyr from a Bestiary, 12th century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 764, f. 17v)

given may have helped to clarify the points indicated at the beginning of this paper. We see Marco Polo activating, as the occasion arose, the stock of imagery deposited in his memory; unbiased to a remarkable degree, he compares his actual experience with, and often rejects, the traditional image; but sometimes the traditional image colours or even submerges his true impressions. The same sort of thing happens not only to every one of us in the course of our daily routine, it even happens – as would be easy to show – to experimental scientists whose whole *raison d'être* depends on accurate observation.

Quite different from Marco Polo's was the approach of the illuminator. No medieval artist aimed at a descriptive illustration of a text. As a rule he addressed his public through exemplars, models which circumscribed or contained in a single picture a whole complex of notions and ideas; and it is the strength of the medieval position that these pictorial exemplars were subject to only very slow changes. Being accustomed to the visual language of exemplars fixed by long tradition, the medieval reader on his side did not expect a literal text illustration, but rather visual clarification in terms familiar to him.[36]

A further example may throw light on this point. Tower-carrying elephants were the signet or pictorial formula for an eastern battle-
126 scene ever since Alexander's battle against Porus. In a late 14th-century French *Histoire Universelle* this memorable event is illustrated by three elephants, suggesting many more; they are placed to the left, away from the hand to hand fight on the right.[37] When illustrating the battles of the Great Khan, our artist used 127 precisely the same formula,[38] quite unconcerned whether Marco Polo in the particular context mentioned elephants or not. He even reduced the number of elephants to one, a kind of emblem which the spectator immediately understood in all its implications.

We have already indicated that the notions medieval people associated with the East were derived from a broad tradition with many ramifications. It was this venerable tradition dating back to pre-Alexander days that made the man of the Middle Ages regard the East as the land of marvels. And although this tradition was considerably modified in the course of the last five or six hundred years, it remained essentially alive, and is breaking down only now, in the age of Asia's awakening.

The whole story of the 'Marvels of the East', beginning with the narrative of Ktesias and going down to the later Middle Ages, is dealt with at length in the previous essay (pp. 45–74), and we need therefore pursue the subject no further here. The literature was vast, and the evidence apparently beyond question. How could a man of the 13th century escape from, or even reject, the fantastic tradition of eastern lore, a tradition buttressed by classical authority, believed in by the greatest thinkers, writers and scientists of the time, accepted by the Church and supported by visual material of impressive consistency?

It was precisely at this period that the lore of eastern marvels reached a wide public through the vernacular Alexander Romance and allied literary products. One cannot sufficiently stress that hardly anybody doubted the authenticity of the information contained in it. This is not the place to discuss at length the checkered history of the romance, its Greek origin, its early translation into every conceivable language, and its 10th-century version by Archpresbyter Leo of Naples (commonly called *Historia de proeliis*).[39] In the present context two facts are of importance: first, that vernacular versions begin relatively late; true, in France as early as about 1100,[40] but the first Italian Alexander, Domenico Scolari's *Istoria Alexandri Regis*, was not written until the first half of the

126 Alexander's battle against Porus, from a French *Histoire Universelle*, late 14th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 1386, f. 103v)

127 Battle of the Great Khan, from the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 58)

128 Alexander's army fighting people with six hands, wild boars and three-horned horses (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 143, f. 66)

129 Alexander ordering the statues to be cut open and fighting men on a high rock (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 143, f. 69)

14th century. And secondly, that illustrated Alexander romances do not appear in the West, as far as we know, until the middle or second half of the 13th century.

From these facts we may safely conclude that Marco Polo knew neither an Italian version nor illustrations of the romance. The well-known reference in his book to the *livre d'Alexandre* suggests that he may have read the French verse romance or the *Historia de proeliis* or both. But although the first part of his work especially (while he was moving through the area of Alexander's empire) teems with references to the Alexander legend, many of the strangest events mentioned in the romance versions are neither recorded by him nor even alluded to. It may be that he was not acquainted with the spurious letter of Alexander to Aristotle which was current as a a separate work from about 800 AD onwards, and which also forms part of interpolated versions of the *Historia de proeliis*. It is this letter that contains the fullest catalogue of the Indian marvels.[41]

During the 14th century, Alexander manuscripts with large cycles of illustrations became frequent in the West, and it was through these manuscripts that many people made visual contact with the marvels. The pictures, just like the text, indiscriminately mix history and legend. In a manuscript at Leipzig[42] with one of the earliest and fullest pictorial cycles, dating from about 1300, we see, for instance, the pages with Alexander's second battle against Porus, and with Alexander killing Porus, sandwiched in between others recording fabulous events. These pages show Alexander's army fighting people with six hands, wild boars, and horses with three horns; and Alexander ordering the golden statues to be cut open, and fighting men on a high rock, whom even Hercules had been unable to overcome. 128 129

130 Alexander fighting hairy giants and meeting people with no heads (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 143, f. 103v)

Although such narrative scenes had to be invented to suit the content of the romance, as regards the traditional marvels of the East artists made use of the established patterns. To give an example, the romance relates that Alexander met people without heads, and the artist of the Leipzig MS accepted, as we should
130 expect, the traditional type for them.[43] At the top of the page is represented Alexander's fight against hairy giants. According to the text they are cyclopes, and in fact they are represented as such. Now in the picture these giants have only one enormous foot. Thus the illustrator turned his cyclopes into sciapodes, although the Alexander romance never mentions the latter. But this concoction was not new; it appears in the illustrated Solinus.[44]

We have already seen that, in contrast to Marco Polo himself, the early 15th-century artist of Codex 2810 had cognizance of illustrated Alexander romances, and made use of pictorial formulas invented for the context of the romance. One particular case may now be chosen for the purpose of throwing more light on Marco Polo's relation to the romance material and the impact made by the romance illustrations. Marco Polo describes in the province of Tonocain in Persia a large plain in which is to be found the *arbre seul* 'which [he informs us] Christians call the *arbre sec*'.[45] In another passage he identified the *arbre sec* with the *arbre sol*, and it is in this context that he refers to the *livre d'Alexandre*.[46] In actual fact, no such identification is suggested in the romance. In treating as synonyms the Lone Tree, the Dry Tree and the Tree of the Sun, Marco Polo fused different traditions, and it would require a special paper to try and disentangle them.

In all the versions of the Alexander romance the Tree of the Sun and the Dry Tree are kept apart and connected with separate events. Alexander was taken to the oracular Trees of Sun and Moon, which were capable of human speech and prophesied his early death at Babylon. Before seeing these Trees, he visited the Dry Tree, in whose branches perched the bird Phoenix.

Now according to Early Christian tradition the Phoenix sits on a palm tree. The Greek word Φοίνιξ means the bird as well as palm tree, and representations of the bird on a palm tree are common on sarcophagi and in mosaics. In 131
some of the Alexander manuscripts the two scenes of the Phoenix in the Dry Tree and the Trees of Sun and Moon are combined in one picture. But they also appear singly, as in the early Leipzig manuscript, for instance. The first picture represents the old priest guiding 132
the King and pointing to the Bird in the Tree. The artist, however, did not show the Tree withered – 'nec folias nec fructus habens', as the text says – but followed the Early Christian tradition.

The next page with the talking trees is rather 133
ingeniously devised. Alexander is placed between the trees in whose branches appear symbols of Sun and Moon. These symbols had, of course, a long pedigree. They are a recurrent feature in medieval ivories and paintings of the Crucifixion; and the Christian connotations of the cosmic trees were well understood by some illustrators of the scene, for they showed the 134
head of Christ above the two trees.[47]

131 Detail of an Early Christian mosaic in Santa Prassede, Rome, showing the Phoenix on a palm tree

132, 133 Old priest showing Alexander the Phoenix, and Alexander between the Trees of Sun and Moon (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 143)

134 Alexander and the Trees of Sun and Moon (London, British Library, MS Royal 20 A. V., f. 61r)

135 Alexander and the Trees of Sun and Moon from Mandeville's *Travels*, included in the *Livre des Merveilles* (f. 220)

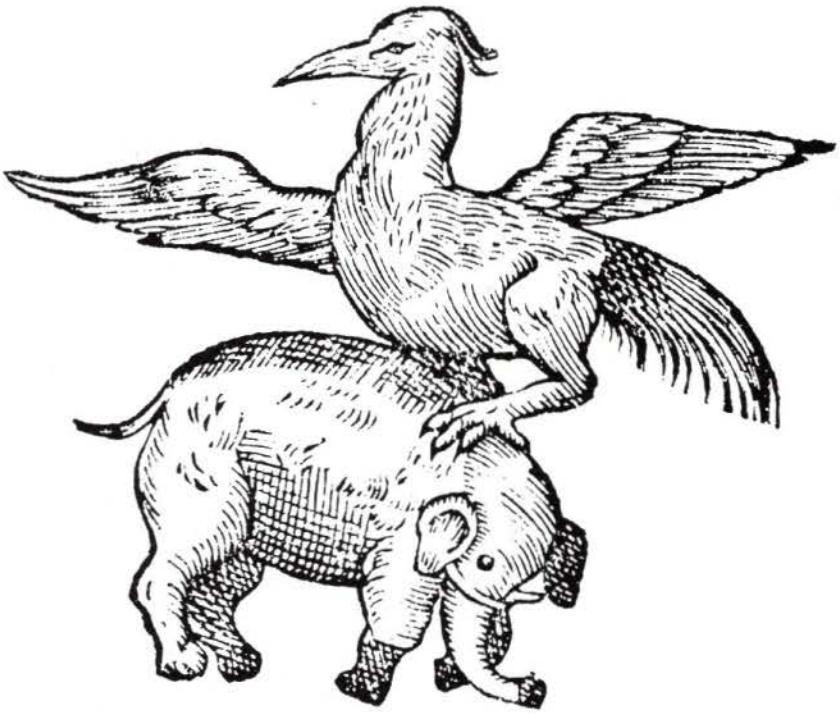
Neither the formula of pl. 132 nor that of pl. 133 was suitable for Marco Polo's text. His equations Lone Tree = Dry Tree, Dry Tree = Tree of the Sun, departed from the current Alexander tradition and were difficult to express by a pictorial formula. So the passages remained unillustrated. We have seen that our manuscript also contains the text of Mandeville's adventures; the latter incorporated into his book the traditional legend of the Trees of Sun and Moon, but cunningly added that he himself was unable to go and see them since to reach them one has to pass through a great wilderness infested with wild beasts, dragons and serpents.[48] The artist, however, did not want to forgo the opportunity of introducing his readers to these important trees. And, quite understandably, he used the formula which he knew 135 from Alexander romance illustrations. He only enriched the scene by showing the woods with the wild beasts in them.[49] It thus appears that illustrations of the romance could, without any scruples, be transferred into the context of a traveller's report. And one wonders if Marco Polo's passages on the *arbre sec* and *arbre sol* would cause us less headache had he known the relevant Alexander romance illustrations.

Although the Paris Codex 2810 does not contain an Alexander text, the overall character of the illustrations is similar to those of the

Alexander manuscripts. The idea itself of such a comprehensive illustrative cycle dealing with the East and its lore seems to be borrowed from illustrated Alexander romances. The late medieval reading public would, no doubt, have realized the connection, which must have strengthened their conviction that the Alexander romance and Marco Polo's book belonged to a closely allied class of literature. This can be supported by other considerations.

Many of the Marco Polo manuscripts are part of collectanea concerned with the East. That is of course only logical. It is worth considering the character of the texts assembled in Codex 2810. The manuscript begins with Marco Polo's book. This is followed by Friar Odoric's fanciful report of his journey which lasted from about 1316 to 1330. No. 3 is the account of William of Boldensele's pilgrimage to Egypt and Palestine, in 1336.[50] No. 4 consists of the letters of the Great Khan to Pope Benedict XII, in 1338, and the Pope's answer. Next follows the report on the states of the Great Khan, written by John of Cor, Bishop of Sultaniyah;[51] then John Mandeville's imaginary travels, the Armenian Hayton's *Historia orientalis,*[52] and finally the Florentine Ricoldo di Montecorvo's description of his eastern journey, begun in 1288.[53] Thus most of the texts are travellers' reports presenting a colourful mixture of the East, ranging from reliable historical, topographical and ethnographical material to pure flights of fancy. Collectanea are very common in which Marco Polo's *Milione* appears together with romances, mainly Alexander texts or Colonna's *Historia Trojana,* with the fantastic journeys of Odoric and Mandeville, and the spurious epistle of Prester John. The famous MS 264 at Oxford consists of the Alexander romance and Marco Polo's book, illustrated with a cycle of miniatures of which only those of the romance have been published.[54] MS Royal 19. D. I of the British Museum, again decorated with numerous though rather weak miniatures, contains a French Alexander followed by the journeys of Marco Polo, Odoric, and Giovanni Pian del Carpini. To these are added what has been called the crusaders' handbook to the Holy Places attributed to Burchard of Mount Sion,[55] further a chapter on miracles of the French king St Louis with an account of his last crusade, and finally extracts from the *Bible Historiale* concerning battles of the kings of Israel. It has been suggested that such a collection was meant to whet the appetite of potential crusaders.[56]

In order to understand the spirit in which Marco Polo's book was offered to the medieval public – and in which it was read – one should study more carefully the composition of these collectanea. As far as I know, this problem has hardly been given the attention it deserves, nor is the survey of manuscripts in Benedetto's brilliant edition of Marco Polo's *Milione* of much help in this respect. But the illustrations of Codex 2810 can teach us an important fact: the cycle of illustrations binds together the various texts, so different in value and veracity if judged by modern standards. The uninterrupted sequence of these illustrations, similar in tenor from beginning to end, makes it evident that for the contemporary reader all these texts were on the same level of reality. The Alexander romance, the *Historia Trojana,* Odoric, Mandeville, Marco Polo, and the rest, were regarded as history true and proper. And, above all, the marvels of the East became palpable by giving them the visual cloak of an old tradition. If and when Marco Polo departed from it, the illustrator resolved the reader's uneasiness by returning to time-honoured patterns.



136 The roc, from Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Ornithologia*, 1599

V
'ROC': AN EASTERN PRODIGY IN A DUTCH ENGRAVING

'Roc': an Eastern Prodigy in a Dutch Engraving

THE GREAT geographical discoveries stimulated not only scientific cartography but also the pictorial rendering of life and customs in remote countries. The origin of that new branch of illustrative art which finally links up with the modern 'picture-reportage' can be traced back to the 15th century when Gentile Bellini reliably depicted oriental people. In the 16th century innumerable illustrations of ethnographical interest were produced – referring mainly to peoples of the Old World. We only need recall the long series of 'Books of Costumes', the many illustrations of the life of the Turks, and journeys such as Herberstein's to Russia. Not before the 17th century, however, did the pictures illustrating the 'New World' gain some scientific value (e.g. in the works of the publisher de Bry).

Among the latest works of the Italianized Dutch painter Johannes Stradanus (1523–1605) one finds a series of engravings which glorify the discoverers of the American continent: Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci and Fernao de Magellan.[1] Although this series is of no great artistic value, it attracts our attention because of its rich conglomeration of symbolical details. In each of the engravings the ship with the idealized figure of the hero is surrounded by a number of figures and animals which by their peculiar mixture of realistic, emblematical, and mythological features, are meant to illustrate the discoverer's special achievement.

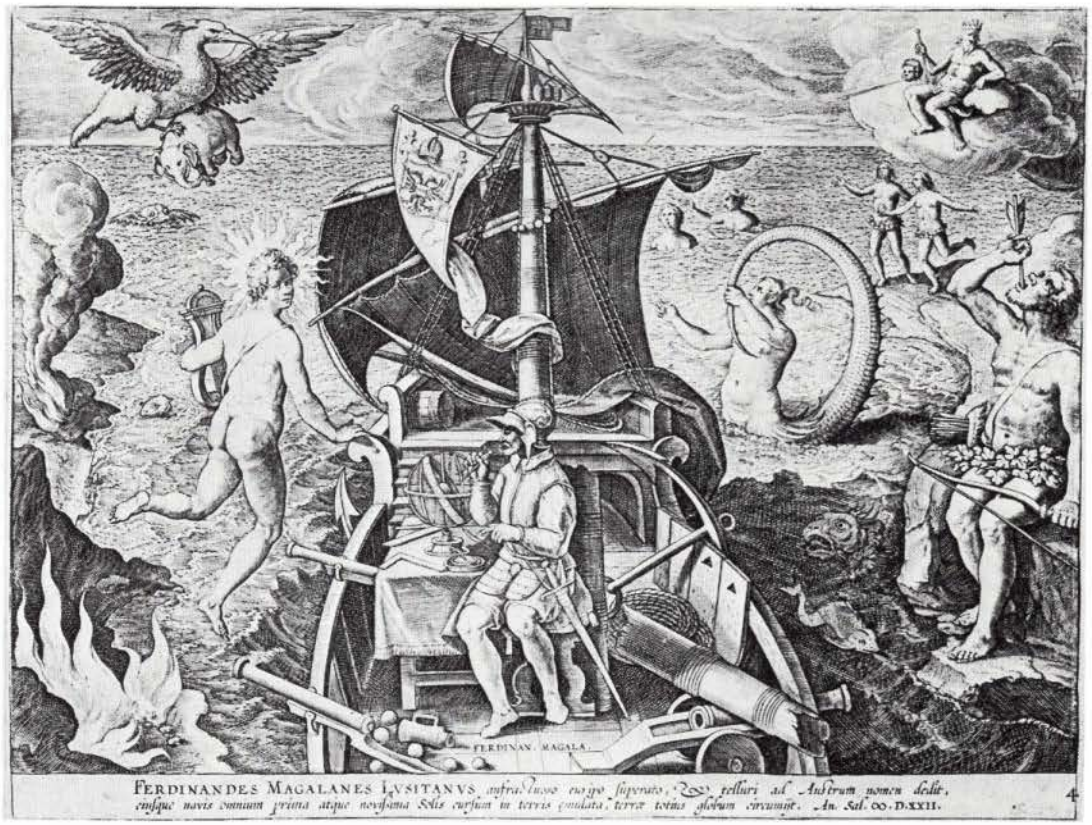
137 The Magellan engraving – the only one which we shall attempt to analyse – shows, next to the boat, the hovering figure of Sol-Apollo. His appearance is explained by the inscription: Magellan by his journey round the earth was the first to emulate the sun. In the air Aeolus is enthroned, sending a favourable wind, a siren and strange fish illustrate remote seas, naked savages provide the ethnological touch. So far so good.

But the artist meant more than that, as can be seen from the dramatic account by Antonio Pigafetta – one of Magellan's companions – of the conquest of the east-west passage in the south of the American continent. The geographical allusions of the engraving become intelligible by means of this text, which was evidently known to Stradanus through Ramusio's standard work, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*.[2] The fires to the left signify Fireland which lies to one's left coming from the Atlantic; the giant to the right thrusting an arrow into his own mouth is an inhabitant of Patagonia, and therefore indicates the northern shore of the Magellan Straits. Pigafetta narrates that they found Patagonia inhabited by a race of giants, and he gives some curious information about the drastic remedies employed by these savages: being indisposed they introduce a spear into their throat, a cure which has – as can be easily imagined – a quick success.

It is evident that the artist intended to depict the most decisive moment of Magellan's journey: the appearance of the open Pacific at the western end of the Straits. Sol, whom Magellan emulates in his journey, leads the ship. In the parallelism of the heavenly and the earthly courses the old macrocosm-microcosm conception is still effective.

The most fantastic part of the engraving is the group in the upper left corner: a bird of excessive size carries an elephant through the air. Is this strange design a pure invention of the artist? Certainly not. It depicts the miraculous bird 'Roc' which Pigafetta describes in a later phase of the journey. According to him its home is the Chinese Seas.

We can trace the roc's migration and transformation with a certain degree of certainty. Stradanus's picture is derived from a very old oriental conception, the cosmological origin of which we know. It is the fight between the Indian solar bird Garuda and the chtonic snake Naga. The Indian word Naga means not only snake but also elephant.[3] Indiologists can probably explain at which crossway of mythical



137 JOHANNES STRADANUS. *Magellan's Discovery of the Straits*, engraving, 16th century

consciousness the naga as elephant was distinguished from the naga as snake. Garuda carrying off the naga-elephant appears in the two great Sanskrit epics, the Mahabharata (I, 1353) and the Ramayana (III, 39). In both cases Garuda carries into the air a fighting pair of elephant and tortoise.[4] The appearance of the elephant instead of the snake may possibly be connected with a lessened sense for cosmology. But in this version too the story did not lose anything of its attractive power.

It has been suggested that the Perso-Arab word rukh (roc) was formed from the latter part of the name of the miraculous Persian bird 'simurgh'.[5] At all events, the western line of tradition from India through Persia to the Arab world is quite clear.[6] Stories of the bird enter into scientific Arabic literature. They appear in the 13th century in Kazwini's standard work on Geography[7] and even in the 15th century in the popular natural history of Ibn al Wardi.[8] They also are found in Arabic fairy tales. Everybody remembers the important role of the roc on the adventures of 'Sinbad the Sailor'. These stories 'sink down' to the level of folklore and the existence of the roc becomes a superstition common to Arab sailors. This superstition is so deeply rooted that we find detailed reports of the bird's appearance as late as in the middle of the 14th century. The traveller, Ibn Batuta, tells how one day in the Chinese Seas they saw a mountain aloft in the air. But 'what we took for a mountain is the rukh! If it sees us it will send us to destruction . . . but God . . . sent us a fair wind which turned us from the direction in which the rukh was.'[9]

Such stories did not fail to impress the minds of European adventurers and travellers. One of the most circumstantial accounts of the bird is given by Marco Polo, who reports that Madagascar is the bird's home: 'Being so large and strong as to seize an elephant with its talons,

and to lift it into the air, from whence it lets it fall to the ground, in order that when dead it may prey upon the carcase.'[10] A hundred years earlier Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[11] has a similar tale, and through him the story was introduced into Germany: his version appears in the epic of Duke Ernest of Bavaria.[12] We need not give an account of all the later references to the roc. Friar Jordanus,[13] who travelled after 1320, tells about it, as well as Sir John Mandeville[14] and a hundred years later Nicolò Conti (1420–44);[15] the Venetian Fra Mauro, in the inscription on his map of the world of 1459, narrates that in 1420 sailors found near the Cape of Good Hope eggs of the roc 'which they say carries away an elephant or any other great animal'.[16]

To return to Stradanus – we believe that he did not simply supply the fabulous story as reported by Pigafetta with a pictorial pattern of his own invention, but that – in order to be true to fact – he based his picture on an original Persian representation of the roc as it could certainly be found in some Persian manuscript in Florence.[17]

His design left its impression upon his contemporaries. It was still used in 1631 by the prolific publisher, Matthias Merian, as an illustration of Johann Ludwig Gottfried's account of the New World (*Historia Antipodum oder newe Welt*, p. 243). But its influence was not restricted to this sort of exploration and history book. It found its way even into a treatise of the Linnaeus of the 16th century, the *Ornithologia* of 136
Ulisse Aldrovandi. It is true, Aldrovandi classes the roc under the 'Fabulous Birds' without rejecting altogether the possibility of the bird's existence. He accepts *tale quale* the design of Stradanus and bases on it his ornithological criterion: 'rostrum columbinum potius, quam Aquilinum ostendit.'[18]

In Stradanus's engraving allegorical relations, mythology, and marvels are in the foreground although we could show that he intends to illustrate faithfully Pigafetta's report. It is this medieval passion for miracles and prodigies which caused him to depict the roc; for actually the bird has no part in the idea of the engraving: the illustration of the discovery of the east-west straits.

Of course, the roc has a number of other characteristics besides his power to overcome the elephant. The most remarkable of these features which adhere to him wherever he is mentioned from China to Greece is perhaps the report that the sun is darkened when he appears. This leads into old and deeply rooted ideas about the significance of shade, ideas which we find still alive in Christian shape in the 14th century. Fazio degli Uberti[19] in speaking of Jerusalem, says:

Dove fu in croce il nostro Pelicano,
Quel dì che obscurò il sol con li altri lumi.

138 PIETER PAUL RUBENS. Detail from a sketch for the cycle of Henry IV (Collection Prince of Liechtenstein)

VI CHANCE, TIME AND VIRTUE

Occasio Pars Temporis

FOR THE GREEKS of the Golden Age, Time was a series of propitious moments – and as such could be represented in the figure of the god *Kairos*. People who thought less metaphorically than the Greeks of the classical age conceived Time as an abstract sequence: in the late Hellenistic period *Kairos* assumes the sense of χρόνος.[1] The original god *Kairos* lives on as εὐκαιρία, a notion which signifies *one* propitious moment in a lapse of time. The Byzantine sources of the 12th and 13th centuries, Tzetzes, Nikephoros and others,[2] therefore describe Lysippos' lost statue of 'Kairos' as 'Chronos'. Even Erasmus still translates Kairos as 'Tempus'.[3]

It appears that Cicero was the first to define clearly the relation between καιρός-tempus and εὐκαιρία-occasio. He says: 'Occasio est pars temporis, habens in se alicuius rei idoneam faciendi aut non faciendi opportunitatem . . .'[4] Thus, a differentiation between the two notions of time is introduced, which stresses the interrelation of both in its positive as well as in its negative sense.

A pictorial formula for this distinction hardly appears before the 16th century[5] and was never more drastically applied than in the engravings which accompany the work of the Jesuit Joannes David, published as late as 1605.[6]

As in many Jesuit tracts the pictures are literal illustrations of the text. Each of the twelve chapters is accompanied by an engraving of Theodor Galle, which supplies a visual demonstration and summary of the argument.[7] The learned Belgian theologian, who had a remarkable knowledge of ancient and medieval writers, actually quotes, besides Ausonius' famous epigram on Occasio, Cicero's definition of Time and Chance. Time for him is Eternity, and Chance is the opportunity of a Christian Life.[8]

In the first chapter Time and Chance are introduced to the public and their functions and symbols are explained.[9] Then Angel and Devil call upon a group of youths asking them for a decision ('Ad frugem vocat Angelus, avocat Diabolus.') Time and Chance stand, of course, on the side of the Angel. The wicked follow the Devil; but the righteous seize Chance by the forelock while Time flies up to Heaven.[10] After 139
that is demonstrated the vain chase of the 140
wicked, who discover too late that Time has passed and that Chance is bald at the back of the head. They have missed their opportunity.[11] Finally, faced with the punishment of Hell, they are tortured with penitence, but in vain. While the good enjoy celestial delights, the wicked – like evil images of the three children in the fiery furnace – are roasted in the fire of Hell and a devil recalls: 'post est occasio calva.'

Through J. David's work the distinction between Time and Chance became familiar to Flemish artists. The idea was expanded in one of Rubens' compositions for the cycle of Henry IV 138
(about 1629).[12] Peace – in another version Prudence disguised as Minerva – holds Opportunity by the forelock and leads her gently towards the king, who hastens to meet her with outstretched hands. Father Time, appearing behind his offspring Chance, directs her, and her subdued gesture indicates her willingness to obey his orders. In other words: Prudence advises Henry to seize the Opportunity offered by Time to conclude Peace.[13]

Rubens' masterly manner of handling the pictorial language of allegory cannot be better illustrated than by contrasting this painting with the engravings of Galle. The latter was quite incapable of finding a pictorial formula to express the filial relation of Chance to Time, as embodied in Cicero's definition. Rubens designs his group as a subtle variation of that of Father Time with his daughter Truth, a conception which already had supplied him with a theme for the last panel in the Medici cycle.[14]

While Rubens depicts the relation between Time and Chance as friendly, the opposite

139 THEODOR GALLE. *Seized opportunity*, engraving from Joannes David's *Occasio arrepta, neglecta*, 1605

140 THEODOR GALLE. *Missed opportunity*, engraving from Joannes David's *Occasio arrepta, neglecta*, 1605

view corresponds more closely to the traditional interpretation of the Occasio theme: Man misses his chance by the interference of Time. That is to say, the rapid course of Time prevents him from grasping Chance by the forelock. This scheme was chosen by a 16th-century artist,
141 Georges Reverdy, [15] in a very rare and little studied engraving. In the centre of the composition stands Man; his mouth is covered by a band which is so firmly held by Time that the whole body of the man is twisted and turned away from the figure of Chance. And, although his hands are fettered, he makes an energetic gesture towards Chance, who is recognizable by her large forelock and is seated on a globe.[16] As she holds a ribbon, it is likely that the artist had in mind one of the Fates, who were already connected with Fortune in Boccaccio's *Genealogia degli Dei*: 'There are people who think that Lachesis is she whom we call *Fortuna*.'[17] Anyhow, we remain in a field defined by the notions *Occasio-Fortuna-Fatum*. The representation of Time is also rather unusual. Two symbols of Time are here connected: the double-faced Janus and the ancient Time god Aion, who regained a certain importance during the 16th century.[18]

In quite a different way this same idea of Chance lost by the interference of Time is represented in an ivory in the Victoria and 143
Albert Museum by D. Le Marchand (1674–1726).[19] Time itself carries off Chance. That Chance has passed by without having been used is made excessively clear: she kills herself

141 GEORGES REVERDY. *Man prevented by Time from seizing Chance*, engraving, 16th century

142 THOMAS REGNAUDIN. *The Abduction of Cybele by Saturn*, 1678, Tuileries, Paris

with a spear and seizes herself by her own forelock.

At the feet of Time there is a woman with a lion. As in the two main figures, a literary moral is represented in a somewhat unusual way. Lost Opportunity inevitably brings Repentance with it. The lion is the attribute of Penitence.[20] Both the woman and the animal look up to dying Chance with an expression of grief and sadness, thus embodying the feeling of the penitent.

This little ivory has a fascinating history. An
142 almost identical marble group exists in the Tuileries. It was executed in 1678 by Thomas Regnaudin for Versailles as 'the Abduction of Cybele by Saturn'. The subject is rare but keeps within the legitimate realm of mythology. Saturn is Cybele's husband, the lion her animal attribute. Twenty years later the actual meaning of the group seems to have been forgotten. In the salon of 1699 the model of it was shown with the title: 'Le Temps qui découvre la Vérité.'[21] The next step – LeMarchand's ivory – means a new misinterpretation. But through very slight alterations the artist made his idea plain. How is it possible that one and the same figure could be interpreted not only as Cybele but also allegorically as both Truth and Chance?

The model for this design is Bernini's 'Rape of Proserpina' which had become a favourite formula of sculptors all over Europe. Poussin and Rubens used this formula to show 'Time carrying off Truth'. They of course changed the woman's original gesture of terror and despair into its opposite: the longing for salvation.

The affinity between Truth and Chance is easy enough to explain. Both stand in a similar relation to Time, inasmuch as it is in the course of Time that Truth is revealed and Chance is seized or missed. But apart from their common relation to Time there exists a deep rivalry between Truth and Chance. As one instance of this rivalry we may refer to the almost forgotten *Dialogo de Fortuna* of Fregoso (1521), a

143 DAVID LE MARCHAND. 'Missed Opportunity', ivory, early 18th century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum)

144 GIULIO DELLA TORRE. 'Fortune Favouring Virtue', medal of Aurelio d'Acqua of Vicenze, 15th century

philosophical poem which was much read in its day. Truth appears here as the only remedy against Chance:

> *Non terra la Fortuna per suo nume*
> *Chionque gli orecchie a mie parole presta*
> *Et chiara fa sua mente col mio lume.*

Truth is defined as self-criticism, as the knowledge of oneself. Fregoso's Truth is, therefore, a refined form of Virtue and naturally takes over the function of Virtue in the old contest between Virtue and Fortune.

Fortuna Comes Virtutis

The stoic recommendation of virtue as a remedy against the caprices of chance was transmitted by Petrarch[22] to the humanists of the Renaissance. For this tradition ample literary material has been collected.[23] Yet the humanist conception of the relation between Virtue and Fortune is by no means uniform: the two allegories are not always hostile. A reconciliation is possible as long as Fortune follows in the tracks of Virtue. Witness the famous letter on Providence and Fate written by Marsilio Ficino to the Florentine merchant Giovanni Rucellai,[24] in which he advocated such an *Ausgleichsphilosophie*. Again it is very characteristic of Erasmus that he included in his *Adagia*[25] a quotation from Cicero's letters:[26] 'Duce virtute comite Fortuna.'

This passage seems to have been popular already in the 15th century, as we find it on a medal of Giulio della Torre,[27] with a very interesting divergence from Erasmus. Virtue appears as guided by Divine Providence and followed by Fortune: 'Deo Duce Virtute Comite Fortuna Faven[te].' In content and date this religious twist corresponds exactly to Ficino's view. Ficino says: 'The prudent man has power over Fortune, but only if he understands the words of that Wise Man[28] [i.e. Christ]: Thou couldst

144

145 MANNER OF CAMELIO. Obverse and reverse of a medal of Giuliano II de' Medici, 1513 (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection)

146 GIUSEPPE PORTA. *Pallas between Fortitude and Fortune*, 1556/60 (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana)

have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above' (John XIX, 11).

With the exact Ciceronian wording as quoted by Erasmus, the conception of virtue became as strongly secular as in Fregoso's poem. In this Erasmian sense a medal of 145
Giuliano II de' Medici of 1513 is inscribed: 'Duce Virtute Comite Fortuna.'[29] It shows two figures: the veiled one of Virtue giving her right hand to another figure characterized as *Fortuna-Occasio* by a cornucopia and rudder – symbols of Fortune – and by the forelock – symbol of Chance. The occasion for which this medal was struck is well known. After the re-establishment of the Medici in Florence in 1512, Giuliano, brother of Leo X, became for a short period head of the State. The medal thus commemorates this event, and indicates that such a position can be attained only by personal virtue combined with chance.

A little later the device was incorporated into Alciati's *Emblemata* (1531), through which it became widely known in artistic circles.[30] But it is certainly not through Alciati that it was transmitted to Giuseppe Porta, who used it on one of his ceiling paintings in Sansovino's 146
Library in Venice.[31] Fortune is here represented in the foreground sitting on the globe with veiled eyes; Fortitude stands behind on the right and Pallas, with Prudence at her feet, stands between them, as mediator. Her gestures indicate that Fortitude will be rewarded by Fortune who, in fact, offers her crown as prize. The idea differs slightly from that on Giuliano de' Medici's medal, but except for the mediating figure of Pallas it is a literal illustration of Livy's 'Fortes Fortuna adiuvat'.

It is not impossible that the introduction of Pallas was suggested by Bocchi's mythographical work.[32] One of the engravings by 147
Bonasone, who supplied that book with hundreds of designs, illustrates the idea that Fortune is uplifted by the diligence (Pallas) of the brave. ('Fortuna forti sublevanda Industria.') In this particular engraving the iconographical formula for the liberation of Fortune shows again some affinity to 'Veritas 148
filia Temporis'. Pallas appears in the role of Time and drags from the waves *Occasio-Fortuna*, who is naked like *Veritas*. Bonasone seems to have been following a model published some twenty years before his own work.[33]

147 Below: GIULIO BONASONE. *Fortuna forti sublevanda Industria*, engraving, 1555

148 GREGOR SICKINGER. *Veritas filia Temporis*, drawing, 16th century (Erlangen University)

Instead of Truth rising from an abyss, as shown in the woodcuts, one finds her emerging from the waves, as in Fregoso's *Dialogo:*

> *In mezzo il fonte fuor de lombrose acque*
> *Una matrona al improviso emase . . .*

Virtus Domitor Fortunae

Although it would be easy to quote other cases in which a reconciliation of Virtue and Fortune is depicted,[34] the main trend of Renaissance thought conceives the relation of these two forces as an irreconcilable feud. One of the most striking examples is a fresco in grisaille of
149 the school of Mantegna.[35] To judge from its style, it cannot have been painted before 1490, and it must have been carried out by one of the master's immediate followers.

Occasio with winged feet and her face covered by the forelock, has just passed a youth

149 SCHOOL OF MANTEGNA. Allegory of Chance, late 15th century (Mantua, Accademia Virgiliana)

150 MARC ANTONIO RAIMONDI. *Herculean Virtue chastising vicious Fortune*, engraving, early 16th century

151 BENVENUTO CELLINI. 'Virtue beating Fortune', reverse of a medal of François I, 1537

who tries to seize her with outstretched hands. He is hindered in his course by an elderly matron standing upon a rectangular pedestal. In contrast to the ever-rolling ball of chance this rigid socle signifies stability and firmness.[36] The rectangular form is, indeed, an old symbol of constancy. The Platonists of the Renaissance even quoted the Timaeus to prove that the cube signifies the stability and gravity of the earth.[37] In the Paris edition of 1523 of Petrarch's *De Remediis*, the same point is explicitly stressed in the woodcut on the title-page. Fortune sits on a ball with the inscription: SEDES FORTUNE ROTU[N]DA; Sapientia faces her on a cube with the words: SEDES VIRTUTIS QUADRATA.[38]

In the Mantegnesque fresco the figure of Virtus-Constantia heavily draped, standing firmly on the pedestal, seems to correspond to that in the widely read poem *L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* by Martin Franc, dedicated to Philip of Burgundy in 1477, which describes the victory of *Vertu* and *Noblesse* over Fortune. In Simon Marmion's illustrations[39] Virtue is draped and placed in a similar way. But instead of Marmion's old conception of Fortune with the wheel, Mantegna introduces the dramatic chase of Man after Chance as it was familiar to him, and probably to his patrons as well, not only from Ausonius' epigram and certain monuments (mainly the relief of Torcello), but also from Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*.

The Mantegnesque fresco adorned a chimney in the house of the Marchese Biondi in Mantua; it always reminded the inhabitants to oppose the virtues of *Constantia* and *Stabilitas Animi* to the fugitive whims of Chance.[40]

More complicated in its symbolism is an engraving by Marc Antonio Raimondi, which belongs essentially to the same complex of ideas. A naked man having grasped Chance by the forelock beats her with a sort of whip. She is characterized again as *Occasio-Fortuna*.[41] The contest of Man and Fortune is a very old literary *topos*. It already appears in medieval *paragoni*[42] and is to be found in Italian literature from Boccaccio to Sanazzaro and Ariosto.[43] But the closest parallel to Raimondi's engraving is a famous passage in Machiavelli's *Principe* which, we are inclined to believe, was known to the artist: 'Io iudico bene questo, che sia meglio essere impetuoso che respettivo, perchè la fortuna è donna: et è necessario, volendola tenere sotto batterla et urtarla' (Cap. 25). 150

Yet the male figure seems not merely to be an 'impetuoso' grasping Chance by the forelock, but stands at the same time for Virtue

chastising vicious Fortune. In contrast to the Mantuan fresco which, for the contest of Virtue and Chance, widened a traditional configuration of the *Occasio* theme by adding the figure of *Constantia*, this engraving makes use of a completely different pictorial prototype, namely that of the very old struggle between Virtue and Vice of the 'Psychomachia'.

Our interpretation is supported by other
151 pictorial documents. A medal for François I of France[44] clearly embodies the same antithesis between virtuous Man and vicious Fortune by showing a galloping youth riding over and beating the naked figure of Fortune; the motto flatteringly says that François overcame Fortune through Virtue ('Fortunam Virtute devicit'). More important for our argument is
152 another medal, struck for Paleologus di Monferrato by G. Fr. Caroto[45] and designed about the same date as Raimondi's engraving. The motto calls Hercules who subdues avarice (symbolized by the purse): 'Vitiorum Domitor'. Strangely enough, Hercules takes Vice by the forelock as if she were Chance. He beats her with a whip, as in the engraving. And here is our final point: a comparison of the head of Hercules with the man's head of the engraving suggests that Raimondi, too, must have associated the 'Domitor Fortunae' with Hercules. He depicted a typical Herculean head with the peculiar thick hair and the beard, in accordance with the conception of Hercules in the early 16th century. It would be daring to name the figure Hercules, as he has not the usual attributes, but it is safe to call him 'Herculean Virtue'.

Hercules as *Tugendheld* is, of course, a mere commonplace. Nor is his contest with Fortune an invention of Raimondi. We may refer to a play of 1502 acted before Lucrezia Borgia, in which Hercules appears as champion of Virtue in her combat with Fortune.[46] Finally, to show that the early Christian conception (Lactantius, St Jerome, etc.) of Fortune as the spirit of evil is really alive right through the ages, a play by Dekker should be quoted, in which Fortune and Vice actually appear allied in their fight against Virtue.[47]

Into the 'Contest of Virtue and Fortune' a new and interesting element was introduced by
153 Vasari in a ceiling painting in his own house in Arezzo. He describes his idea as follows:

152 GIOVANNI FRANCESCO CAROTO. 'Hercules chastising Vice', medal, *c.* 1518

153 GIORGIO VASARI. *Virtue, Envy and Fortune*, 16th century (Arezzo, Casa Vasari)

154 BOLTEN VAN ZWOLLE. *Mars chastising Cupid*, drawing, *c.* 1600 (London, British Museum)

155 NICCOLO FIORENTINO. 'Virtue between Love and Chance', medal of Stefano Taverna, *c.* 1495

'. . . la Virtù che ha sotto i piedi l'Invidia, e presa la Fortuna pe' Capelli, bastona l'una e l'altra; e quello che molto allora piacque, si fu, che in girando la sala attorno, ed essendo in mezzo la Fortuna, viene talvolta l'Invidia a esser sopra essa Fortuna e Virtù, e d'altra parte la Virtù sopra l'Invidia e Fortuna, si come si vede che avviene spesse volte veramente.'[48] The female allegory of Virtue uses here the club of Hercules, Fortuna again has the forelock of Occasio. The idea is that the 'Virtuoso' who has taken hold of Fortune is exposed to the envy of his competitors – no doubt a personal allegory of Vasari himself in relation to his opponents. Yet, from a certain position in the room it is possible to see Envy *above* Virtue. Thus, the content of the picture is ambiguous; it admits the vicissitudes of Fortune, although it indicates optimistically that finally Virtue is superior to Envy (by stepping on Envy). This is one of the rare cases in which mannerist ambiguity penetrates into the very content of the picture – and happily enough the ambiguous interpretation derives from Vasari himself.

Like many other engravings of Raimondi, the one just analysed found its way to the North.
154 It was apparently used in a peculiar design by the Dutch painter Bolten van Zwolle[49] about 1600. In an attitude reminiscent of the figure of Virtue in the engraving, Mars is beating the child Cupid, whom he grips firmly by a bandage which covers his eyes.

Cupid is generally punished either by Chastity, who attacks him with arrows, or by a group of women whom he has disappointed, occasionally even by his mother Venus. One must remember, however, that there are also representations of Virtue seizing Fortune with 155
one hand and a fettered Cupid with the other, which means that Virtue overcomes humanity's most powerful enemies – love and chance.[50] But Zwolle's design cannot be interpreted as a moralization. Venus, in the background, indicates by her gestures that she wants the punishment to stop.

The scene reminds one of an epigram by Ausonius with which Italian painters since the 15th century were well acquainted. The poet reports that Venus joins the discontented women lovers in punishing her son, because she herself has been disappointed by him on several occasions, primarily when she was surprised in the embrace of Mars by her husband Vulcan. But then the punishment of Amor becomes too cruel for her motherly heart, and she begs that the chastisement should stop.

Zwolle's sketch-book shows him to be a very witty artist with a strong taste for burlesque and satire, and also a good connoisseur of mythology, particularly in its Italian version. Therefore we do not think it too bold to assume that his drawing is a conscious travesty
of Raimondi's engraving.[51] The form of the 150
composition recalls the 'Punishment of Fortune by Virtue', but the content of the scene suggests that Cupid is being punished by those whom he has not sufficiently served in their pleasures.

156 GIROLAMO DA CARPI. *Chance and Penitence*, c. 1541
(Dresden, Gemäldegalerie)

VII PATIENCE AND CHANCE: THE STORY OF A POLITICAL EMBLEM

Patience and Chance: the Story of a Political Emblem

Michelangelo and Bishop Minerbetti

BERNARDETTO MINERBETTI, bishop of Arezzo, one of the most ardent admirers of Michelangelo, was so eager to own a design inspired by the great master that he wrote a letter to his intimate friend Vasari, dated 4 October 1551, imploring him to get hold at least of an *invenzione* of Michelangelo's, as he was not in a position to acquire an original work.[1] 'Patience' was Minerbetti's emblem,[2] and he wished his friend to ask Michelangelo's advice as to how to represent this allegory most suitably. A few weeks later Vasari sent a design which has a remarkable history.

In an accompanying letter Vasari told the bishop that in accordance with his wishes he had conferred with Michelangelo several times about the best way of representing that allegory, but he adds: 'Niente di meno, come vecchio, se n'è abbandonata, non avendo potuto esprimere il suo concetto come egli avrà voluto.' These words reveal that an understanding could not be reached between the two artists. Vasari, almost forgetting his proverbial respect for Michelangelo, continues that 'il mio gran Michelangelo', as he always calls him, said many different things which are not worth discussing.[3] It appears that in the end Michelangelo chose from a number of Vasari's drawings the one which was sent to Minerbetti and which was highly appreciated by Annibale Caro, Vasari's friend and adviser in humanist questions.

Minerbetti was immensely pleased with the design, and some years later, probably in the
157 beginning of 1554, Vasari carried it out in a picture which is now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.[4]

If one looks at Vasari's invention it is not difficult to discover the reason for Michelangelo's disdain. Vasari himself felt the necessity to accompany his drawing with a lengthy description to make it at all intelligible to his client. The main points of his explanation are: that the female figure representing 'Patience' should be neither completely dressed nor totally undressed (to show the balance between richness and poverty), that she should have one foot chained (in order not to affect a nobler part of the body), that her arms should be folded on her chest because she shows no intention of using them to free herself. She rather waits until the water, dropping from an old water-

157 GIORGIO VASARI. *Allegory of Patience, c.* 1554 (Florence, Palazzo Pitti)

clock,[5] consumes the rock to which the chain is forged.

This sort of intellectual puzzle, so characteristic of the literary debates of the academies in the second half of the 16th century, was entirely alien to Michelangelo's way of thinking. We can hardly imagine anything more indicative of the great chasm between Michelangelo's and Vasari's generation than the passages from Vasari quoted above. It is obvious that his most intimate circle, including Annibale Caro and Vincenzo Borghini,[6] praised Michelangelo's outstanding greatness without having any spiritual contact with the aged master.

Vasari's 'Patience' and Ercole II of Ferrara

When, at the end of 1552, Cardinal Ippolito d' Este, brother of the reigning Duke Ercole II, passed through Florence on his way to Siena, he was accompanied by Marcantonio Falconi, bishop of Cariate, who lodged in Minerbetti's house. One evening, when the Florentine humanist, Varchi, dined with the two bishops, Falconi raised the question whether Varchi could help him to find a suitable *invenzione* for a representation of 'Patience', adding that he was asking all 'litterati et sottili ingegni' about it, as Patience was Ercole's emblem, and the duke had been trying for a long time to find the right symbol for it. During this discussion, while Varchi was suggesting various ideas, Minerbetti kept quiet, but at the end he decided to show Vasari's design, and, characteristically enough, he also produced Vasari's written commentary in order to interpret the design effectively.[7] The design provoked an enthusiasm beyond all expectations – it was copied and sent to Ercole II.

Evidently the duke accepted the design, for it is copied in a life-size painting, now in the Gallery of Modena, which came from the Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, a residence of Ercole II.[8] The same design was adopted for the reverse of some of the duke's medals, notably
158 for one by Pompeo Leoni struck as early as 1554.[9] And some years later it also appeared
159 on Ferrarese coins.[10]

The Duke's great diplomatic achievement was the preservation of peace in a rather awkward political situation. Through his wife

158 POMPEO LEONI. Reverse of a medal of Ercole II d'Este, 1554 (London, British Museum)

159 Coin of Ercole II d'Este, mid 16th century

Renée, daughter of Louis XII, he was allied to France, but he succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with France's antagonists, the Pope and Charles V. His lifetime was spent in veering from one of these great powers to another. Indeed, in order to retain his dukedom, he had no other chance but to employ 'Patience'.

His situation was typical of the small Italian principalities of the 16th century, and the use

he made of his emblem was a dangerous symptom. The sovereign as the absolute centre of his community expresses his policy in a personal symbol, the idea of which required, as we saw, an explanation even in a small circle of humanists. Yet this symbol was stamped on coins and circulated among the people, regardless of the fact that nobody could guess its meaning. The gulf between court and people could not be stretched much wider. If one adds to this the external pressure brought upon the duke by foreign potentates, one can understand that the situation could not fail to lead to catastrophe. The Este actually lost Ferrara in 1598.

'Chance and Penitence', by Girolamo da Carpi

Some time ago Adolfo Venturi produced documentary evidence that Girolamo da Carpi painted for Duke Ercole II a picture of 'Chance and Patience'.[11] All writers seem to agree[12] that this document, dated 1541, refers to a painting
156 which was once in Ferrara and is now in Dresden. Its central figure actually represents Chance. But is it right to relate the document to the painting? It would be impossible – in the light of what we now know of the part played by Patience in the duke's policy – to explain why the artist should have combined an evidently victorious figure of Chance with a downtrodden one of Patience.[13]

The best approach to the real meaning of the picture is through a drawing after Vasari for the
160 famous 'Mascherata della Genealogia degl'Idei de'Gentili', a parade of the ancient gods in honour of the marriage of Francesco I de' Medici and Joan of Austria in 1565. The humanists Baccio Baldini and Giovan Battista Cini published descriptions of the *Mascherata*, so that design and text can be compared. Baldini's text runs as follows: 'Dopo la Clemenza venne l'occasione con la penitenza che la seguitava in ogni attione che gli huomini hanno à fare . . . il saper' pigliar' l'occasioni che ti son' date da altri, o che da lore stesse ti si offeriscono è di gran'momento, a questa l'authore finse in quella maniera che la descrive Ausonio Gallo in un suo epigramma.'[14]

Vasari's drawing corresponds to Baldini's text. We see on the right of the main figure,

160 *Chance and Penitence*, drawing after Vasari, *c.* 1565 (Florence, Uffizi)

which bears the inscription *L'occasione*, another heavily veiled figure which represents Penitence. Girolamo da Carpi's picture must be explained in the same way. The veiled woman on the right is not Patience, but Penitence.[15] Yet the picture calls for some study beyond this mere iconographical statement.

There is an essential difference between Vasari's drawing and Carpi's picture as regards their literary sources. Vasari illustrates exactly an epigram by the Roman poet Ausonius,[16] whereas the Ferrarese painter's work has a far more complex literary background. Giglio Gregorio Giraldi (Gyraldus), the most prominent humanist of the Ferrarese court, was evidently his adviser;[17] for all the points in which his painting differs from Vasari's drawing can be explained from the texts which Giraldi had collected.[18] A male is represented, not a female, as in Vasari's drawing: the Greek god *Kairos*, instead of the Latin goddess

Occasio. He stands on tiptoe, has wings on his feet (not winged sandals, like Vasari's figure), and holds a razor in his right hand, for *Kairos* is sharper than the keenest blade.[19] A ball, not a wheel, is under his feet,[20] and he has a 'bloomy complexion showing by its brilliancy the bloom of his body which closely resembles Dionysos'.[21]

One might ask whether, instead of illustrating these texts, the artist may not have been inspired by a pictorial model which he saw. The question is easily answered. The number of earlier monuments showing Chance and Penitence is very small, and they generally introduce the figure of Man into the scene so as to show clearly how Chance passes him and how he takes her by the forelock.[22] They reveal an epic, narrative style, very different both from Girolamo's painting and from the ancient texts. These[23] presuppose a spectator who is to question a work of art about its meaning. Disguised in the poetical form of question and answer, the ancient epigrams really represent spoken monologues, in which the enquiring spectator himself discovers the answer. In this attitude he is also meant to approach Girolamo da Carpi's picture: *Kairos* looks at him with his mouth half-opened, as if talking.[24] The forelock blows towards the spectator, but the feet are turned sideways on a ball in mid-air to ensure the impression that he passes by like the wind. On a rock stands *Metanoia:* 'When I have flown away, she remains.'

One must admit, however, that, in constructing the form of his picture, Girolamo also had a pictorial prototype in mind, namely, Dürer's engraving of *Nemesis*. The *concetto* of a figure hovering high above a wide landscape was certainly inspired by that model.

Returning to our starting point, the document of 1541 as published by Venturi, we may now draw our conclusion as follows. Unless the document contains an error in writing *Patienza* instead of *Poenitenza* – and we shall prove that nothing supports this assumption – we are forced to separate the picture from the document, and to date it considerably later.[25] A larger programme can be reconstructed, in which the painting must have formed the counterpart to the 'Patience' copied after Vasari's *invenzione*, so that it was probably painted in the beginning of the fifties.[26]

The 'Sala della Pazienza' in the Residence of Ercole II

The suggestion has been made by Venturi[27] that the two paintings of Patience (Modena) and Chance (Dresden), together with two other pictures in Dresden, representing Justice and Peace, formed the decoration of a 'Sala della Pazienza', the existence of which is proved by a document of 1558.[28]

The hypothetical reconstruction of this cycle does not seem too bold, as it can be clearly inferred from the duke's emblem.

'Superanda omnis Fortuna' appears as a motto on the picture in Modena as well as on the medals and coins which represent the figure of Patience:[29] which means that through Patience man stands above the powers of Fortune. The same Gregorio Giraldi whose influence was so strong among the humanists of the court, expounds this idea in his *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara:*[30] '. . . esso contra la Fortuna si fortificò con tal virtù ch'egli era per sopportare le sciagure con animo forte, et le felicità con animo temperato. . . .' Patience is the 'Fortezza dell'animo', which in turn is the highest virtue.[31] Thus Ercole's conception of life merges with the old stoic contrast of Virtue and Fortune. But it is possible to reconcile this conflict. Celio Calcagnini, the famous humanist and friend of Ercole, says of the duke that he was the man to succeed in this respect: 'in quo uno virtus et fortuna prope inter se adversis semper frontibus depugnantes, tam amice et concorditer consensere.'[32] Sometimes his emblem of Patience shows instead of the motto: 'Superanda omnis Fortuna', two alternative ones: 'Sustine et abstine',[33] and 'οὕτως ἁπάντα' (*sic omnia*), which means that through Patience one achieves all, even the impossible. That is to say, Opportunity does not escape the patient man.[34]

Supported by all this evidence we may assert that the picture of Chance was actually the counterpart of the representation of Patience. Justice and Peace, the two other allegories, complete the cycle. Patience is closely associated with Justice by the very writers whom we have quoted,[35] and Peace, as we saw, was the very goal of the duke's patient political efforts.[36] Finally, Justice and Peace

stand in as close a relation to each other as Patience and Chance.[37]

There is a religious kernel to these conceptions. The union of Peace and Justice recalls Psalm 85: 'Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt.' On the other hand, the virtue of Patience is exemplified in the figure of Christ. That this connotation is not accidental in our context is proved by the origin of Ercole's motto. It did not emerge from his own environment, nor was it invented by the humanists of his court. It was borrowed from Pope Leo X. Patience, victor of Chance, had been his *impresa*, and he was the first to choose 'Superanda omnis Fortuna' as his device.[38]

Macchiavelli and his friends had intended to solve the divergences between Virtue and Fortune through the aggressive *fortezza* by which man would master Fortune.[39] Leo X tried to reconcile chance and virtue by turning this aggressive power into the passive *fortezza*, i.e., *Patientia*.[40] This Christian virtue, in the view of Pierio Valeriano, enabled him to seize his opportunity and to become the Christian ruler of the world.[41] Nothing is more apt to illustrate the spiritual changes at the beginning of the Counter-Reformation than the acceptance of this passive religious emblem by a worldly prince like Ercole II.

161 BATTISTA FRANCO. *Fortitudo and Patientia*, engraving, 16th century

162 Joseph's Granaries, detail from a mosaic in the ceiling of the narthex of San Marco, Venice, 13th century

VIII HIEROGLYPHICS IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Hieroglyphics in the Early Renaissance

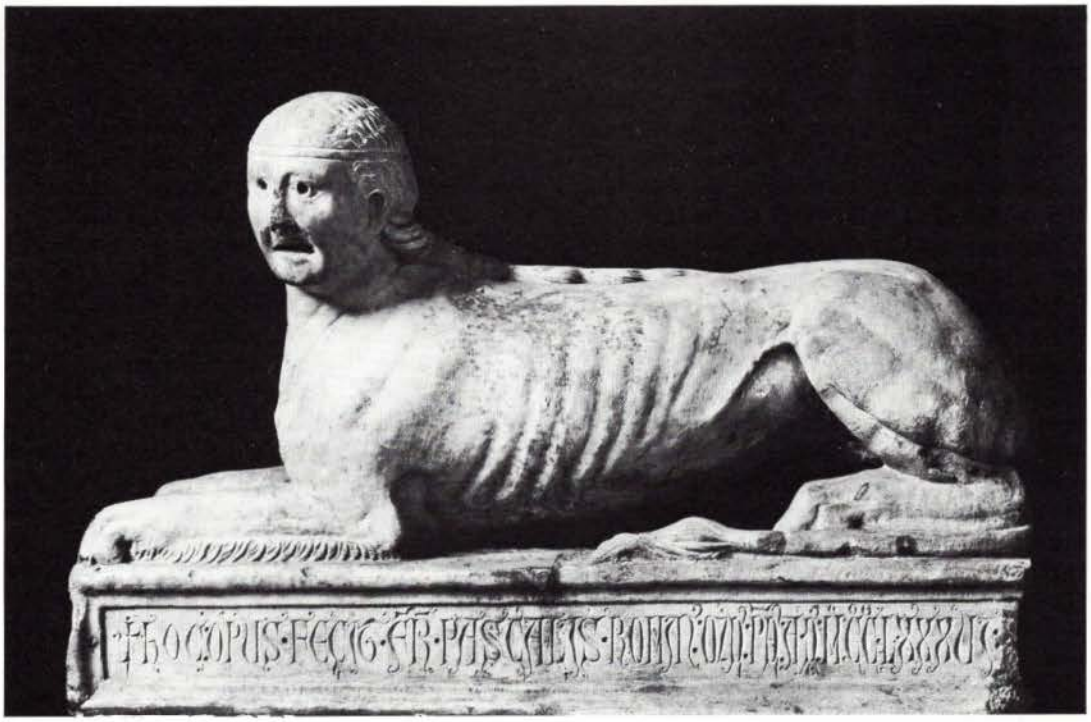
ANY STUDENT who seeks authoritative information about the Renaissance will find an extensive array of literature to help him – competent modern works[1] as well as the older classics like Burckhardt, Voigt, Wölfflin and perhaps Symonds. But in none of them is there a word about Egypt. Our concept of the Renaissance is so entirely tied up with the history of Western traditions, classical above all as well as medieval, that Egypt has no place within these well tested and – I am tempted to say – well worn patterns of thought and investigation. But this does not mean that the problem has been overlooked in the past. On the contrary, there exists a learned and critical literature on Egypt and the Renaissance, excellent investigations made by historians of philosophy, of ideas, of magic, and of art. What I claim is that this literature has been almost entirely neglected by those who concern themselves with an integrated historical picture of the Renaissance. For the following remarks I have made ample use of the pioneering works by Karl Giehlow and Ludwig Volkmann and also of many later studies by such scholars as George Boas, Frances Yates, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Mario Praz, William Heckscher, Erik Iversen, and many others.[2]

In this paper I am concerned with hieroglyphics in the early Renaissance. To understand and assess their meaning and importance for the men of the Renaissance we have to reconstruct the intellectual climate in which they thrived.

But first I have to mention that a knowledge of Egypt reached the 15th century along several roads of transmission.[3] After the Battle of Actium, in 31 BC, Egypt became part of the Roman Empire, and the art and thought of that ancient country of mysterious wisdom immediately aroused Roman interest and admiration. The cult of Isis and Osiris gained a firm foothold in Italy.[4] Large Isis temples were built in the very centre of Rome and movable objects reached Rome in a steady stream. Even obelisks were ferried across the sea – an almost unbelievable feat of engineering if you consider that the largest of these granite shafts weighed many hundred tons. In the course of time Rome had more than forty-two obelisks, twelve of which survive to this day.[5] The last and tallest of all was shipped over by Emperor Constantius in 357. It now stands in the Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano.

Eventually most of the obelisks shared the fate of the ancient city and her treasures and were buried deep in Roman soil. But the Vatican obelisk survived in position and enjoyed enormous fame during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as Caesar's reputed tomb. Nobody interfered with this obelisk standing next to the old basilica of St Peter's, the centre of Christianity. Moreover, suddenly, in the late 13th century the most characteristic Egyptian conceptions re-entered visual consciousness. Pyramids appeared in the mosaics of San Marco 162
in Venice as Joseph's granaries; this concept goes back to Gregory of Nazianzus.[6] And, around 1300, pyramids were for the first time incorporated in Christian tomb monuments in Bologna.[7] Somewhat earlier, sphinxes turned up in stylistically remarkably correct adaptations in and near Rome: a particularly attractive specimen, signed by Fra Pasquale and dated 163
1286, is now in the museum at Viterbo.[8]

Another road of transmission of Egyptian material was due to the *Physiologus*.[9] Many traditions, Greek, oriental, native Egyptian, were here united, and those unfamiliar with this kind of literary production may find the work weird and abstruse. People of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance thought otherwise. E. P. Evans, the author of a work on animal symbolism, rightly says that 'perhaps no book except the Bible has ever been so widely diffused among so many people and for so many centuries as the *Physiologus*'.[10] It was translated into every conceivable language, including Icelandic, and from the 12th century onward it got a new lease of life through the



163 FRA PASQUALE. Sphinx, 1286 (Viterbo, Museo Comunale)

bestiaries, the repositories of medieval zoological knowledge. *Physiologus* material reached the Renaissance in a broad stream and merged with the newly awakened interest in hieroglyphics. It is well known that Leonardo was much attracted by animal stories in moral allegorical dress.[11]

The 13th-century Egyptian revival was of comparatively brief duration. When the Egyptian paraphernalia – obelisks, sphinxes, pyramids – reappeared once again in the 15th century, they had come to stay. They formed part of an Egyptian renascence, the nature of which can only be understood by considering yet another road of transmission, namely, late antique literature. I need hardly remind you that Marsilio Ficino's most cherished concept was the reconciliation of Plato with Christ. And behind Plato there was the teaching of Moses and other ancient wisdom, a pristine theology, testified to by the Orphic Hymns, the Chaldean Oracles (which were attributed to Zoroaster), the Sibylline Oracles, and above all the Hermetica. This work by Egyptian Neoplatonists of the first centuries of our era was attributed to an Egyptian sage of remote antiquity, who had been given the name Hermes Trismegistus – the 'Thrice-Greatest' – at an early time.[12] Hermes Trismegistus was also believed to have been the inventor of the art of writing, i.e., of hieroglyphs. Alexandrian Neoplatonism had combined all the esoteric oriental traditions into one philosophical edifice with the aid of allegory. What Ficino and his contemporaries attempted after the mid-15th century was something similar. They did not want to dethrone Christianity, but rather show that Plato and the pre-Christian revelations attested to the truth of Christianity by way of veiled mysteries. Next to Ficino, many others (for instance Pico della Mirandola in *Heptaplus*, his commentary on the first chapter of Genesis, published in 1489) maintained that Moses and the Greeks had derived their wisdom from the Egyptians. Thus there seemed to be no doubt that the Egyptians had a mysterious knowledge of ultimate truth.

In what visual form is ultimate truth revealed? Plotinus, whom Ficino himself had translated, had given the answer. In a passage

in the Fifth Book of the *Enneads*, Plotinus had said, 'The Egyptian sages . . . drew pictures and carved one picture for each thing in their temples, thus making manifest the description of that thing. Thus each picture was a kind of understanding and wisdom and substance and given all at once, and not discursive reasoning and deliberation,'[13] to which Ficino added the following gloss, 'The Egyptian Priests did not use individual letters to signify mysteries, but whole images of plants, trees and animals; because God has knowledge of things *not* through a multiplicity of thought processes, but rather as a simple and firm form of the thing.' And he gives as an example the image of Time, painted as a winged serpent biting its tail, and concludes, 'The Egyptians presented the whole of the discursive argument as it were in one complete image.' In other words, in Ficino's exposition the image does not simply represent the concept – it embodies it.[14]

If one could only decipher hieroglyphs, one would have access not only to many ancient mysteries, but above all to the secret of how to express the essence of an idea, its platonic form, as it were, perfect and complete in itself, by means of an image. So the humanists of the 15th century turned for enlightenment to the ancient writers. There existed a fairly substantial literature from Herodotus (in the 5th century BC) to Ammianus Marcellinus (in the 4th century AD), and most of the ancient writers contained the same message, namely, that hieroglyphs adumbrated general truth in symbolic or allegorical form. In this the classical writers were, of course, absolutely wrong: they projected into hieroglyphic writing their own Hellenic mode of interpretation. Late classical authors had no idea that hieroglyphic writing was ideographic and phonetic. But they were not entirely wrong in maintaining that hieroglyphic writing was sacred in Egypt and known only to the priests: this was in fact the situation in late Egyptian history when Egypt was under foreign rule and the priests of the old religion monopolized the knowledge of hieroglyphs as a jealously guarded secret.[15]

The humanists learned from their sources – Pliny, Lucanus, Apuleius, Plutarch, Lucian, Diodorus Siculus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Iamblichus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Macrobius, and others – that hieroglyphs contained a secret code. Moreover, from Pliny they learned that the obelisks, above all, displayed ancient Egyptian wisdom and philosophy; from Plutarch that Greek philosophers had gone to Egypt to study the mystic teachings of old; and from Clement of Alexandria that 'the mysteries of the word are not to be expounded to the profane' and that 'all things that shine through a veil show the truth grander and more impressive'. This message, too, the initiate of the Renaissance took to heart.

The code was unexpectedly broken – or so it seemed. Shortly after 1419 the Florentine priest, Christophorus de' Buondelmonti, brought a Greek manuscript of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* back to Florence from a journey to Greece. Buondelmonti, probably unaware of the importance of his find, handed it to his friend Poggio Bracciolini, who had translated Diodorus Siculus and had discovered a manuscript of Ammianus Marcellinus in Germany. Niccolo de' Niccoli, it seems, also became involved. According to Ciriaco da Ancona, who sent Niccoli a hieroglyphic inscription from his Egyptian journey in 1435, no one was more interested in these matters than Niccoli.[16]

Here we are not concerned with philological problems; to us it does not matter whether or not a writer by the name of Horapollo ever existed, or whether the work was originally written in Greek or Egyptian. Suffice it to say that the compilation going under Horapollo's name is now usually dated in the 4th century after Christ. What matters is that when the Greek manuscript was studied in Florence it appeared to contain the answer to the Egyptian riddle, for it contained no fewer than 189 descriptions of hieroglyphs with their interpretations. So Horapollo soon became the standard work on hieroglyphics, and for no less than 200 years its reliability was never seriously doubted. Copies of the manuscript were circulated; Aldus in Venice printed the Greek *editio princeps* in 1505, and thirty later editions in Latin and other languages appeared in quick succession from 1515 onwards. The most celebrated manuscript is the Latin translation which the Nürnberg humanist Pirckheimer handed to Emperor Maximilian in 1514 with illustrations by Dürer. At the end of the last century Giehlow found a copy of the Pirckheimer-Dürer manuscript in the Vienna Library

and also a few original Dürer illustrations have been traced.

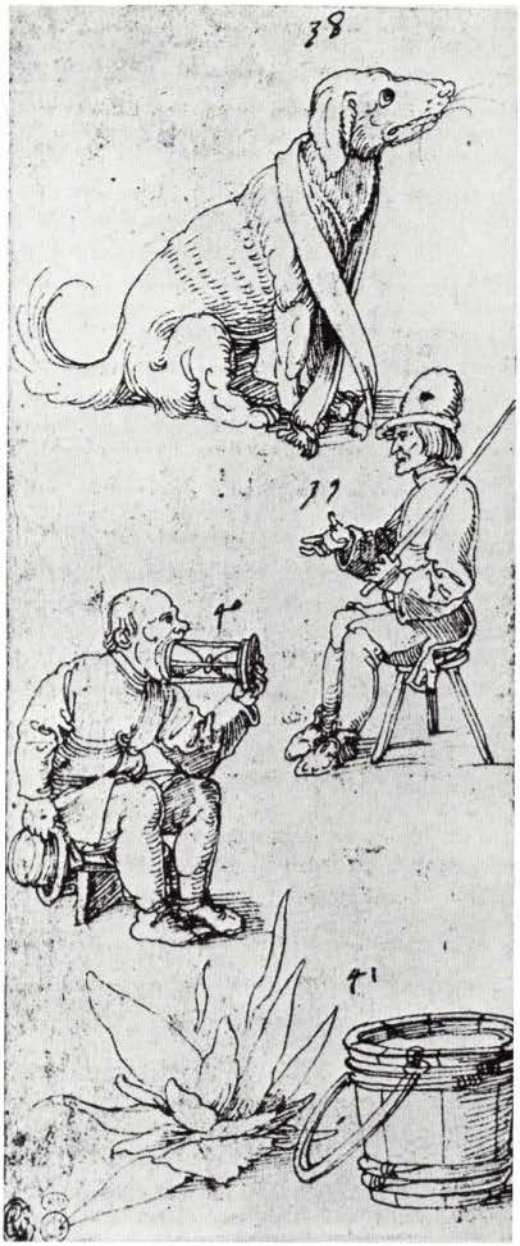
To demonstrate Horapollo's method I illustrate one of the Dürer originals, now in Berlin, with illustrations of four Horapollo hieroglyphs. 164 *Top*, the hieroglyph of a dog with a stole. Horapollo's commentary reads: 'If they wanted to express a most excellent prince, they painted a dog decorated with a stole, because when this animal enters temples it gazes intently upon the images of the gods. In ancient times judges also contemplated the king cloaked only with the stole [i.e., the royal robe].' Thus the hieroglyph means both prince and judge. *Above right*, the man sitting on a stool. Horapollo's text: 'When they wish to indicate a shrine-bearer, they draw a house-guard, because by him is the temple guarded.' *Below left*, the horoscopist. Horapollo: 'To denote a horoscopist, they draw a man eating the hours.' *Bottom*, fire and water. Horapollo: 'To depict purity, they draw fire and water. For through these elements are all things purified.'[17]

I mention a few other Horapollo hieroglyphs: an ibis denotes the heart; the forequarters of a lion, strength; feet walking on water or a man without a head walking, the impossible; a bundle of papyri, ancient descent; a stork, someone who returns thanks to his parents in their old age; and so forth.

Characteristically, Dürer's illustrations to Horapollo are drawn in contemporary style; there is no attempt to imitate Egyptian stylistic characteristics. In spite of a growing taste for things Egyptian between the 15th and 18th centuries we hardly ever encounter stylistic principles even faintly reminiscent of those of the Egyptians. Egypt's influence makes itself felt on the conceptual side of artistic creation and not on the style of this long period.

From the mid-15th century onwards one comes across revealing discussions of hieroglyphs. The great Alberti had, of course, given these matters much thought and incorporated an important passage in the Eighth Book of his *Ten Books on Architecture*, which I quote from Leoni's 18th-century translation:

> The Egyptians employed symbols in the following manner: they carved an eye, by which they understood God; a vulture for Nature; a Bee for King; a circle for Time; an ox for Peace, and the like. And



164 ALBRECHT DÜRER. Illustrations for Horapollo, *c.* 1514 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen)

their reason for expressing their sense by these symbols was, that words were understood only by the respective nations that talked the language, and therefore inscriptions in common characters must in a short time be lost: as it has actually happened to our Etruscan characters: for among the ruins of several towns, castles and burial-places I have seen tombstones dug up with inscriptions on them . . . in Etruscan characters which . . . nobody can understand. And the same, the Egyptians supposed, must be the case with all sorts of writing whatsoever; but the manner of expressing their sense which they used upon these occasions, by symbols, they thought must always be understood by learned men of all nations, to whom alone they were of the opinion that things of moment were fit to be communicated.[18]

Alberti continues and explains just how this Egyptian method was used and adapted by other nations. 'Our Romans,' he writes, 'recorded the exploits of their great men, by carving their story in marble. This gave rise to columns, triumphal arches, porticoes enriched with memorable events preserved both in painting and sculpture.'

Less revealing is what Filarete has to say in his *Treatise on Architecture*, composed in Milan between 1461 and 1464. In his Twelfth Book discussing Roman theatres he mentions the obelisk in the centre 'all carved with Egyptian letters'. I quote from John Spencer's translation:

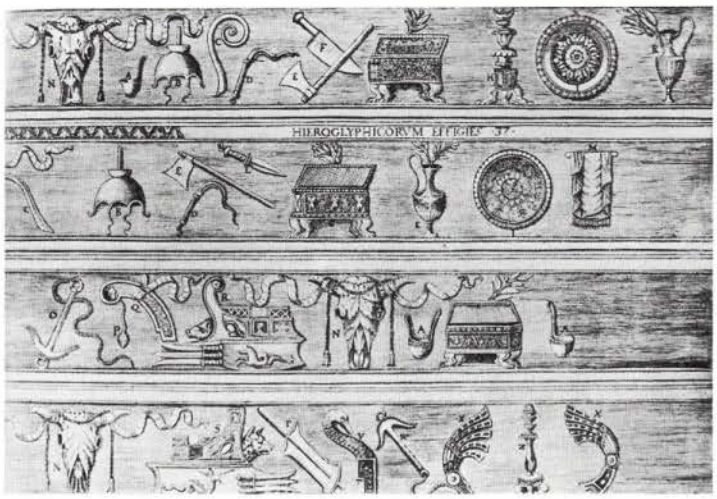
Tell me what these letters said – I do not know how to tell you, because they cannot be translated. They are all picture-letters [*lettere figurate*]; some have one animal, some another, some have a bird, some a snake, some an owl, some [are] like a saw and some like an eye . . . some with one thing and some with another, so that there are few who can translate them. It is true that the poet Francesco Filelfo told me that some of these animals meant one thing and some another. Each one had its own meaning. The obelisk means envy. . . . For the present there is not enough time to tell you [more] about this. I will tell you another time when we have more leisure.[19]

It is impossible to review here all the 15th-century utterances about hieroglyphs; they have been quite fully recorded by Giehlow and Volkmann. If the Romans had, as Alberti believed, in their own way made use of the Egyptian language of symbols, specimens should be extant – and, indeed, they were discovered. A Roman temple frieze, now in the Capitoline 165
Museum, but in the 15th century in San Lorenzo fuori le mura, was soon regarded as conveying a definite hieroglyphic message.[20] The frieze was studied and used by Mantegna 166
and other Renaissance artists and, above all, by the most gifted interpreter and inventor of hieroglyphs in Horapollo's vein, Francesco Colonna, author of the antiquarian romance *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*. 167

The innocent frieze in San Lorenzo with sacrificial implements stimulated Francesco Colonna to most extraordinary inventions. For instance, he describes fourteen hieroglyphs one after the other on the base of a mausoleum, illustrates them, and winds up with a coherent reading in Latin of their meaning which may be translated thus: 'Sacrifice your toil generously to the God of nature. Little by little you will then subject your soul to God, and He will take you into His firm protection, mercifully govern your life and preserve it unharmed.'[21] Let us see how this miracle is accomplished: the bucranium with implements means work; the eye, God; the vulture, Nature; the altar, sacrifice; the bowl, liberality, and so forth.

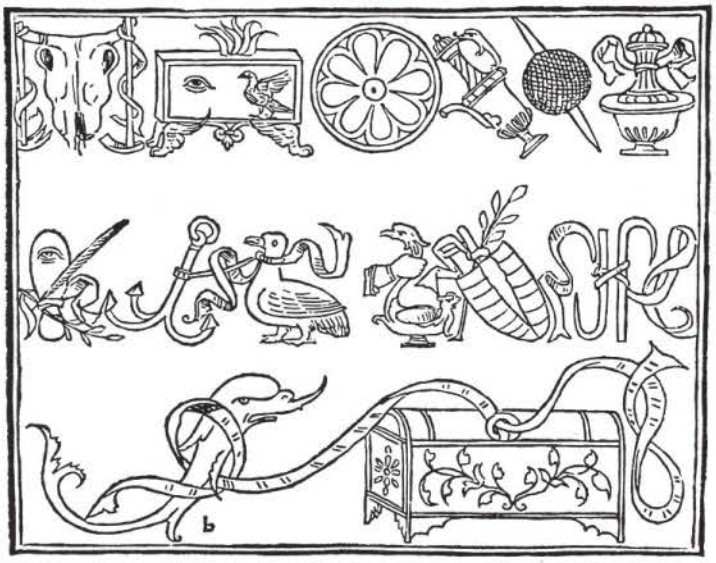
The *Hypnerotomachia* abounds with similar hieroglyphic texts. Francesco Colonna and others were obviously convinced that they had fully recaptured the Egyptian mysteries and that they were therefore capable of expressing themselves creatively in this language of pictorial symbols. How far removed they were from anything Egyptian needs no comment: they laboured, as we have seen, under the illusion that Alexandrian Neoplatonism of late antiquity contained the true Egyptian treasure of their dreams. To this misconception we must add the strange phenomenon that, although Egyptian hieroglyphs were the starting point of their search for the lost wisdom, they never regarded it as necessary to use symbols even vaguely reminiscent of true hieroglyphs. Their interest was focused on the method rather than on the original ideogram. They applied to their own purposes what Alberti had claimed for the Romans.

There is one further important point to be noticed here. Colonna's hieroglyphic inscriptions expanded – to borrow a phrase from



165 Roman temple frieze in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, engraving from Herwarth's *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum*, after 1607 (frieze now in Rome, Capitoline Museum)

166 CORNELIS HUYBERTS. Detail from an engraving of *c.* 1696 after Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar*



167 Hieroglyphs, from Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, 1499

168 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI. Self-portrait medallion, 1438

169 MATTEO DE' PASTI. Obverse and reverse of a medal of Alberti, *c.* 1448

Professor Edgar Wind – the symbols into an additive picture-script, whose parts had to be read like words and sentences of a discursive language. Wind also pointed out that Erasmus in the *Adagia* observed that the content of hieroglyphs 'presupposed in the reader a full knowledge of the properties of each animal, plant, or thing represented'.[22]

Was then the concept of intuitive understanding of the hieroglyphic mysteries an irrational dream? I do not think so. Since the symbols expressed by hieroglyphs were – in the opinion of Renaissance thinkers – reconcilable with the hidden meanings of classical mythology and with Hebrew and Christian revelation,[23] the elect few were thought capable of the immediacy of heightened experience. I think the Renaissance medal must be interpreted in this light. There is no doubt that the Renaissance medal was an important vehicle for the communication of esoteric pictographs. Medals commemorate the qualities and deeds of great men, of rulers, condottieri, and scholars. They were made for a small circle, and the ideas expressed by them were meant to remain dark and mysterious to the public at large. They were a kind of priestly currency, the reserve of the few – just as in their view the Egyptian hieroglyphs had been the secret of the sacerdotal caste.

In a medallion usually regarded as a self- 168
portrait of Alberti, probably dating from 1438, there appears a winged eye in the space under the chin. The same emblem is shown on the reverse of Matteo de' Pasti's medal of Alberti, 169
dating about ten years later.[24] In this medal the eye is surrounded by a laurel wreath, and under it appears the motto taken from Cicero, *Quid Tum* – 'What Then?' Alberti himself described the winged eye and its symbolism in his dialogue *Anuli*.[25] He describes the wreath as the symbol of joy and glory and the eye both as a symbol of God's omniscience and as a reminder to be wide awake, all-embracing as far as the power of our intelligence allows. Whether or not the motto What Then was meant to refer to afterdeath and thus to the readiness to appear before God's judgment (as some interpreters have wanted) may be left undecided.

The greatest medallist of the Quattrocento and probably of all time, Pisanello, gives a

good measure of the close interweaving of the medieval and the hieroglyphic traditions. My first example is a fairly late medal, the reverse
170 of the medal of Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Sicily, of 1449, which shows an eagle perched on a tree stump with a dead fawn; around the eagle are other birds of prey and the inscription *Liberalitas Augusta*.[26] The image is meant to symbolize the king's liberality. The source for the story is not Horapollo but Pliny. From here it was taken over by medieval writers such as Bartholomew the Englishman and Albertus Magnus. It spread into other late medieval
171 material, especially the *Fiori di Virtù*, a well known Tuscan text of moralizing animal stories, of which a number of 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts are preserved.[27] Leonardo must have owned a copy of the *Fiori di Virtù* and copied from it the comment to the eagle image: 'Of the eagle men say that he has never so great hunger as not to leave part of his prey to those birds which are around him.'[28] We may assume that Pisanello too was stimulated for his image by the *Fiori di Virtù*.

Similarly, an earlier hieroglyphic medal by Pisanello, that of the scholar Belloto Cumano of
172 1447 with an ermine on the reverse, ultimately derives from Pliny.[29] Based on Pliny's story, the ermine became an often used symbol of purity and was also incorporated as such in the *Fiori di Virtù*, and once again Leonardo used it. It appears prominently in his Portrait of a
173 Woman (Cracow) whom some scholars have – in my view correctly – regarded to be the portrait of Cecilia Gallerani, dating from about 1483.

Cecilia was the mistress of Lodovico il Moro, and Lodovico used the ermine as his personal emblem. But there is more to it. Ermine in Greek is γαλῆ or γαλέη and there is therefore here a punning reference to Gallerani, the name of the sitter.[30] In addition, the animal symbolizes the sitter's virtue. Although the ermine does not form part of Horapollo's catalogue of hieroglyphs, the spirit that informs this allegorical portrait fully accords with the hieroglyphic mode of thought. Moreover, we may safely infer that people at Lodovico il Moro's court were expected to understand in a flash all the subtle implications incorporated into the picture. A discursive decipherment kills the immediacy of effect of the image.

The salamander had a very long symbolical lease of life. According to Aristotle the salamander had the power of extinguishing fire,[31] and through the *Physiologus* and the bestiaries the legend was disseminated in Christian Europe. In Christian allegorical thought the salamander typifies the righteous man who is not consumed by the fire of luxury and lust.[32] Salamanders are common on medals and here they symbolize new shades of meaning. Francesco di Giorgio's medal of Antonio Spannocchi, 174
member of the Sienese merchant-banker family, shows on the reverse a salamander and the legend: *Ignis ipsam Recreat et me Cruciat*[33] – 'Fire Invigorates Him [the salamander] but Torments Me': probably a reference to the flames and torments of love.

A medal attributed to Battista Elia of Genoa 175
with the Doge Battista II Campofregoso (1478–83) on the obverse, shows on the reverse the Egyptian bird trochilus flying into the jaws of a crocodile and the motto: *Peculiares Audacia et Victus*.[34] Herodotus (II, 68), Pliny, Solinus, and others had commented on the habits of the trochilus, which feeds by picking crumbs from the teeth of sleeping crocodiles, and this story was incorporated into the *Physiologus*. As the motto implying sustenance through extraordinary boldness indicates, the medal celebrates some daring and dangerous action on the Doge's part and a further study of his life would probably make it possible to pinpoint the occasion. What is of interest here is that both the hieroglyphic and the *Physiologus* traditions were used for precisely the same purpose, namely, to convey a generally valid concept by means of a pictograph.

I am concerned with this medal for yet another reason. Doge Campofregoso's adviser was that strange scholar Fra Giovanni Nanni da Viterbo who later held office at the Roman Curia and became advisor to the Borgia Pope Alexander VI. Nanni has won fame for his forgeries of Egyptian, Chaldean, Greek, and Latin texts, first published about 1498 in *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII*, forgeries designed to prove the close connection between the primeval wisdom of the Egyptians and that of the Romans. There can be little doubt that Nanni da Viterbo was responsible (as has been surmised by Giehlow and Saxl)[35] for constructing a genealogical link between the

170 PISANELLO. Reverse of a medal of King Alfonso V of Aragon, 1449 (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection)

172 PISANELLO. Reverse of a medal of Belloto Cumano, 1447

171 The eagle and his prey, detail from a manuscript of *Fiori di Virtù*, *c.* 1450 (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, cod. 1711, f. 21)

173 LEONARDO DA VINCI. Portrait of Cecilia Gallerani, *c.* 1483 (Cracow, Czartoryski Museum)

Apis bull and the Borgia family, that he – in short – devised the programme for Pinturic-
176 chio's decoration in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican where the story of Isis and Osiris is represented: the murder of Osiris; his reincarnation as the Apis bull; and the Christianized Apis who adores the Cross, the Virgin, and the Vicar of Christ.

Nanni's wild imagination bore other, similar fruit. He maintained that Osiris had come to Italy accompanied by his son Hercules Aegyptius. The German Emperor Maximilian, who was steeped in hieroglyphics, emblematics, and astrology, regarded Nanni's discovery as a use-

174 FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO. Obverse and reverse of a medal of Antonio Spannocchi

175 BATTISTA ELIA OF GENOA (attr.). Obverse and reverse of a medal of Doge Battista Campofregoso, *c.* 1480

ful lead to his own genealogy, which his court humanists traced through Hercules Aegyptius and Osiris back to Noah.[36]

I cannot forgo the temptation to say a few words about the greatest hieroglyphic monument, Dürer's *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian*, the cooperative effort of many minds and hands and the largest woodcut ever created: it measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet and consists of no less than 192 separate blocks. The famous crowning feature in the central register shows the em-
177 peror enthroned and surrounded by symbolic animals – all gleaned from Horapollo. The court historiographer Stabius's German and Pirckheimer's Latin texts allow us to decode the message conveyed by the image. I quote from Panofsky's excellent English translation (the interpolations are Panofsky's):

Maximilian [the Emperor himself] – a prince [dog draped with stole] of great piety [star above the Emperor's crown], most magnanimous, powerful and courageous [lion], ennobled by imperishable and eternal fame [basilisk on the Emperor's crown], descending from ancient lineage [the sheaf of papyrus on which he is seated], Roman Emperor [eagles em-

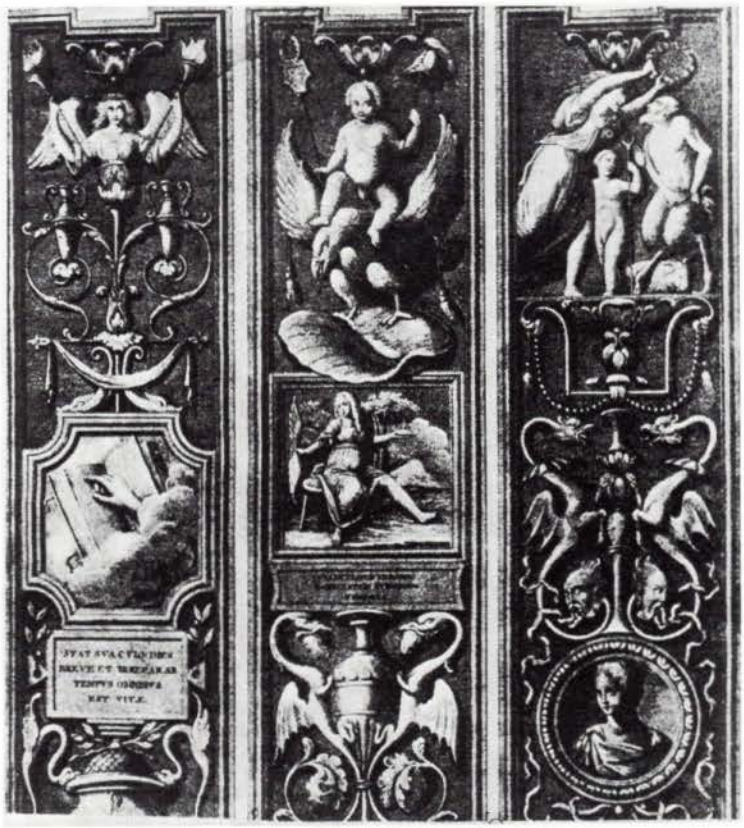
176 BERNARDINO PINTURICCHIO. Stucco reliefs depicting (top) bulls kneeling before the Cross, (left) bulls adoring an image of the Virgin, and (below) bulls adoring a portrait of Pope Alexander I (Rome, Vatican, Borgia Apartments)

177 ALBRECHT DÜRER. Hieroglyphic image of Emperor Maximilian, detail from a woodcut of the *Ehrenpforte*, 1515

broidered in the cloth of honor], endowed with all the gifts of nature and possessed of art and learning [dew descending from the sky] and master of a great part of the terrestrial globe [snake encircling the scepter] – has with warlike virtue and great discretion [bull] won a shining victory [falcon on the orb] over the mighty king here indicated [cock on a serpent, meaning the King of France], and thereby watchfully protected himself [crane raising its foot] from the stratagems of said enemy, which has been deemed impossible [feet walking through water by themselves] by all mankind.[37]

Through Emperor Maximilian's humanist circle hieroglyphics became firmly established in Germany. But I want to return to an earlier period in Italy. To what extent artists of the Quattrocento accepted this language has not yet been sufficiently investigated. It is well known that Mantegna incorporated into his *Triumph of Caesar* hieroglyphs culled from the ancient frieze in San Lorenzo fuori le mura. And I think that many of the symbols being carried should also be interpreted hieroglyphically. It has been recognized, for instance, that the orb with cornucopia and rudder next to Caesar is a hieroglyph signifying the affluency of the world under Caesar's stewardship.[38]

More important perhaps than such traces of hieroglyphic expression and of a direct dependence on Horapollo is the fact that there existed a broad movement intent to reconcile mythology, allegory, hieroglyphic and near-hieroglyphic concepts with Christian thought. Such interpretation should probably be applied to at least some of the grotesques, those



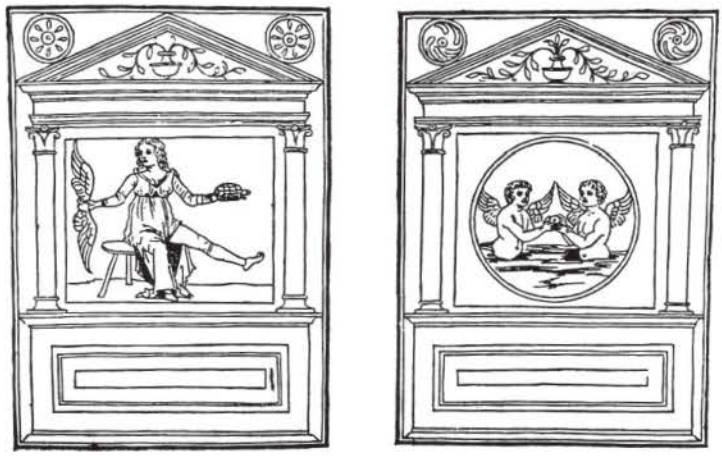
178 Above and opposite: FRANCESCO MENGARDI. Engravings of lost fresco decorations in the cloisters of Santa Giustina, Padua

typical Renaissance creations derived from the study of the decorations in the *Domus Aurea*.[39] A cycle of grotesques once decorated the cloisters of Santa Giustina at Padua. They are largely destroyed, but are known from 18th-
178 century engravings.[40] They were begun by Bernardo Parentino for Abbot Gasparo before 1500, but were not finished until the 1540s. According to a contemporary chronicle Gasparo had selected figures and stories of the Romans, fables from the poets, tombs, stones with inscriptions, Egyptian emblems, and other thoughtful ideas. A late 16th-century work on the frescoes – now lost – bore the title: 'Elucidation or rather copious explanation of the historical scenes and hieroglyphs painted in the Cloisters.'[41] The engravings after the frescoes show that hieroglyphs from the *Hyp-* 179
nerotomachia played a large part in the decorations: there is the seated woman with wings in one hand and a tortoise in the other (meaning, Temper Speed by Sitting Down, Inertia by Getting Up); there are the two genii who together are holding the centre of the circle which surrounds them (meaning, The Fortunate Keep to the Middle Road); there are also some elephant-devouring ants at both sides of a rod with snakes, and so forth.

Hieroglyphs from Horapollo have been traced in the room adjoining Correggio's Camera di San Paolo at Parma, a room that was decorated in 1514 by Alessandro Araldi for the abbess Donna Giovanna da Piacenza, namely, the snake biting its tail and the feet walking

and that they incised it on the chest of figures of Serapis. Filippo Fasanini, who translated Horapollo into Latin (Bologna 1517), and who also lectured on hieroglyphics at the University of Bologna, explained that the reader can learn from his work the true nature of animals, birds, fishes, trees, and the like. To go a step further and also farther in time: Andrea Alciati, born in Milan in 1492, studied at Bologna under Fasanini and it was probably then that he conceived the idea of embedding hieroglyphs in verses. For what else is his famous collection of emblems, ready for the press in 1521, but published not until ten years later with the title *Emblematum libellus*. Following Plutarch, Alciati declared classical symbolism and hieroglyphs to be the same thing. Let us recall that Alberti had implied this thought about three generations earlier. But the great summation of hieroglyphical thought and material came a little later, in Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* of 1556. Pierio Valeriano, whose real name was Giovan Pietro della Fosse, was born at Belluno in 1477. He was the nephew of the learned Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio (*c.* 1443–1524), the friend of Francesco Colonna, the centre of a circle of Venetian scholars dedicated to the study of hieroglyphs and the tutor of Giovanni de' Medici, later Leo X. Pierio was introduced into hieroglyphic studies by his uncle and dedicated his life's work to them. In 1509 he was in Rome, where he became private secretary to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and tutor to Ippolito de' Medici. His *Hieroglyphica* is a vast compilation for which he equally used Horapollo, the *Physiologus*, Greek and Roman material, the Cabala, and the Bible. In this way he was implementing what had been done for a hundred years, and his point of view is clearly expressed in his dedicatory remark that 'to speak hieroglyphically is nothing else but to disclose the [true] nature of things divine and human'.[45] It is also worth noting that he refers to the efforts made in this field of study by Politian, Crinito, and Filippo Beroaldo,[46] who had published in 1500 a learned commentary to Apuleius's *Golden Ass* with important remarks on hieroglyphics.

The guidance provided by Valeriano to seekers of truth is best illustrated by the fact that a large number of editions of the work became necessary – no less than eleven in the next seventy years. Valeriano had in fact an enormous following. While he did not contribute any revolutionary ideas to our problem, he was instrumental in transforming a philosophy of hieroglyphics into a philological discipline. Nevertheless he takes us back to the beginnings, and that means to Florence. Vasari tells us that Pierio was his teacher in Latin and other erudite subjects.[47] Appropriately the *Hieroglyphica* is dedicated to Duke Cosimo de' Medici, and in the dedication we read: ' "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old" (Psalm 78, v. 2). What else did He want to say than that His language be hieroglyphic and He voice the ancient records allegorically.'[48]



179 Hieroglyphs, from Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, 1499

180 FRANCESCO LAURANA. Reverse of a medal of René of Anjou, 1463

IX
TRANSFORMATIONS OF MINERVA IN RENAISSANCE IMAGERY

Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery

Minerva Pacifica

IN 1454 René of Anjou, King of Sicily and Count of Provence, married as his second wife Jeanne de Laval. The poet-king himself, then already growing old, proclaimed his love in a pastoral idyll which he entitled *Regnault et Jehanneton ou les Amours du Bergier et de la Bergeronne*.[1] To make his idea perfectly plain he puts at the end of the original MS[2] his own coat-of-arms next to that of his wife, adding:

> *Icy sont les armes, dessoubz ceste couronne,*
> *Du bergier dessus dit et de la bergeronne.*

He accompanies the picture with two personal emblems, apparently invented by him for the occasion.[3] By the side of his wife's shield there appears a twig of gooseberry with two doves, a rather romantic symbol of happy love, by his own a dead stump out of which a new branch is growing as a sign of his regeneration through love. Both emblems reappear on medals which the king commissioned from Francesco Laurana who worked at his court in the 1460s. The twig with the two doves, tied together by a chain, decorates the reverse of a medal struck in honour of the queen in 1461, and the old stump with the new branch occurs on another medal
180 of 1463.[4] This bears on the reverse the inscription 'Pax Augusti', and shows in the centre a goddess with an olive branch, holding out a helmet in her left hand, while a cuirass stands on the ground. On the obverse the portraits of the couple are represented, together with a legend which expresses a strictly religious attitude in a humanist idiom: 'The god-like heroes famous through the lily of France and the cross (of Laval) tread always together the path to the Divine.'[5] A medieval Christian idea couched in classical terms appears also in the words 'Pax Augusti' on the reverse. Taken together with the supernatural aim of the legend on the other side ('incedunt ad superos'), it calls to mind the Augustinian conception of eternal peace which remained very much alive right through the Middle Ages.[6]

The life of the king corroborates our interpretation. Peacefulness is his most conspicuous virtue. Yet circumstances compelled him to wage almost continuous warfare. His wish to retire to his beloved Provence in order to pursue his cultural and social interests became even stronger after his second marriage. In 1463 he gave up his last hope of retaining his Italian possessions and finally withdrew to Provence. It was at this moment that Laurana's medal was struck to perpetuate the King's desire for peace and his intentions for the future. Yet by 1466 René had once more to make war in Aragon, the inheritance of his mother, and from this time onwards trouble did not cease for many years to come.

One would expect to find on the reverse of the medal a representation of the goddess Pax.[7] But Laurana did not make use of the ancient type of Pax with olive branch, caduceus and cornucopia,[8] familiar from coins. He used instead the figure of 'Minerva Pacifica', who also has the olive branch as an attribute. The most striking feature of his figure is the helmet on the outstretched hand, a rare motif which can be traced back to a Greek original of the 5th century BC, presumably Phidias' Athena Lemnia.[9] In any case the motif occurs not only occasionally on Greek gems[10] but also in a
Roman statue of 'Minerva Pacifica', which was 181
in the Vescovadi collection in Rome.[11] Considering the very strong formal likeness of this figure to Laurana's medal and the fact that she holds an olive branch in a similar position, it becomes almost certain that Laurana made use of this prototype.

But although it is certain that Laurana combined the inscription 'Pax Augusti' with a representation of 'Minerva Pacifica', there still remains a puzzling problem. The cuirass on the ground is not a part of Minerva's armour.[12] If

armed, she wears the aegis, a shield or a breastcloth with the Medusa's head. This fact was certainly known to Laurana, and, as will appear from the facts to be discussed later, it seems very unlikely that this is only the playful introduction of an ancient motif. We must first enquire if a similar grouping of helmet and cuirass appears in antiquity. It does not appear in any of the ordinary types, and, as far as we can ascertain, it is only to be found in a curious
182 medallion published in the 18th century by Gori[13] from the Ducal collection in Florence. This shows on the obverse a bust of Achilles with the features of Alexander the Great and on the reverse Thetis with the armour of her son. The style of this gold medal and the mythical apotheosis of Alexander which it bears connect the piece with a rare type of coin of the 3rd century AD, mainly known through the recent discoveries at Abukir, which confirm the genuineness of the Florentine medal.[14] Yet this connection makes the riddle of the cuirass only more complicated. The unambiguous Greek inscription[15] of the ancient medal excludes the possibility of mistaking Thetis for Minerva, and, unless we suppose such a confusion, the cuirass must have had a particular meaning at the time of the Renaissance.

We must remember that the allegorical interpretation of the classics, so familiar to the Middle Ages, did not, as is often suggested, give place during the Renaissance to the simple use of ancient symbols in their original sense, but that, on the contrary, with increased knowledge of ancient authors and ancient life the use of allegory multiplies. The difference from the Middle Ages lies in the new moral values expressed through allegory, not in a more sober attitude towards allegorical method as such. Bearing this in mind it seems reasonable to base the explanation of the cuirass on a 16th century text in which it appears as a symbol of virtue, because it protects the seat of virtue, the breast.[16]

A complex process of thought thus entered into the invention of this medal. The symbol of 'Minerva Pacifica', a *restitutio Antiquitatis* typical of the Renaissance and without any medieval precedent, supplemented by a 'hieroglyph' of virtue (cuirass), forms the image for the King's peacefulness ('Pax Augusti') which,

181 'Minerva Pacifica', drawing from a Roman statue (formerly Rome, Vescovadi Collection)

182 Thetis, engraving of gold medal from Gori's *Musei Florentini antiqua Numismata*, 1740

183 SANDRO BOTTICELLI (attr.).
Minerva, drawing (Florence, Uffizi)

under the auspices of a rejuvenating love (the tree), draws its moral strength from the prospect of eternity (legend on obverse).

Alma Minerva

Laurana's 'Minerva Pacifica' was to play a curious and important part in the intellectual exchange between South and North. A famous 183 drawing by Botticelli or his workshop[17] shows a remarkable correspondence to the medal in the outstretched hand which holds the helmet;[18] it is almost certain that Botticelli based his Minerva on Laurana's design. Taken as a whole, Botticelli's figure seems to be a transformation of the monumental style of Laurana into the agitated, elegant, gothicizing manner of the end of the Quattrocento. The connection between these two works is confirmed by the circumstances of Botticelli's commission.

It is known that Botticelli's drawing is a preparatory sketch for a tapestry made for 184 Comte Guy de Baudreuil who became abbot of Saint-Martin-aux-Bois in 1491.[19] As a humanist

184 Minerva, from a tapestry made for Comte Guy de Baudreuil, 1491 (Favelles, Collection Vicomte de Baudreuil)

reformer he wanted to embellish his impoverished abbey[20] and apparently turned to Florence in search of a design for the tapestry. Since the latter bears his arms with the abbot's mitre, Botticelli's drawing cannot have been made before 1491, a date which is fully confirmed by its style. In the tapestry not only the figure itself but also all the accessories – the rocky ground, the stump with the shield of Minerva and the holly-tree with her cuirass – show decidedly Botticellesque features. But the crowded composition of the tapestry with the figure squeezed between the two vertical trunks can never have been invented by Botticelli. The label with the inscription:

> Ex capite etherei nata sum Iovis alma Minerva
> Mortales cunctis artibus erudiens

is the clue to this contradiction. This distich contains some metrical mistakes[21] which prove it to be a fabrication by a not very experienced humanist; hence it is unlikely to have been composed in Florence, the centre of humanist

185 Justice between the Trees of Life and Knowledge, from a manuscript of the 'Pélerinage de l'Âme', 14th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. fr. 377)

studies. One is bound to conclude that the abbot himself or a member of his circle was responsible for the Latin verse. And it is only logical to deduce that Guy de Baudreuil took an active part in the invention of the design, that is to say, that he explicitly wished to get a composition on the lines of Laurana's medal which for him, as a Frenchman, must have been a representative humanist work.

Another fact proves the close relation of the tapestry to the French environment. In 14th-century MSS of the 'Pélerinage de l'Âme', a popular late medieval romance by Guillaume de Deguilleville, there appears a personification
185 of Justice standing between two trees, the flowering Tree of Life and the dead Tree of Knowledge.[22] The general scheme of such illuminations corresponds so closely to Baudreuil's tapestry, that the meaning of the two trees must certainly be the same.

Since Baudreuil probably had a hand in composing the verse, in conceiving the figure of Athena and in planning the general composition, it seems further probable that the various Florentine elements were combined in his circle or in the factory to which the cartoon was handed over for execution.

Botticelli's drawing also points to this conclusion. As it is squared, it must have served for transference to the cartoon. The big cartoon would then have shown the figure alone. This hypothesis is supported by a much weaker drawing of Botticelli's school.[23] It is not a copy 186
after the Uffizi drawing as it contains almost all the small alterations of attitude and drapery which appear in the tapestry. But certain simplifications in it are characteristic of a copy,[24] and the drawing seems therefore to have been made from the cartoon.[25] All the other parts of the design would then have been transmitted in smaller drawings, which were brought together in France into one composition and enriched with the coat-of-arms, the label, and the border.

The medieval illumination is an important help for the interpretation of the tapestry, as it explains the significance of the trees. On the dead Tree of Knowledge hangs the shield of Medusa, the apotropaic symbol of terror and destruction. From the green Tree of Grace the corselet is suspended in the manner of an ancient trophy. This tree shows the leaves and berries of the holly, the personal emblem of Guy de Baudreuil. Since the cuirass is a symbol of virtue, the curious combination of tree and cuirass represents in an extravagant way the virtue of the abbot as the product of divine grace. Twisted round the trunk of the tree appears a label with Baudreuil's motto: 'Sub sole sub umbra virens.'[26] This device, which reappears in the border alternating with the crowned hearts[27] of his coat-of-arms and garlands of holly, refers directly to the evergreen nature of the holly. It gives at the same time the

186 SCHOOL OF BOTTICELLI. Minerva, drawing (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum)

reason for the adoption of the medieval scheme: the side of sun and life and the side of shade and spiritual night are reconciled in the figure of 'Alma Minerva', the mother of art and science. As wisdom is not only the knowledge of divine but also of human things ('cum sapientia non modo divinarum, sed etiam humanarum rerum scientia sit'[28]), the faith in eternal life must have as its counterpart the knowledge of human sin. Therefore, the dead tree represents the dark side of truth ('exprimit veritatem in obscuro latere'). 'Minerva Pacifica', standing in the middle with olive branch and helmet in her hand, exemplifies the motto ('sub sole sub umbra virens'), and illustrates the words of the inscription 'Minerva mortales cunctis artibus erudiens'. The coat-of-arms above her head proves her to be Baudreuil's special virtue. The rocky ground on which she stands shows that the path of wisdom is hard, but flowers of learning grow around.

Thus the tapestry embodies the personal humanist endeavour of a French abbot, who, inspired by the work of the Italian Laurana for a French patron, turned again to Italy for the realization of his learned scheme.

Minerva Pudica

The literary and pictorial tradition of the Middle Ages shows Minerva in full armour as the warlike defender of wisdom and virtue.[29] This function is still generally attributed to her during the Renaissance. But about twenty-five years after Botticelli's tapestry design for Guy de Baudreuil, Marc Antonio, possibly on the
187 basis of a drawing by Raphael,[30] engraved a Minerva which presents a problem similar to that of the tapestry – however fantastic this assertion may seem at first glance. The goddess is again represented without armour and the olive branch is still of central importance. Yet certain puzzling features exclude the possibility of a simple interpretation. The goddess holds by the hand a little Cupid, who waves an olive branch, while he looks up to her uncovered breast which she presses with her hand.

The group at first suggests a Venus and Cupid,[31] but the olive tree to the left is unquestionably the attribute of Pallas. What encounter, then, of Minerva and Cupid is represented? Pallas is not only the goddess of Victory, and the furtherer of peace and learning, she is also the maiden against whom the arrows of Cupid are ineffective – she is the symbol of Chastity.[32]

In the 19th Dialogue of the Gods by Lucian Cupid explains to his mother Venus that he is unable to wound Minerva with his arrows. That ancient conception of Minerva's virginity was kept alive right through the Middle Ages, so much so, indeed, that the goddess even appeared as a symbol of the Virgin Mary.[33] It is an achievement of the Florentine philosophers to have reconciled the two traditional opponents: Minerva and Venus, Castitas and Voluptas. The idea found favour with the Florentine poets and artists. A poem which holds a central position in Florentine artistic life of the late Quattrocento, Politian's *Giostra* of 1475 in honour of Giuliano de' Medici, culminates in the appeasement of the antagonists Cupid and Minerva. Giuliano conquered by Cupid invokes Minerva thus:

Vergine santa che mirabil prove
Mostri del tuo gran nume in cielo e 'n terra,
Ch' e' valorosi cuori a virtù inflammi;
Soccorrimi or, Tritonia, e virtù dammi. (II, 41)

187 MARC ANTONIO RAIMONDI. *Reconciliation of Minerva and Cupid*, engraving, early 16th century

He begs the goddess, together with Cupid, to show him the way to eternal glory:

S' Amor con teco a grandi opre mi chiama,
Mostrami il porto, o dea, d'eterna fama. (II, 42)

The reconciliation between Castitas and Voluptas forms the subject of a famous painting of Politian's circle, executed by Botticelli in honour of Lorenzo il Magnifico. It shows Minerva gripping the hair of a centaur, whose 188
face and gesture express subjection to her higher power. The centaur is the representative of the lower instincts,[34] and he is here equipped with quiver and bow, the symbols of earthly love. Pallas, adorned with olive branches as signs of virtue, holds the lance of Wisdom.[35]

188 SANDRO BOTTICELLI. *Pallas and the Centaur* (Florence, Uffizi)

Woven on her garment appear interlocking diamond rings, the emblems of Lorenzo de' Medici. The picture, therefore, represents the wisdom in Lorenzo which has overcome the centaur in him. As a secondary allusion Botticelli certainly meant to glorify Lorenzo's virtuous government of Florence, the town of Minerva.[36]

In contradistinction to Botticelli, Mantegna and Perugino represented in contemporary pictures the victory of Chastity over Lust for the studio of Isabella Gonzaga[37] according to the medieval scheme of the Psychomachia, retaining that violent opposition of forces, which Botticelli had resolved into a humble submission. In Mantegna's painting Minerva, armed and supported by Diana and Castitas, puts to flight Venus with the whole band of vices. Venus, the leader, is riding on a centaur, the same symbol of lasciviousness as used by Botticelli. For Perugino's picture there exists a written *invenzione* by the poet Paride da Ceresara, who proposes as theme the fight of Chastity against Lust, i.e. of Pallas and Diana against Venus and Cupid. In the picture executed from this description Minerva directs her spear against the helpless Cupid whom she grips firmly by the band which blindfolds him. This is the exact opposite of Marc Antonio's engraving where Chastity and earthly Love are reconciled as in Botticelli's picture.

One important element of the engraving, the gesture of Minerva's left hand, remains still unexplained. Politian's *Giostra* can again serve to prepare the ground. After the verses quoted above, in which Giuliano begs Minerva's assistance against Cupid, he turns again to Cupid, expressing the hope of remaining his champion, and calls on him for help against the goddess:

> *E s'io son, dolce Amor, s'io pur son degno*
> *Essere il tuo campion contro a costei . . .*

What Giuliano asks is that the frenzy of Cupid should arouse the spirit of pity in Minerva

> *Fa' sì del tuo furor mio pensier pregno,*
> *Che spirto di pietà nel cor li crei (II, 44),*

for virtue by herself has 'short wings', i.e. cannot raise up man. Soon he calls Cupid's

189 SCHOOL OF DOSSO DOSSI. *Reconciliation of Minerva and Cupid* (formerly London, Donaldson Collection)

frenzy 'santo furore' (II, 45), and in the last verse invokes Cupid, Minerva and Gloria to let him gain supreme victory ('l'alta victoria') through their united help, so that the memory of his work may be kept alive eternally.[38]

Thus at the end of his poem Politian endows Cupid with the qualities of the Platonic Eros, so that he is capable of causing celestial love:

> *Ma se mi presti il tuo* santo *furore,*
> *Leverai me sopra la tua natura.*

At the same time the whole atmosphere grows distinctly Christian. The reconciliation of Cupid and Minerva creates the spirit of pity, which corresponds to Christian charity.

There is an old tradition in ecclesiastical literature for the connection between *ira virtuosa* and *caritas*. According to Gregory[39] the zeal of charity informs the divine fury. John of Ridewall[40] literally speaks of 'ira quae nascitur ex caritate', and associates this state of mind with Cupid. The *tertium comparationis* is that neither will endure slowness; *Ira virtuosa* 'habere dicitur veloces alas'. This is the exact counterpart to Politian's observation that Virtue

'ha l'ale corte' (II, 44). Only with the help of the impetuous Cupid is the slowness of Virtue transformed into Charity.

There is no question that Marc Antonio's engraving is still dependent on the same philosophical conception; for the gesture of Minerva's left hand is the traditional gesture of Charity.[41]

Marc Antonio's engraving was the model of
189 a picture of Dosso Dossi's school.[42] Some slight changes, however, should not be overlooked. Cupid is now equipped with the quiver, and instead of the olive branch he holds an arrow, the weapon which produces frenzy. Ivy is twisted around the olive tree. For Plato and the Platonists ivy is the symbol of *Furor Poeticus*,[43] i.e. of the divine form of frenzy,[44] so that the subject of the picture is repeated by allusion in the union of the two plants.

Minerva – Venus

In the process of free adaptation of ancient mythological figures the artists of the Renaissance did not confine themselves to attributing new meanings to fixed types. If occasion required, they freely combined elements from different sources.

The gesture of holding a helmet in the outstretched hand occurs in antiquity not only with 'Minerva Pacifica' but also with 'Venus Victrix',[45] whose cult was set up under Pompey and who was venerated together with 'Victoria' as Goddess of Victory. As such she has qualities in common with Minerva. Agostino Veneziano,
190 in one of his engravings[46] followed a prototype of Venus Victrix as it was known from gems and coins. Venus, almost naked, is leaning on a pillar holding sceptre and helmet; a little cupid approaches her rather indignantly because she is not prepared to take notice of him. To the left behind stands a shield with the head of Medusa, that is to say the shield of Minerva. In such a case one is tempted to argue that the artist was simply mistaken. But this is extremely unlikely, considering the humanist circle in which Agostino Veneziano, Marc Antonio's best pupil, worked in Rome. The engraving suggests rather that the idea of fusing Venus and Minerva was conceived in this circle.

Long before Agostino Veneziano's engraving,
191 the figure of a Venus Victrix was drawn in the

190 AGOSTINO VENEZIANO. *Venus Victrix*, engraving, early 16th century

191 MARCO ZOPPO. *Venus Victrix*, drawing (London, British Museum)

enigmatic sketch-book of the British Museum, formerly ascribed to Mantegna.[47] Venus is here surrounded by Cupids who are busy carrying instruments of war, as in certain ancient representations of Venus Victrix.[48] Oddly enough, in this drawing we find the corselet of Minerva as in Laurana's medal for René d'Anjou.

It has recently been proved that Venus Victrix also appears on the socle which supports
192 the throne of St Peter in Titian's Pesaro picture in Antwerp.[49] Here again the cuirass is placed next to the goddess on the ground, and it is even tempting to relate the helmet of Jacopo Pesaro with the configuration of the socle. Pesaro, who took part in the sea-battle of Santa Mauro, is presented to St Peter by Pope Alexander VI. But he is shown in Dominican habit and not in the armour of a warrior. The helmet, therefore, cannot be part of his dress. The reason for its appearance is that the picture is intended to be a devotional thanks offering after the victory, and the helmet, as the emblem of war, is laid at the feet of St Peter in whose honour the battle was fought. On the other hand, its juxtaposition to the breastplate in the relief calls to mind the grouping together of helmet and cuirass in representations of Minerva by Laurana and Botticelli.

We are not in a position to solve the whole riddle of this socle. What can be established at present is that one side of it – namely that nearest to Jacopo Pesaro – represents through the image Venus-Minerva the ideas of victory, peace, and virtue, whereas the other side, including the youth with grapes and the amorous couple, stands for voluptuous passion. Between the two stands Cupid on an altar. His character is revealed by the keys of St Peter,

192 TITIAN. *Alexander VI presenting Jacopo Pesaro to St Peter* (Antwerp Museum)

193 FRANCESCO FRANCIA. *Minerva and Neptune* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie)

194 Engraving after pl. 193 reversed, 18th century

surprisingly placed above his head. They indicate that he is primarily the symbol of divine love, and it is for this reason that the figures on the virtuous side approach him with outstretched arms, while he turns towards them, as if inciting them to the highest virtue by his divine frenzy.[50] So the theme of Marc Antonio's engraving is here illustrated by a different arrangement. The figures on the left of the relief are possessed by lustful passion from which the divine Cupid turns towards the side of heavenly love.

The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the right side of the relief repeats in allegorical terms the subject of the picture. As the representative of Christ blesses the victor who is presented to him by the Pope, so Cupid shoots his arrow[51] of Divine Love at Venus-Minerva, the symbol of victory and virtue.[52]

Minerva – Mary

We have referred to the identification of Minerva and Mary which was familiar to the Middle Ages and which can also be found in the Renaissance. And we can even point to a picture in which such an identification is given visible form. This painting is now in the Dresden Gallery, and appears to be by Fran- 193
cesco Francia.[53] In its present state it shows Athena with her spear and Poseidon with the trident in a landscape. But the original attributes of Minerva are recorded in an engraving of the 194
18th century. Here she is shown with a halo and holding a cross. It was not till after 1837 that, with the idea that such a mixture ran counter to the pagan spirit of the Renaissance the figure of the goddess was restored to a supposed original of perfect mythological correctness. Traces of the bar of the cross and of

the halo are still visible in the original today, and in the catalogues of the time of the restoration no evidence is given that cross and halo were really later additions. As the picture was never in a religious setting but was transferred from the Castello in Ferrara, where it is first traceable, to the Ducal Collection of Modena and was purchased from there between 1745 and 1747 by Augustus III of Saxony, there is no reason to accept the 19th-century restoration.[54]

In the text accompanying the engraving of 1745 the subject is called: 'Sujet emblématique sur le Prince Doria', and the female figure is described as Religion inviting the Prince to devote himself to her.[55] This description reproduces a good tradition. Neptune shows in fact the features of Andrea Doria, and Minerva-Religio certainly points to him.

The picture is dated November 1512, and it is therefore not difficult to discover its political relevance. In that year Andrea Doria, whose military exploits had been confined to the land forces, was appointed admiral of the Genoese fleet which was to defend the papal cause against France.[56] The picture glorifies this appointment.[57] Minerva-Religio designates as her champion Andrea Doria who as ruler of the seas, appears in the shape of Neptune. But the interpretation of the female figure is more complex. Like 'Minerva Pacifica' she is without armour, her helmet appearing under her foot and her corselet with the head of Medusa standing behind her. But the naked leg, the low-necked drapery and the voluptuous forms are unsuitable for Minerva, the maiden. These are features of 'Venus Victrix', the goddess of Victory. Cross and halo indicate that in spite of her Venus-like attire, she represents the Christian Religion. The old equation of Minerva-Mary thus still lurks behind the equation Minerva-Venus and the personal character of the Virgin is expanded into the general notion of Religion. Accordingly this female figure is a compound of four different symbols, all related to Andrea Doria's function in furthering the victory of the Church: 'Minerva Pacifica', 'Venus Victrix', the Virgin Mary and 'Religio'.

Yet it is comprehensible that the 19th-century restorer saw in this figure only a Minerva. Pallas and Neptune were certainly meant by the artist or his adviser to suggest a classical reminiscence. Both deities appear together in their contest for Athens; Neptune as the god of war, Minerva as the goddess of peace. The prize of victory is awarded to the goddess, who in Francia's picture appears in the superior position. Yet both forces are represented as reconciled: It is for the sake of divine Peace that Andrea Doria is chosen by the Church to wage war against her enemies.

195 TITIAN. *Religion succoured by Spain* (Madrid, Prado)

X TITIAN'S ALLEGORY OF 'RELIGION SUCCOURED BY SPAIN'

Titian's Allegory of 'Religion Succoured by Spain'

AFTER TITIAN had finished Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* for the Duke Alfonso I d'Este around the year 1516, he went on to paint for him the celebrated series of mythological pictures, the *Worship of Venus*, the *Bacchanal* and *Bacchus and Ariadne*; a religious painting, the *Tribute Money*; and the portraits of the Duke himself and of his mistress, Laura Dianti. Alfonso's patronage of Titian has been critically studied by Gronau;[1] but he does not mention the last picture, commissioned by the Duke, and left unfinished at his death in 1534 in the artist's studio. It has long been realized that this is the picture, now known as *Religion succoured by Spain*, which Titian altered about forty years later for Philip II. This is made clear by Vasari who saw the picture in its original state in 1566 and describes it as follows:

> He also started many years ago a picture for Alfonso I Duke of Ferrara showing a young woman naked and bowing before Minerva, and another figure next to her; and the sea, where far away Neptune appears in his chariot. But, on account of the death of the Duke, according to whose idea he was executing the work, it was not finished and remained with Titian.[2]

The picture, as we know it today, agrees in general with this passage. But it is hardly probable that after so long a lapse of time and under entirely new conditions Titian merely finished off his earlier design. MacLaren's close analysis of the brush-work[3] enables us to distinguish, with some certainty, between the parts finished before 1534 and those added in the seventies. It is evident in any case that in the early unfinished state all the elements were missing which now give a religious significance to the figures: the flag on the lance, the cross and the chalice. The figure of Minerva shows that Titian first had a mythological allegory in mind. Who, then, was the figure facing Minerva? Her nakedness suggests that she was Venus. Minerva appears as the virgin in unwarlike dress with her armour at her feet. In short, this is the old subject of Virtue and Vice, Castitas and Voluptas; but, as in another series of Renaissance pictures,[4] the theme is not treated as a Psychomachy – i.e. as a violent contest between Virtue and Vice – it is rather a peaceful reconciliation of the two opposites, for Venus bows humbly before the victorious approach of Minerva.

So far the subject is in line with a philosophical and artistic trend which spread from Florence, and Titian's picture is, like Botticelli's *Minerva and the Centaur*, an allegory of the humble capitulation of Vice before the inherent superiority of Virtue. The conciliatory spirit of the main figures suggests that the raised sword of the woman accompanying Minerva should not be interpreted as a menacing gesture towards the figure of Vice; it is, in fact, a common symbol for Justice. As Minerva appears unarmed and in her character of 'Pacifica', the implication seems to be that Justice is one of the virtues which accompanies peace. The union of Pax and Justitia is a subject often illustrated, on the basis of the passage in Psalm 85: 'Justitia et pax osculatae sunt.'

But there are certain elements in Titian's first version which cannot be interpreted with the same degree of certainty as can the main figures. If the interpretation for them is right, it is reasonable to suppose that the head of the warrior looking at the spectator from behind the figure of Justice was, in the first state, a portrait of Alfonso I of Ferrara appearing on the side of Peace and Justice. Thus Titian's picture was intended to glorify Alfonso's virtuous government, just as Botticelli's *Minerva and the Centaur* was a tribute to that of Lorenzo de' Medici.[5]

By slight changes Titian ingeniously put a completely new meaning into his picture. The flag on her lance transforms Minerva into an allegory of the Church. This transformation is not surprising; for Minerva as a symbol of the

196 Justice, the Church, and supposed portrait of Alfonso of Ferrara; detail of pl. 195

Virgin Mary was a current conception. The accompanying figure could be used unchanged in the new context, for she now carries the sword of the Church. Sword and flag are the signs of the Church Militant and Triumphant. But here the two signs are not given equal prominence. The Church Militant is subordinate to the magnificent figure of the Church Triumphant, who holds in her right hand a shield
197 bearing the arms of Spain and thus shows that she represents particularly the triumph of the Spanish Church. The presence of this shield and the identity of the patron suggest that the portrait of Alfonso has been changed into that of Philip II.[6]

The transformation of Venus is equally interesting. A comparison with Titian's late paintings
198 of the Magdalen reveals the artist's intention. According to iconographic tradition the Magdalen kneels on a stone; her attribute, the cross, appears beside her; and a striking characteristic is the contrast between the voluptuous treatment of the flesh and the penitent expression.

The chalice next to the cross is not a customary attribute of the Magdalen. But cross and chalice together are symbols of Fides. While Minerva stands for the Church Triumphant, the Magdalen represents Sin redeemed by Faith. There are two trees behind the Magdalen which probably did not appear in this form in the first version; the larger is covered with leaves, and round the smaller, a dead stump, are coiled seven snakes; these allude to the seven devils, i.e. deadly sins, which were driven out of the Magdalen (Luke VIII, 2). The dead stump is therefore the Tree of Knowledge, and the tree with foliage must be the Tree of Grace. It is hardly noticeable in an illustration that the stump grows out of a broken block of stone, behind the solid rock against which the cross is leaning. This is a contrast which suggests that the solid rock is the Rock of Faith. Both trees stand near the Magdalen, because she joins sin with salvation; and it is also for this reason that she kneels under the Tree of Grace. The contrast between the two sides is therefore not simply one of good and evil, conquest and defeat; it also embodies the peaceful submission of penitent sin to militant justice.

It is to be noticed that the chalice lies on its side, with the host falling out of it,[7] a detail which suggests that the figure of the Magdalen is intended to embody a particular sin, namely the heretical proscription of the Mass. As Heresy here submits to the vigilant Church of Spain and finds salvation through penitence, the Church is able to abstain from a forcible suppression of the sinner; for the peace of Catholicism is restored.[8]

It is justifiable to conclude that the version painted for Philip II belongs to the religious disputes of the Counter-Reformation, and further that it is related to an act of reconciliation between the Protestant heretics and Philip, the untiring defender of orthodox Catholicism.

The scene in the background provides a clue to the historical events which lie behind the subject matter of the foreground. In the second version the original figure of Neptune has been changed into or replaced by a Turk who is pursued by a fleet, the white sails of which appear behind him. It has long been realized that this is an allusion to Philip's decisive victory over the unbelievers at Lepanto. Now, at about the same time a not inferior success was achieved by Philip against Protestant heresy in the North. In 1570 he brought a long struggle against Calvinism in the Low Countries to an end by a general pardon, which was supported by the absolution which Pius V granted to all those who returned to the True Faith. In

197, 198 Shield bearing the arms of Spain; and the Magdalen, two details of pl. 195

Flanders many thousands accepted the amnesty and made their peace with the Church.[9]

In commemoration of Lepanto Titian painted for Philip the celebrated picture in which the King, surrounded by symbols of the victory, dedicates his infant son to God. The wrongly named *Religion succoured by Spain* becomes almost a counterpart to this picture commemorating as it does, with a passing reference to the battle against the Turks, Philip's reconciliation with the penitent Protestants of the Low Countries – a peace, however, which was not destined to be of long duration.[10]

By slight alterations of secondary elements alone Titian had turned a mythological subject into a religious one, and invested a courtly and humanist conception with the vigorous spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Such a procedure, peculiar though it may seem, is actually very common; for Titian adopted the principle of translating iconographical types which is as old as European painting itself.

199 EL GRECO. Angel with raised arm, detail from *Baptism of Christ*, pl. 200

XI EL GRECO'S LANGUAGE OF GESTURE

El Greco's Language of Gesture

'EL GRECO IS A GREAT PHILOSOPHER' – this was Pacheco's[1] verdict after his visit to the painter's studio in 1611. There are reliable indications to support this claim. We know that El Greco had written a treatise on art, now lost; that he counted the best minds at Toledo among his friends; that he had a scholar's library[2] which contained not only books on art and architecture, but, among others, Aristotle, Xenophon, Lucian and Plutarch in addition to such ecclesiastical authors as St Basil the Great, St Chrysostom, Dionysius the Areopagite and St Justin, all in Greek, and, finally, Italian writers such as Petrarch, Ariosto and Patrizzi. It is a safe guess that this library was there for use. But do El Greco's pictures reveal a philosophical mind at work?

It must be faced squarely that he was not much interested in *invenzione* for its own sake. He repeated, or almost repeated, compositions, figures and attitudes, sometimes over a period of ten, twenty, thirty and even forty years. A study of the simplest case, that of the many half-figures of saints, shows that he often used the same formula not only for pictures of one and the same saint, but for such different ones as St Francis, St Dominic and St Mary Magdalen. Admittedly, many of them are studio repetitions; but even after weeding them out, a hard core of closely similar originals remains. Was this the result of mental indolence? Was he seriously concerned only with brushwork and style? In any case, from his own point of view the modern observer diagnoses poverty of invention, and since this is nowadays regarded as the worst reproach levelled at a great artist, writers on El Greco often slur over this phenomenon in silence. On occasions their bewilderment becomes articulate. 'We cannot disguise from ourselves the horrid fact,' writes one of them,[3] 'that El Greco . . . was the Henry Ford of Toledo.'

For an explanation I can only think of the alternatives: either El Greco *was* the Henry Ford of Toledo, or he had ulterior, philosophical reasons for repeating himself. Once the problem is clearly stated, the choice is not difficult to make. The second hypothesis rings true, not only because one need not assume a dichotomy between El Greco the philosopher and El Greco the painter. One is therefore led to believe that he deliberately repeated attitudes and gestures when he was faced with a similar task; in the case of the above mentioned half-figures he had to represent saints contemplating Christ's sacrifice. If my general presupposition is accepted, it must be inferred that gestures for him were signs with an unalterable meaning.

Before jumping to hasty conclusions, a few clarifying words about the general problem of gestures seem necessary. We may perhaps differentiate between three or even four 'pictorial' types of gestures, namely between descriptive, symbolic, rhetorical and automatic ones. In pictures the distinction between the two latter is often blurred, and in the present context I need not specifically discuss automatic gestures.

Descriptive gestures, like pointing, elucidate a story or narrative and are therefore needed when painting or sculpture have to deal with a literary theme. Rhetorical (and implicitly automatic) gestures reflect and illuminate emotional conditions. Only at periods when the arts are primarily concerned with the human problem of psycho-physical reactions can an absorbing interest in rhetorical gestures be expected. It is therefore not by chance that rhetorical gestures came into their own during the anthropocentric Italian Renaissance. In the art-theoretical edifice erected since Alberti's days, they were soon regarded as a basic tenet, and Leonardo's *Last Supper* is, of course, the prime example of theory turned into practice. Symbolic gestures belong mainly to pre-Renaissance art; from the 15th century on they are, as a rule, confined to such attitudes as blessing. I call this a symbolic gesture because, in contrast to the rhetorical

ones, we are faced with a code which must be known in order to be understood. Descriptive and rhetorical gestures, it is true, may take on a quasi-symbolic meaning. Out-flung arms, for instance, well known from the figure of the Magdalen in representations of the Entombment of Christ, were widely accepted as a conventional formula of grief. Yet one should not be misled; for in actual fact such quasi-symbolic gestures are true 'signs', since the beholder correctly interprets them as physical responses to affective states of mind. The symbolic gesture, by contrast, has an emblematic rather than a psychological basis; the position of the fingers in the Byzantine blessing, to quote one example, adumbrates the first and the last letters of the name of Christ (*Iesus Christos*).

But a gesture may also be a true sign and a true symbol in one. This happens when a specific extraneous meaning is added to the descriptive or rhetorical gesture. Only then are we faced with a code which should be deciphered on two levels, the direct psycho-physical and the indirect symbolical one. If I see it correctly, this is a major problem of El Greco's language of gestures. In opposition to the Romantics who regard his Creto-Byzantine beginnings as decisive for his whole career, I must emphasize that he took over from his Italian masters the current rhetorical vocabulary, and that therefore the gestures in his pictures almost invariably have to be interpreted as responses to psychological stimuli. It is only in his later years at Toledo that one discovers an increasing tendency of endowing rhetorical gestures with symbolic meaning.

To be sure, this is difficult to prove, since no verbal key is available as there is for medieval art, such as Durandus' *Rationale*.[4] My method is the well-tried empirical one, namely to generalize from single observations and to check and re-check additional observations against generic results. As far as I am aware, it has never been noticed that the late El Greco moved away from traditional iconography. The problem of gestures cannot be dissociated from this development. This will become apparent by discussing at some detail mainly one gesture in particular which recurs very often and is of central importance in El Greco's later work.

200 It appears in the Prado *Baptism of Christ*, which dates from the late 1590s. The principal group of Christ and the Baptist together with the angels holding Christ's clothes corresponds to tradition; but the angel in the gap between 199
Christ and the Baptist would seem an iconographical freak. His gaze is lost in admiration of the holy water, while throwing up one arm with the hand, palm upwards, turned back at a sharp angle. This is the gesture I am concerned with.

About fifteen years later, in the version of 202
the *Baptism* in S. Juan Bautista, Toledo (1614),
El Greco shifted the angel with the same gesture 201
to the left border, increased his size and made him almost as prominent as the figure of St John. Moreover the angel no longer looks at the mysterious act of the Baptism, but up to God the Father, and He Himself sitting sideways is turned towards the angel. He therefore does not address the words 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased' to Christ, as is traditional and as He did in the earlier picture. It is hardly less strange that God the Father's gesture of benediction is that of the Greek Church: the thumb is crossed on the third finger, referring emblematically, as I have mentioned, to the name of Christ. This is the only time El Greco used the Byzantine form of blessing, which seems indicative of his emphasis on symbolic gestures in this late stage of his work.

The angel's left hand, interpreted on the descriptive level, points to the Baptism; his right arm and hand, interpreted on the level of rhetoric, make an exclamatory gesture, charged with emotion. The meaning of both gestures together does not permit any doubt: it is the angel who announces to the Father the fulfilment of His command. Now both gestures seem to have also a symbolic meaning. The gesture of the pointing hand is also that of recommendation and supplication. El Greco used precisely the same gesture for the figure of St John in the *Burial of Count Orgaz*, of 1586. 203
Here the Virgin, looking down, intercedes, together with St John the Precursor, for the soul of the deceased. This is a rare case of double intercession, precedents for which exist in such pictures as the Florentine altarpiece of 1402 (?), now at the Cloisters, where it is Christ who addresses God the Father with a similar gesture. We may now conclude that El Greco transferred the gesture of intercession into the new context of the Baptism.

200 EL GRECO. *Baptism of Christ*, 1590 (Madrid, Prado)

201 EL GRECO. Angel with raised arm, detail from *Baptism of Christ*, pl. 202

The gesture of the angel's erect right arm, so common at the late period among a variety of subjects, always expresses on the second level the enthusiastic acknowledgment of divine revelation or, to put it differently, the union with the divine in a state of rapture. If this is correct, as we shall see it undoubtedly is, we may even go a step further and state that in the earlier Baptism in the Prado the angel emphatically announces through his gesture spiritual rebirth by means of the Sacrament of Baptism. It is the gesture of the angel that expresses symbolically the dogmatic message always implied in this historical scene. In the later picture, the symbolic interpretation of gestures lays open a most astonishing dogmatic concept which the direct, pragmatic reading does not reveal. On the new level, the angel's double gesture of intercession and ecstasy makes him the mediator between Christ's divine nature and the terrestrial sphere.

It would be difficult to accept such an interpretation without a satisfactory theological clue to it; but this is at hand in Dionysios the Areopagite's *Hierarchy of Angels*.[5] It is through the agency of angels, Dionysios maintains, 'that

202 EL GRECO. *Baptism of Christ*, 1614 (Toledo, Hospital of S. Juan Bautista)

203 EL GRECO. St John, detail from *Burial of Count Orgaz*, 1586 (Toledo, S. Tome)

204 EL GRECO. *Resurrection*, 1577–79 (Toledo, Convent of S. Domingo el Antiguo)

I see Jesus subordinating Himself to the command of His Father'. The revived importance of the Areopagite for 16th- and 17th-century mysticism hardly needs emphasizing; it may, however, be mentioned that El Greco had not only one, but two editions of his work in his library. The intercession gesture requires a further word. The angel, who intercedes for Christ, the man, intercedes by implication for the whole of humanity whose sins are remitted through baptism.

It may be added that Dionysian influence is probably also reflected in the trinitarian concept pervading the picture – triads of angels surround God the Father and Christ – and in the intentional similarity of upper and lower realm, an arrangement which suggests the Dionysian Neoplatonic idea of sensual realizations of spiritual prototypes. At a much earlier date El Greco had groped in this direction. In the *Burial of Count Orgaz*, the priest pointing to the deceased repeats the gesture of St John, a thiswordly echo of the celestial prototype.

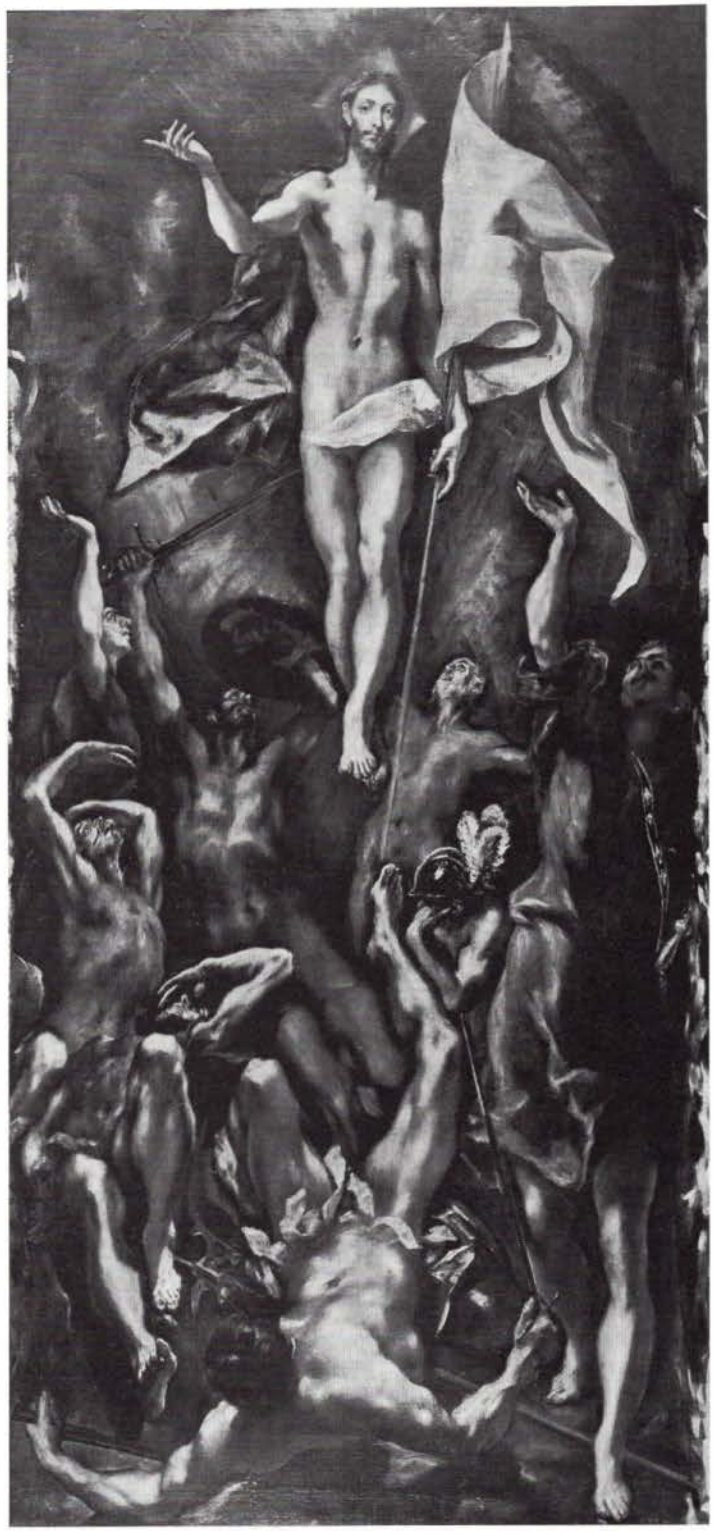
Between El Greco's early and late *Resurrection* there is probably a time gap of almost thirty years, and the difference between the two is therefore even more remarkable than that between the two *Baptisms*. The one is primarily a traditional narrative, the other primarily a revolutionary symbolic interpretation of the same subject. The early *Resurrection* of 1577– 204
79, in S. Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo, painted shortly after El Greco's arrival in Spain, is fully in the tradition of Italian Mannerist Resurrections: the guardians of the tomb are shown 205
running away horror-stricken, or physically stunned, or simply sleeping through the event. In the late Prado *Resurrection*, probably of 206

205 EL GRECO. Guardian of the tomb, detail of pl. 204

about 1608, Christ has risen with feet crossed as if crucified; the tomb, customary in Resurrection scenes, is not represented; nor do attack, defeat and 'recognition' belong to the iconography of the Resurrection. Clearly, features of the Ascension of Christ have been incorporated.

207 The arms of the 'enthusiast' on the left and the running soldier on the right, raised high above the bustle of the figures, are, as it were, counterpoints which epitomize the theme. The gesture of the running figure seems ambiguous. Does it express fear or does it indicate that he has seen the light? Knowing El Greco's use of gestures, one cannot doubt: the soldier is shown at the instant of transformation from a purely physical into a spiritual being, from a sensuous creature to a joyful announcer of Christ's Resurrection. Different is the role of the 'enthusiast', whose raised arm made one learned interpreter believe that he was about to beat the Resurrected![6] In actual fact, the three figures on the left border, placed one above the other, show three stages of recognition: on the ground the lying sleeper who covers himself by an automatic gesture against the divine light; the next, awake, but only semi-conscious, perceives the miracle, lost in wonderment; while the third, all attention, knows the meaning of the mystic event.

Considering the close theological connections between Baptism and Resurrection as divine exemplars of the first and second rising of Man, we must regard the 'enthusiast' as the precise counterpart to the angel of the Baptism. It is the 'enthusiast' who in his rapture experiences the divine nature of Christ, 'knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us



206 EL GRECO. *Resurrection*, *c.* 1608 (Madrid, Prado)

207 EL GRECO. Running soldier with raised arm, detail of pl. 206

also . . .' (II Cor. IV, 14). And as in some medieval representations, Judgment Day is implied in this Resurrection. Not by chance is the soldier who awakens a paraphrase of a resurrected figure in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. It is also relevant that El Greco's gesture of rapture is not uncommon in medieval representations of the *Ascension* – a good example being the 9th-century fresco in S. Clemente, Rome – and recurs even, though rarely, in Renaissance imagery, for instance in Titian's *Ecce Homo* of 1543 at Vienna.

The *Purification of the Temple* pictures present a somewhat different problem. There are in existence four main versions by El Greco's own hand and, although created over a period of forty years, they all show essentially the same arrangement. The Kress and Minneapolis versions belong to his Italian period, that in the London National Gallery dates from about 1600 and that in S. Ginès in Madrid from about 1610. The first two pictures are essentially biblical narratives, but in contrast to the report of the Gospels the scene is divided into a good and a bad half. Christ's wrath is directed towards the left-hand group – a wildly agitated crowd characterized by convulsive gestures, while the people on the right are calm; they are penitent and adore Him as is shown by their attitudes, gestures and glances. 208 209 210 211

The idea of the division was not El Greco's. According to the Book of Mount Athos,[7] Christ armed with a whip pursues the merchants in anger and the Apostles follow Him. Giotto, in the Arena Chapel, acted on this tradition: he placed the merchants on one side and the Apostles on the other side of Christ. In El Greco's first two versions the adoring group on the right can hardly be interpreted as Apostles, but the division assumed ever greater importance in the future.

The scene of the Kress picture is staged before a triumphal arch with stone-coloured classical figures in niches. It is characteristic for the growing emphasis on doctrinal meaning that in the London picture the triumphal arch is decorated with painted stone reliefs which are related to the foreground groups. The unredeemed sinners on the left appear under the Expulsion from Paradise, while those who are redeemed (and are here surely meant to be the Apostles) are placed under the Sacrifice of Isaac, the old anti-type of the Crucifixion. Thus the theme superimposed on the biblical narrative is that of Sin and Redemption.

Apart from the architecture and the relation of the figures to the size of the canvas, the S. Ginès *Purification* is an almost exact repetition of the London picture. On the side of the sinners is again the Expulsion from Paradise and above it appears now a curiously distorted image of the Belvedere Apollo: the pagan god hovers over the sinners large and overpowering. But on the side of the redeemed there is no longer the Old Testament anti-type – and that for good reasons.

On the left-hand margin El Greco added a woman who seems to hurry into the temple as if to stop the fleeing merchants. And she is 212

Opposite:
208 EL GRECO. *The Purification of the Temple* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection)

209 EL GRECO. *The Purification of the Temple* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

210 EL GRECO. *The Purification of the Temple, c.* 1600 (London, National Gallery)

211 EL GRECO. *The Purification of the Temple, c.* 1610 (Madrid, S. Ginès)

making the gesture of exaltation. If our previous reading of this gesture on the symbolic level is correct and if we are right in assuming that for El Greco such gestures had a static meaning, then he intended to convey that the woman has seen the light, and this explains her rapture. So by a slight change, by introducing this symbolic gesture, he made explicit an entirely new conception, for he indicated that redemption is not the prerogative of those who live in the Faith but that those siding with evil may be redeemed if they experience an inner conversion.

Whether or not El Greco regarded his Purification pictures as symbols of the purging of the Church from Protestant heresy, one thing is certain: the more he advanced in age the more did he look upon religious imagery as confessions of his own faith in spiritual rebirth through divine illumination. El Greco, the philosophical painter, harnessed complex theological thought to express through a variety of subjects this one fundamental idea. And it is his language of symbolic gestures that often contains the key to an understanding of his intentions.

212 EL GRECO. Woman with raised arm, detail of pl. 211

213 MARTEN DE VOS. *Allegory on Life and Death*. Engraved version by Sadeler of pl. 214

XII DEATH AND RESURRECTION IN A PICTURE BY MARTEN DE VOS

Death and Resurrection in a Picture by Marten de Vos

THE PICTURE REPRODUCED as Plate 214 was offered for sale at Christie's in 1939.[1] It was then described as an 'Allegory on Life and Death' which is – in a general sense – correct. As it contains some uncommon features it seemed worth while to save it from oblivion. For those who have a knowledge of late Mannerist painting it is evident that nothing is here left to chance; in fact, everything – even the seemingly insignificant – contributes to the 'story'. Contemporaries who were familiar with this mode of expression drew enjoyment and satisfaction from the 'reading' of such pictures. The more complex and the fuller the implications the greater the attraction of the work. But the deciphering of emblematical sophistry was not an aim in itself; it was no more and no less than a visual means of teaching a moral lesson and exposing some final truth. What exactly was the idea which the painter of this 'allegory on life and death' tried to convey?

The putto with the skull is a well-known *memento mori* of the Renaissance. It seems that this combination first occurred in Giovanni
215 Boldù's humanist medal of 1458[2] and from that time on this new symbol of death proved to be of extraordinary power. This is due not only to the obvious symbolism about the brevity of human life and the psychological shock produced by the visual antagonism of childhood and death, but also to certain specifically classical as well as Christian connotations.[3] Moreover, childhood as the state of innocence and purity stimulates thoughts about the state in which we should meet death.[4] Soon other symbols, particularly the hour-glass, were shown together with the putto with the skull, and in this form as 'Youth, Time and Death' with common-place mottoes like 'L'Hora passa' or 'Heite mir morgen Dir' this humanist creation was absorbed by the vernacular south and north of the Alps.[5] It was in the north that the putto with the skull was first shown as dead, replacing the Italian putto in a meditative and pensive attitude.[6] This new type derived probably from Bartel Beham's versions of the subject,[7] and it seems no coincidence that the pose of the dead putto with the skull under his arm, which we find in our picture, occurs in a German 16th-century medallion dependent on Beham's engraving of the 'Mother with the dead Child'.[8] The dead child with the skull evokes distinct Christian associations. For in many Renaissance representations of the Virgin with the Child in her lap, the latter appears in torpid slumber as if He were dead, thus prefiguring the pose of the Pietà. In other cases the relations between the child with the skull and the sacrificial death of Christ is made apparent by showing the Christ Child asleep, lying on the Cross with skull, hour-glass and the Instruments of Passion.[9] It will be seen later that in our picture the death of Christ is implied in the image of the death of innocent youth.[10]

If the child with the skull is a *memento mori*, the putto blowing bubbles stands for the transitoriness and vanity of human life. The ancient proverb 'homo bulla' – Man is a bubble – coming down from Varro and Lucian was revived and re-introduced into Renaissance symbolism through Erasmus' *Adagia*.[11] We find the inscription 'homo bulla' as early as the 1620s on Flemish replicas of Dürer's melancholic 216
St Jerome of 1521.[12] But it is a far cry from expressing the morbid ideas of a sitter for a picture by this proverb, to representing it by a pictorial equivalent. The bubble-blowing putto is an ingenious visual translation of the proverb, a typical conception of the craze for emblems of the later 16th century. W. Stechow[13] is inclined to attribute to Cornelis Ketel the invention of this new iconographical type. This may be, but towards the end of the 16th century the conception became a visual 'idiom' which every initiate understood.[14] In our picture we find vases to the right and left of the bubble-blowing putto, and the quickly withering flowers are additional symbols of the frailty of human life.

In an engraving of 1594 Hendrik Goltzius had blended the bubble-blowing putto with 217
the traditional type of the putto with the skull.[15]

214 MARTEN DE VOS.
Allegory on Life and Death

215 GIOVANNI BOLDÙ.
Reverse of a medal, 1458

216 JOOS VAN CLEVE (attr.).
St Jerome

The two closely related ideas of the *memento mori* and the vanity of human life, epitomized in the motto of the engraving: *Quis evadet?* (who will be spared?), were expressed in our picture by two different protagonists. This was logical and up to this point the content of the picture seems almost to correspond to that of Goltzius' 'synthetic' figure. But here the painter leaves the trodden path. The skull[16] lies on ears of corn sprouting out from underneath it. What does this signify? The key is to be found in the verse from St John's Gospel (XII, 24): Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' And the following verses from St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians help to clarify the simile: 'But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die' (XV, 35–36); and further: 'So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption – Seminatur corpus in corruptione, ut surget incorruptione' (XV, 42). The exegesis of the early Fathers enlarged on this theme. St John Chrysostom wrote an extensive Homily on I Cor. XV, 35–36[17] and St Ambrose in his Commentaries to St Paul's Epistle asks, why should it be doubted that God can make the dead rise again, as the corn rises by His command?[18] The *tertium comparationis* between man and corn is that both must be buried in the soil to be reborn: resurrection is not possible without preceding death.

The Pauline 'Seminatur corpus in corruptione, ut surget in incorruptione' is given more colour in Tertullian's *Apologeticus*:[19] 'Day by

217 HENDRIK GOLTZIUS. 'Quis evadet?', engraving, 1594

day light is slain and shines once more; darkness in due turn departs and follows on again; and the dead stars come to life; seasons, when they end, begin anew; crops are matured and return; assuredly the seed must be wasted and dissolved to grow more fruitfully; everything is saved by being lost; everything is re-fashioned out of death – certe semina non nisi corrupta et dissoluta fecundius surgunt, omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur.' By the 9th century corn had become the symbol of resurrection. Rabanus Maurus declares with reference to St John XII, 24: 'Spiritaliter autem frumentum aut ipsum Redemptorem nostrum significat.'[20]

The Biblical simile between corn and man seems to have found no echo in the arts before the Counter-Reformation. Then suddenly it turns up in emblematical literature. The first work in which we have found it is Claude Paradin's *Devises Héroiques* (Lyons 1557),[21] 218 where the picture of bones with corn sprouting out of them is shown under the motto: 'Spes altera vitae.' The commentary explains: 'Les grains des Bleds, et autres herbages, semees et mortifiees en terre se reverdoient, et prennent nouvel accroissement; aussi les corps humains tombans par Mort, seront relevez en gloire, par generale resurrection.' The image of bones and corn, though not very ingenious, is a logical pictorial expression of the simile. Emblem and motto were borrowed in 1590 by Joachim Camerarius for his *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria*.[22] His commentary is, however, much more explicit than that by Paradin. Under the picture is the moral that for those who know that they rise again physical death means new life:

Securus moritur, qui scit se morte renasci:
Non ea mors dici, sed nova vita potest.

The commentary refers us to the Bible and the exegesis by Ambrose and Chrysostom. Thus we are here in the mental atmosphere of early Christianity. Camerarius, a physician, was the son of the famous classical scholar, who was a Lutheran and an intimate friend of Melanchthon.

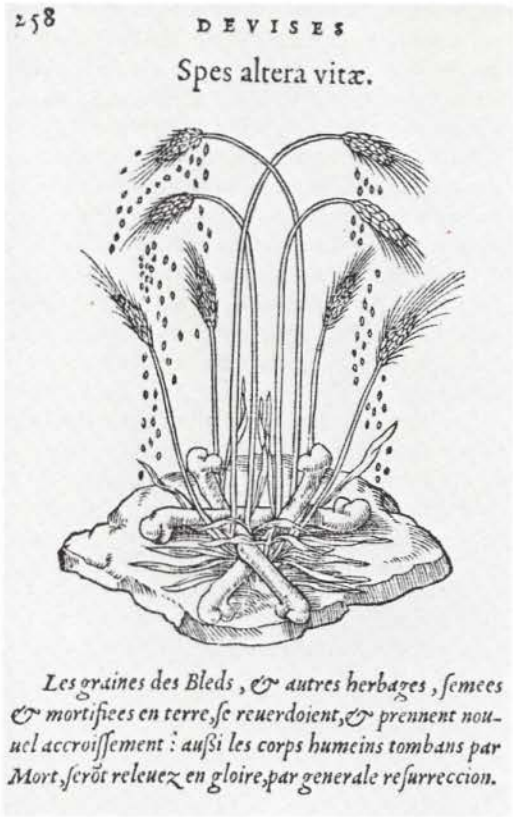
Our painter who wanted to combine the putto and skull image with the man and corn simile, had given himself (or was given) an impossible task. For if he preserved in some purity the type of the putto with the skull, he had to do what he did, namely to put the skull on top of the ears of corn, hereby reversing the logical order.[23] But it must be said for him that he chose a pictorically plausible arrangement. His formula for the man and corn simile which seems to be quite unique[24] is however as far fetched as the 'homo bulla' device and bears the characteristic stamp of the 'emblematic age'. The emblematic image of the skull on ears of corn in the foreground is supplemented and expounded by scenes in the background. Behind the dead putto is a farmer cutting the ripe corn in the field, thus exemplifying in the words of Tertullian that 'the seed must be wasted and dissolved to grow more fruitfully'. And behind the field and exactly above the skull and corn symbol is – as we should now expect – the Resurrection of Christ.[25] Thus the putto with the skull is here not a simple *memento mori*, but stands at the same time for man's hope of resurrection, and as such it incorporates an important allusion to the death of Christ. The allusion to Christ is also prominent in the other half of the picture and overshadows in a literal sense the symbol of human vanity. For the apple tree (pomegranate) with the ripe fruit is a common symbol of Christ. This had always been the allegorical interpretation of the famous words of the Song of Solomon (II, 3): 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons.' Thus we already read in Rabanus Maurus: 'Malum autem allegorice significat Dominum Christum: unde sponsa in Cantico Canticorum dicit . . .'[26] The bubble-blowing putto looks extremely gay; this is probably due not only to his childish occupation, but also because there is no cause for sadness. The 'homo bulla' conception evokes here no melancholic meditation, for the bubble, that is human life, is spent under the shadow of the apple, that is Christ, and in the expectation of resurrection.[27]

The interpretation of the picture can be carried a step further, for there exists an engraving after it with a Latin distich which summarizes its content. Moreover, the engraving gives a clue as to the artist of the picture. It is signed 'M. de Vos inv., R. Sadeler fec.' The picture is therefore an addition to Marten de Vos' œuvre and should be dated before or about 1600. The inscription runs: 213

Vita quid est nisi bulla levis? nisi transitus aurae?
Quae velut umbra fugit, quae velut herba perit.
Mors simul ex ortu procedit, et exitus idem
Excipit introitum. Spes pia sola beat.
Nam nisi componat sua gramina fossor in agrum,
Non redit ad dominum messis opima suum.
Sic nisi credideris morientia membra sepulchro,
Nulla resurgentis gloria carnis erit.

What else is life than a light bubble? than a passing breeze?
Which flees like shadow, which passes away like vegetation.
Death proceeds right from the time of birth, and likewise the end
Follows after the beginning. Only devout hope makes happy.
For if the labourer does not bury his seeds in the field,
He cannot return the fruits of the harvest to the master.
So if you have not entrusted the mortal body to the grave,
There will be no glory of the resurrection of the flesh.

Every line of this poem is charged with reminiscences of, and allusions to, classical and Biblical texts, uniting the various elements of the picture under the theme of the hope of resurrection. To begin with, the poem confirms, if confirmation need be, the analysis of the picture: the Renaissance *memento mori*, a bemoaning of the rapid passing away of human life, has been replaced by the joyful expectation of afterlife – a typically Counter-Reformatory transformation of Renaissance symbolism. The first two lines of the poem express frailty of human life through the four metaphors, bubble,



218 'Spes altera vitae', from Claude Paradin's *Devises Héroiques*, 1557

wind, shadow, and vegetation. No more need be said of the classical bubble conception; the comparison with the shadow is taken almost verbally from the Book of Job: 'Et fugit velut umbra' (XIV, 2), while the vegetation and wind images seem paraphrases from Isaiah XL, 7: 'The grass whithereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.' With the next two lines about the reciprocity of life and death we turn again to classical literature. They render exactly the meaning of Manilius' famous and since the 15th century often quoted: 'Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.'[28] ('We die with birth, and the end depends upon the beginning.') With the reference to the necessity of hope, these macabre lines lead on to the resurrection theme and the rest of the poem elaborates the corn metaphor of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Pauline simile has a pedigree which has some bearing on a full appreciation of our painter's intentions. Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* quotes from Euripides' lost tragedy of *Hipsipyle*[29] the following well-known passage:

Earth must go back to earth: then life by all
Like crops is harvested. So must it be[30]

Primitive vegetation rituals which associated corn with ideas of death and resurrection,[31] find here a poetical sublimation. Later the conception was absorbed by stoic philosophers. We find it in Marcus Aurelius: 'Our lives are reaped like the ripe ears of corn, And as one falls, another still is born';[32] and very near to our text and the spirit of the picture is the phrase in Epictetus' *Discourses*:[33] 'But this is a curse upon ears of corn, to be never reaped. So we must know that in the case of men too it is a curse not to die, just the same as not to be ripened and not to be reaped.' The influence of stoic doctrines on the Epistles of St Paul and particularly on the central doctrine of resurrection as propounded in I Cor. is well known.[34] Marten de Vos' picture was conceived at a juncture when – we are now entitled to conclude – St Paul's use of stoic conceits was appreciated.

The key to the question seems to be the writer of the Latin distich who collaborated with the painter or even submitted the theme. And here we can offer a hypothesis. The name of the author is probably Franco van Est who is responsible for a great number of Latin poems for engravings by Goltzius.[35] His style and mental make-up is so similar that the conclusion seems inevitable. Compare the inscription under Goltzius' *Quis evadet* engraving with that under our engraving:

Flos novus, et verna fragrans argenteus aura
Marescit subito, perit, ali, perit illa venustas.
Sic et vita hominum iam nunc nascentibus, eheu,
Instar abit bullae vanique elapsa vaporis.

The fresh and silvery flower, fragrant with the
breath of spring
Withers at once, its beauty perishes;
So the life of man, already ebbing in the newly born,
Vanishes like a bubble or like fleeting smoke.[36]

The same ideas, the same images! Who is this Franco van Est? Very little seems to be known about him. He was the brother of the once famous theologian Willem van Est (d. 1613) who became chancellor of the University of Douai and published amongst others *Commentaria in epistolas D. Pauli*.[37] Willem van Est was five years older than Justus Lipsius who, like himself, had been a student at Louvain. With his celebrated lectures on Seneca, Lipsius inaugurated a stoic revival in the Low Countries and his teaching was crowned by his edition of Seneca's works. It is in Seneca's *Epistles* that we find the atmosphere of Marten de Vos' painting. The *meditare mortem* – to be ready for death everywhere – is the theme of Epistle XXVI; Epistle XLIX is concerned with 'time's headlong flight'. Seneca returns over and over again to the idea that death is the ever-present counterpart to life: 'The very day which we are now spending is shared between ourselves and death' (Epist. XXIV) and his assurance of resurrection has a distinctly Christian flavour: 'Since you are destined to return, you ought to depart with a tranquil mind' (Epist. XXXVI). No wonder that he was looked upon as a Christian, time and again. Lipsius, in his Life of Seneca, cannot make up his mind what to think of the apocryphal Epistles by Seneca to St Paul. Based on the authority of St Jerome, St Augustine and Pope Linus he quotes John of Salisbury: 'They seem to be foolish, who reverence not him who, as it appears, deserved the familiarity of the Apostle.'[38]

The resurrection symbolism of the little picture which was discussed in the foregoing pages seems to reflect a revived interest in St Paul, the stoic. The spirit of the Counter-Reformation was here married to the teachings of Justus Lipsius.

219 WILLIAM HOGARTH. Frontispiece of Catalogue for Spring Gardens exhibition, 1761

XIII 'GRAMMATICA': FROM MARTIANUS CAPELLA TO HOGARTH

'Grammatica': from Martianus Capella to Hogarth

THE CATALOGUE of Pictures exhibited in Spring Gardens in 1761 was rapidly sold out. The reason for this success was the topical appeal
219 of its frontispiece and tailpiece designed by
220 Hogarth.[1] The frontispiece expresses hope in the patronage of the young king, George III, who had ascended the throne in the previous year. This meaning is made evident by a quotation from Juvenal on a reprint of the engraving: 'Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.'[2]

The imagery of Hogarth's design is somewhat far fetched. The engraving shows a fountain, with a heraldic lion's head and a bust of the king, built into the rock. A stream of water flows from it into a watering-can with which Britannia waters three green trees labelled 'painting', 'sculpture', 'architecture'. By a witty contrast the tailpiece shows three dead stumps of trees in flowerpots being uselessly watered by a monkey, who watches the success of his activity through a magnifying glass. The labels 'obit 1502, obit 1600, obit 1604' illustrate the vain endeavour of this ape to revive what has been dead for hundreds of years. This is a satire on the folly of the connoisseurs who turn towards the 'exoticks' of 'those old and damaged pictures which are venerated merely for their antiquity'.[3] Again in the reprint a passage from Martial elucidates the idea: 'Esse quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur?'

Paradoxical as it may sound, Hogarth got the inspiration for his engravings exactly from that ancient art which he himself condemned as dead. His design belongs to a pictorial tradition which can be traced back to an engraving
221 by Marc Antonio.[4] It shows an almost naked woman of Giorgionesque type[5] watering a flower. This enigmatic motif can be explained with the help of the literary tradition. It is a symbol of 'Grammatica'. As the plant grows through watering so the young mind is formed through the study of grammar. In late antiquity grammar became the foundation of the liberal arts. We can trace this doctrine from Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus to Isidore, Rabanus Maurus and right through the later Middle Ages.[6] Out of a long series of authors we quote a characteristic passage from John of Salisbury's *Metalogicus* (finished 1159), a work which deals at length with problems of education:

> Grammar is the science of talking and writing correctly and the origin of all the liberal arts. It is the cradle of all philosophy and so to speak the chief nourisher of all literary studies.[7]

Plutarch more than once compares in a general way the growth and watering of a plant with the education of youth.[8] And a Latin author of the 1st century AD, Petronius Arbiter, in talking about the restoration of the old noble style or oratory, recommends that 'studiosi iuvenes lectione severa irrigarentur'.[9]

A writer of the early Middle Ages, Bishop Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), in his poem 'De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis' applies this idea directly to Grammar. She is described as sitting at the foot of a tree, accompanied by Rhetorica and Dialectica, whilst the Quadrivium appears in the branches. And it is she who has the power to make the tree grow.[10]

The name of Melanchthon is enough to remind us of the important position held by grammar during the Renaissance. Liberated from scholastic fetters it keeps its central position in a more realistic system of education. Grammar appears now again under the old simile of the root without which the tree of science cannot grow. Celio Calcagnini, a contemporary of Marc Antonio, expresses this with the words 'Quando nec sine radice ullae diu arbores possunt supervivere: Ita sine hac (sc. grammatica) nullae bonae institutiones possunt adolescere.'[11]

While these texts explain the attribute of the watering-jug in Marc Antonio's engraving, we

220 WILLIAM HOGARTH. Tailpiece of Catalogue for Spring Gardens exhibition, 1761

have yet to account for the vessel in the figure's right hand. A similar vessel is held by 'Gram- 222 matica' in the so-called Mantegna Tarocchi.[12] This print is a literal illustration of Martianus Capella's description of 'Grammatica'[13] whom he presents as an old woman carrying a vessel which is supposed to contain medicine for correcting the children's pronunciation and a knife for sharpening their defective tongues. She also holds a file, with which the grammatical mistakes can be removed. Though the widespread influence of Capella is well known, it has not been noticed that his prescription is still followed in the 'Grammatica' of the Tarocchi, a series of engravings which was certainly known to Marc Antonio. Thus the vessel in the hand of his Venus-like 'Grammatica' appears to be a survival of the drug-jar of Martianus Capella.

In his *Iconologia* Cesare Ripa describes 'Grammatica' with both file and watering-jug as attributes, but he leaves out the vessel. Like Marc Antonio, he combines the watering theme from Plutarch with only one of the motifs from Martianus Capella. In the 17th-century illustrations accompanying Ripa's text the symbol of Martianus Capella is not shown, the watering of the flower becoming the chief motif of the allegory. And the same applies to later iconologists.[14]

Bourdon's engraving of 'Grammatica'[15] is 223 evidently based on the French edition of Ripa 224 of 1644.[16] Her right hand rests on a ribbon similar to that which in Ripa's woodcut bears the inscription: 'vox litterata et articulata debito modo pronunciata.' The same source provides also the key for a painting by La Hire, 225 dated 1650.[17] Here 'Grammatica' is equipped with the ribbon on which the passage from Ripa is conspicuously inscribed. But there is one curious feature which cannot be explained simply from Ripa's text: La Hire painted two flowerpots.

Ripa's Latin definition of Grammar derives from ancient grammarians. Almost every later grammarian followed the standard *Ars Grammatica* of Donatus (4th century AD) in subdividing Grammar into the two parts: 'vox' and 'littera'.[18] But 'littera' depends for its existence on 'vox articulata'; for 'Words' can be either articulate or confused, and the 'Letter' is the smallest part of the articulate word. Priscianus,

221 MARC ANTONIO RAIMONDI. *Grammar*, engraving, early 16th century

222 *Grammar*, Italian engraving from the so-called Mantegna *Tarocchi*

223 SEBASTIEN BOURDON. *Grammar*, engraving, mid 17th century

224 Right: *Grammar*, engraving from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, French edition 1644

225 LAURENT DE LA HIRE. *Grammar*, 1650
(London, National Gallery)

the famous grammarian of the imperial court in Constantinople, contracts this definition into the passage:

> Vocis differentiae sunt quattuor: articulata, inarticulata, litterata, illitterata.[19]

La Hire seems to have intended the two flowerpots as illustrations of the two positive parts of this definition. If this is true, La Hire must have known, besides Ripa, original texts of grammarians, for Ripa's text alone would not suggest so clear a division of the subject. One need not be surprised at La Hire's erudition. He was quite likely to have come upon this definition in one of the innumerable editions of Latin grammarians published in the 17th century.

To return to Hogarth: it cannot be doubted that he knew allegories of 'Grammatica' from Iconologies. His substitution is quite logical. In his frontispiece, Britannia is fulfilling the task of 'Grammatica'. She is responsible for the young shoots of art as Grammar is responsible for the forming of youth's mind. In the tailpiece, the role of Grammar is usurped by the antiquarian who, in the character of an ape, performs a parody of education. 226

226 *Grammar*, engraving from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, German edition 1760

227 The Angel with the millstone, from the Bamberg Apocalypse, 11th century (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS 140, f. 46r)

XIV INTERPRETATION OF VISUAL SYMBOLS

Interpretation of Visual Symbols

LET ME BEGIN with the obvious statement that a blind man cannot perceive a visual message. Visual messages crowd upon us, and we are all blind to most of them. Response to every visual message would make life quite unbearable. It would be like listening to hundreds of verbal messages frozen into permanence. It is therefore most fortunate that the only visual messages which find response in our brain are those which we judge in some way or other useful or important to us. When that happens, the visual sign or symbol communicates a meaning.

This is true not only of a traffic light, but also of a picture by Rembrandt. But whereas the meaning of such conventional signs as traffic lights has been fixed and accepted by general consent, no such agreement exists and can exist in the arts. The meaning of the work of art is open to interpretation. What, then, is the relation between this kind of sign or symbol and the recipient of the message?

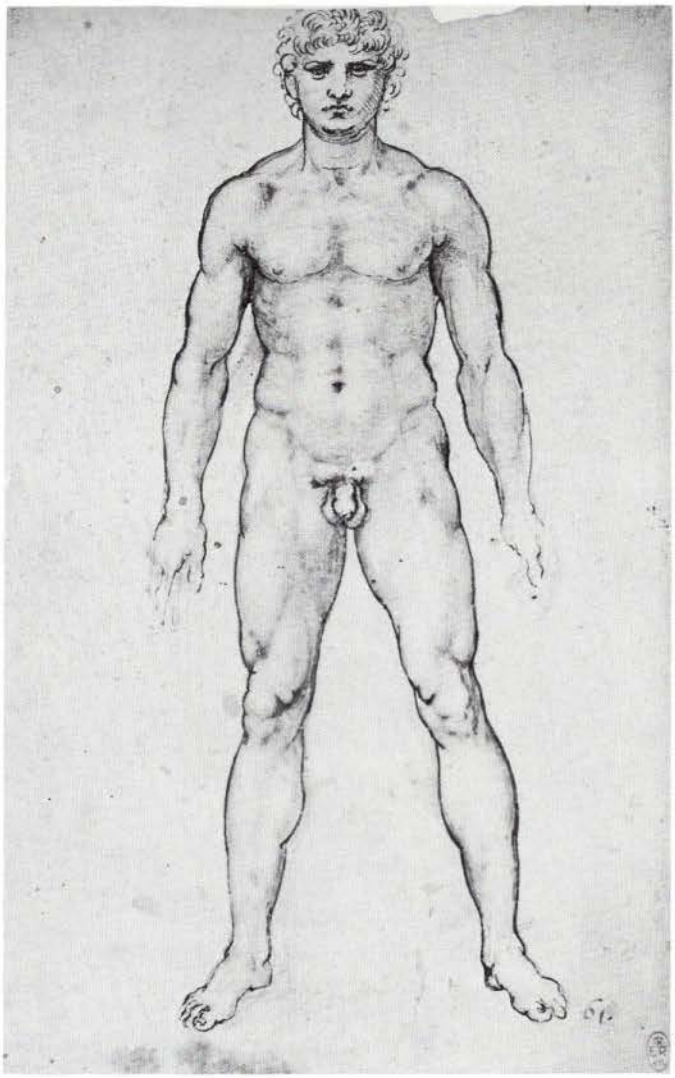
In order to create a common basis of understanding I have first to say a few words about the terms 'visual symbols' and 'interpretation'. In the context of this essay I want to comprehend the term 'visual symbol' in its widest sense. A representation – as primitive or as childlike as it may be – embodies a concept: a circle or oval or an object like an early American
229 figurine with a minimum of indications for head, arms, legs and trunk means 'man'. It therefore functions as a symbol for a man.

I need hardly stress that all perception is interpretation. The primary sensory experience of the normal act of vision and of viewing a work of art is, of course, identical; without interpretation the objects that surround us as well as a picture on a wall would appear as unintelligible shapes and colour patches. But the work of art itself is a compound of ideas, concepts, sense messages ordered, adjusted and digested in the artist's mind. We are called upon to share in the visual manifestation of somebody else's interpreting activity.

Our problem then is to find out whether and how far the visual symbol in art can yield its meaning to the interpreting beholder. I shall attempt to approach this question from more than one angle. I shall begin with a lengthy enquiry into the possibilities of rational interpretation and proceed from there to some cursory remarks about emotional interpretation. This will lead us to a fleeting glance at the changing 'life-story' of visual symbols, and finally to a consideration of their purpose or function.

In order to facilitate discussion of rational interpretation I want to distinguish between four levels of meaning inherent in most visual symbols, namely the literal representational, the literal thematic, multiple and expressive meaning.[1] On the first level we have to find out what is represented: a man, a cow, a tree, and so forth. We may call this the representational meaning. Consider the two drawings, Pls. 228 and 230, one by a child, the other by Leonardo da Vinci. Nobody will disagree about the world of difference in the execution of these drawings, and yet we interpret them without hesitation as denoting the same thing, Man. Proof (if proof be needed) that the range of our interpretive faculties is extraordinarily wide. In fact, as is well known, we instinctively endeavour to translate every shred of sensory experience into a coherent concept. Therefore, from the point of view of representational clarity the few childish lines serve the purpose quite as well as Leonardo's drawing. It is rather important to grasp this fully, since it illuminates the intrinsic difference between word and image. Different from the arbitrarily chosen word-symbol (the word 'Man' and the thing man have nothing in common) the image catches something of the identity of the object.

Things represented do remind us of the originals. They may even be so much like the originals that an illusionist image may be taken for reality. In spite of this, it is evident that this likeness or similarity can be no more than

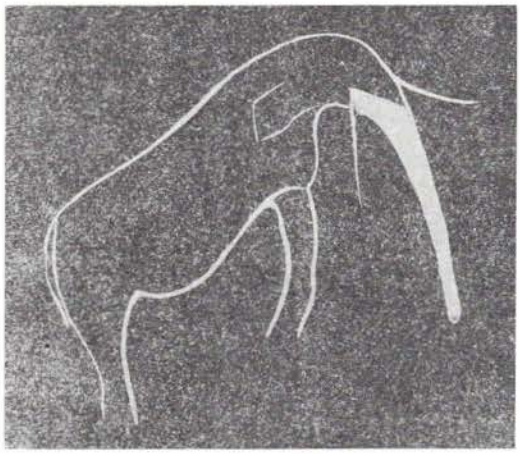


228, 229, 230 Three representations of Man: a child's drawing; Precolumbian stone figurine from Trujillo State, Venezuela (Caracas, Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas); and a drawing by Leonardo da Vinci, *c.* 1506 (Windsor, Royal Library)

a metaphorical one. In the last analysis Leonardo's man is as much a conceptual image as that drawn by the child.

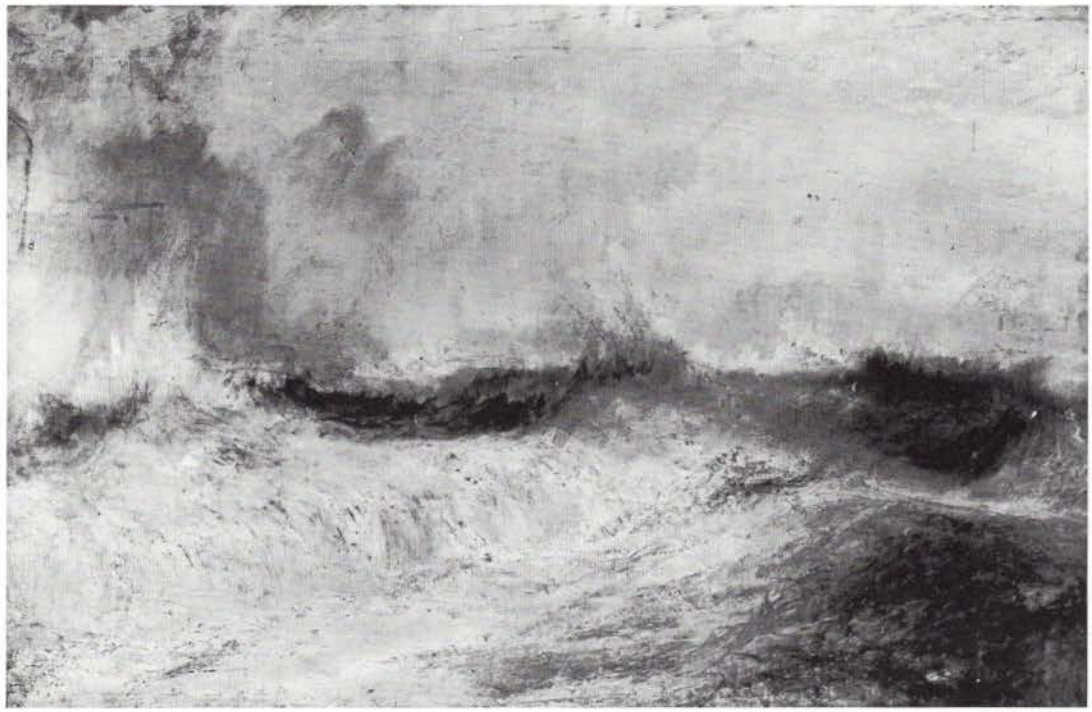
If these observations are correct, we may be tempted to the rash conclusion that, in contrast to the spoken or written word, the visual symbol knows no frontier. There is, of course, a grain of truth in this, and on it a 'language' of visual symbols like Isotype was founded. A symbol of Man reduced to essentials will be intelligible to people all over the world and of all ages. We can even go a step further and maintain that nobody, not even quite unsophisticated people, will have any difficulty in seeing correctly such widely different representations as animal paintings in prehistoric caves, or human figures created in the South Sea Islands.

However, a moment's reflection will make it clear that universal intelligibility is restricted

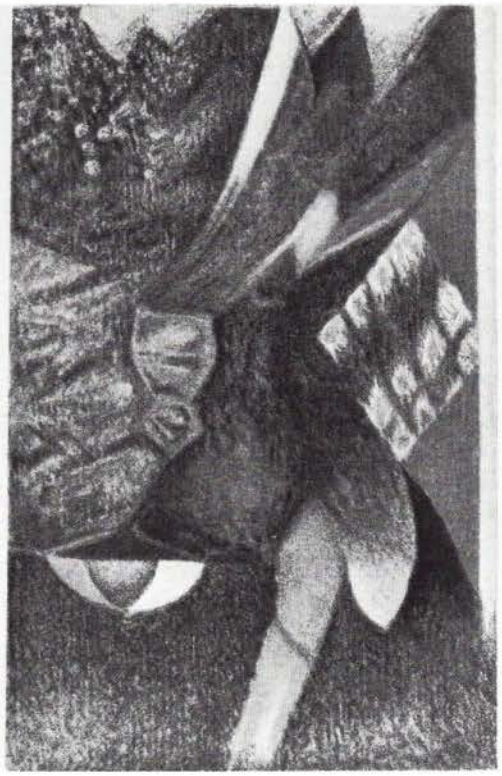


231 Bushman chipping representing an elephant (redrawn from original at Baviaan's Kranz, South Africa)

232 J. M. W. TURNER. *Waves breaking against the wind* (London, Tate Gallery)



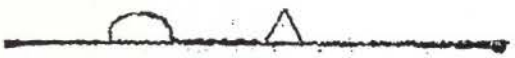
to comparatively few and comparatively simple motifs. It is probably restricted to the one common experience of all men, namely Man. A person who has never seen an elephant cannot
231 interpret this Bushman ideogram of it. I doubt whether he would discover that an animal is represented. If he has never seen inanimate objects like mountains or the sea he will be utterly incapable of relating their representational symbols to any previous experience. But even if he possesses the experience, he can only interpret the visual symbols if he knows the conventional or conventionalized formulas used in a particular civilization or period. One must *know* that the wavy lines in the 11th-century Bamberg Apocalypse denote 'Sea', just as one 227
must know or have learned to see that the iridescent patches of colour in a picture by 232
Turner mean the same thing. Without such knowledge the beholder is faced with un-



233 Painting by an insane artist (from Prinzhorn, *Die Kunst der Geisteskranken*)

intelligible representational phenomena. It is the use of unconventional, or not yet conventionalized, formulas that makes interpretation difficult or even impossible. Contemporaries encountered such difficulties, for instance, in seeing Titian, or with the Impressionist and Cubist painters.

Moreover, if visual signs do not result from a unified concept – or rather from a concept sanctioned by habit and tradition – interpretation on the representational level is not possible. Such is often the case in the art of the mentally deranged where we can only perceive single or interconnected shapes. Although the insane artist of the picture reproduced on Plate 233 was quite certain that he had represented an ape with a purple cap and one eye looking upwards into the universe, the other downwards to earth (the whole, incidentally, a symbol of God),[2] nobody will be able to follow him, because here conceptual totality exists



234 ANNIBALE CARRACCI. Bricklayer working with a trowel behind a wall.

only for the creator; and it is this that stamps the picture as the product of a madman. Similarly, our readiness and ability to recompose even simple concepts are wasted if the representational signs are insufficient or confused. For various reasons artists sometimes deliberately create such conditions, perhaps most overtly in trick pictures, optical illusions, and visual puns. But, in contrast to the madman's picture, intelligibility is assured when the key is supplied. A line, a semi-oval, and a triangle 234
may represent – as Annibale Carracci showed[3] – a bricklayer working with his trowel behind a wall. Without this key, we only see a meaningless geometrical configuration. Given the key, we instantaneously relate these forms by seeing before our mind's eye what is *not* represented behind the wall.

This rather extreme case may serve for a general observation which I have already implied, namely that formal, descriptive signs isolated from the conceptual whole can either not be interpreted at all or become ambiguous. It is worth proving this point by an experiment. Pls. 235–237 show three different representational forms of the same object; most readers will be left guessing as to their meaning: they 238–
are beards, and seen in their context, they do 240
not puzzle us for a second. The same observation holds good if we turn to so-called realistic periods in the history of art: to make interpretation possible, a certain distance of the percipient from the work is necessary. If you focus your attention from a close standpoint on a small area in a realistic painting, it will dissolve into meaningless signs, as the example in Plate 241 illustrates. Only after having understood the whole, can the detail, seen in isolation, be coordinated.

We can now draw some conclusions. Representational meaning can not be understood unless the objects or events shown by the artist belong to the general human experience of the percipient. The latter must, moreover, have the obvious or hidden key to the represented concept in its totality, and he must be



235, 236, 237 Question: What are these mysterious objects? Out of context they are practically impossible to interpret

conversant, above all, with changing conventional idioms.

If all these requirements are fulfilled, we are still far from knowing the subject matter or theme. Representational meaning and the theme of a work rarely coincide. This happened only during brief periods of the history of art, in Europe for instance when artists began to paint pure landscape and still-life, i.e. when trees only mean trees and pots and apples only pots and apples. The rule may be exemplified with the 11th-century illumination in Plate 227. Correctly described on the representational level, it shows a figure with wings walking across the sea and handling a round object. Now, 'figure with wings' is an ambiguous symbol. It may signify as diverse concepts as Poetry, Virtue, Fame, Genius, Peace, Piety, History, and so forth. But if we are equipped with sufficient biblical and hagiographical knowledge (which in this case we acquired in childhood), we know that wings and halo supplement each other to signify 'angel'. For people outside the Christian tradition the intellectual concept 'angel', and therefore also its visual equivalent, remains unintelligible.

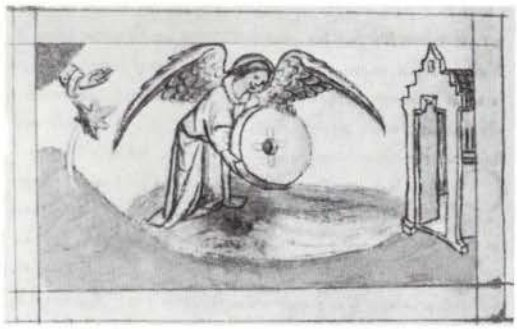
Like the artist we must know the conventional 'language' of attributes; we must know that 'bearded nude man with trident' means Neptune; or 'nude woman on ball' Fortuna. But this knowledge, though indispensable, is not sufficient. Full thematic interpretation requires information about the idea which assembled allegories express, or about the scenes which mythological figures enact. For this information we are dependent on a text or a verbal tradition. The visual message of the 11th-century illumination cannot be understood without the text from Revelation: 'and a mighty Angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the Sea.' However, once we have learned the visual thematic convention for a specific story, its meaning will be revealed to us in the act of perception.

But we must go a step further. The literal thematic meaning often does not tell us the whole story. The vast majority of works of art have an intended superimposed figurative meaning, either of an objective or a subjective nature. As the millstone is cast into the sea, thus – we read in Revelation – 'with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all'. The simile cannot be made explicit in visual terms. But we are expected to have the text at the back of our minds and see the gruesome fate of Babylon through and in the representation of the angel casting the millstone. A further analysis reveals a curious discrepancy between text and image. In the biblical simile the *tertium comparationis* is the disappearance of both millstone and city into the bottomless depth. The visual allegorization must needs miss the very point of the simile. Such is our ability of conceptual adaptation that we readily accept the moment before the catastrophe for the catastrophe itself. And such is the power of survival of visual concepts that artists never tried to express this 243
complex simile by a different formula – though one would think it would admit of a great variety of visual interpretations.

It is not always possible to establish the various layers of implied meaning by reference to a single text only. More often than not it is necessary to delve into a tangle of historical, religious, literary or philosophical relationships.

238, 239, 240 Answer: all beards. From Hieronymus Bosch, *The Mocking of Christ* (London, National Gallery), an Assyrian statue (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), and a Melanesian mask (Art Institute of Chicago)

241, 242 REMBRANDT. *Saskia as Flora* (London, National Gallery). Seen close to (left), the brush-strokes become meaningless



243 The Angel with the millstone, from a manuscript of the Apocalypse, 14th century (London, British Library, MS Add. 17399, f. 46v)

I will try to indicate this with one example. In one of the Vatican Stanze Raphael represented
244 the Meeting of Pope Leo I and Attila, commemorating the momentous retreat of the Hun from the gates of Rome upon the miraculous appearance of St Peter and St Paul. Here we have a legendary tradition (accepted as true by the Vatican) and its poetical rendering in visual terms.

Now, Leo I has the features of Leo X, the pope reigning in the year 1513 when the fresco was painted; an overt pointer that the painting also alludes to a contemporary event. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that it celebrates, in terms of a historical parallel, the almost miraculous victory of the papal armies over the French invaders at Novara in 1513. Not only is the contemporary event ennobled by representing it in terms of the old and venerable one, but more than this: in expressing one event through the other, *and meaning both*, the painting becomes the symbol of an exalted mystery – the miraculous power of the Church, which remains the same throughout the ages, whether we are in the year 452 or 1513.

Contemporaries of some education can have had no difficulty in responding to the multiple meaning of this work. Our interpretation, by contrast, requires a specialized correct assessing of the impact of extra-artistic public ideas and events, in the present case mainly political and religious ones.

It is even more difficult to ascertain the superimposed meaning when the artist alludes to purely personal matters, since its interpretation depends on the chance preservation of biographical records. The classical case is perhaps Michelangelo's drawings for his young friend Tomaso Cavalieri. Without a knowledge of the circumstances one might or would regard them as straightforward illustrations of mythological subjects. But it is almost beyond doubt that Michelangelo intended them as allegories of Platonic love, Ganymede sym- 245
bolizing divinely inspired, and Tityus sensual 246
love, and that these symbols adumbrated deep and tragic emotions in his relationship with Cavalieri.[4] While the allegorical interpretation of Ganymede and Tityus in Platonic terms was current in Renaissance Italy, the highly charged personal overtones of these symbols could not have been known outside Michelangelo's closest circle. It is to these overtones that we owe the existence of the drawings, and not to a vague interest in mythological themes. Such personal confessions were not possible before the Renaissance emancipation of the artist, and it was probably Michelangelo himself, that great individualist, who first expressed private symbols in this way. But in contrast to the anti-traditional and expressionist symbolism often used by modern artists, he projected the personal significance into conventional thematic patterns which, on the literal level, remain intelligible to people with a classical grounding and were understood on the allegorical, if not the personal, level by the initiated of his own time.

So far I have not touched upon the question of *how* the artist expresses what he represents. This is, of course, the central problem of art and of the history of art. In the present context I am only concerned with one point: Can we interpret rationally and objectively this 'how', the artist's personal vision? Needless to say that on the *how* depends whether we respond to the *what*. Now we can certainly describe the 'how', but it is more difficult to interpret it. Description leads to a stylistic history of epochs, nations, or individuals if we collect a group of similar expressive phenomena and contrast them to other groups of coherent phenomena. Thus we say the Venetians used warm colours in contrast to the Florentines who used cold ones, or we may describe Blake's art as being focused on whirlpools of rhythmic

244 RAPHAEL. *The meeting of Pope Leo I and Attila,* 1514 (Rome, Vatican, Stanza di Eliodoro)

lines and Van Gogh's on dynamic patterns of colour, and so forth. True, such phenomenal stylistic observations, often described in metaphorical language, help us to see different expressive idioms. But a warning is necessary: every description implies value judgments, since it can never be complete (the interpreter selects from a whole complex of line, colour, form, etc. what appears significant to him); and it would not be too difficult to quote a number of contradictory but equally 'correct' descriptions of the supposed structure of one and the same work of art. However subtle the descriptive analysis may be, it cannot explain why this, and just this combination, modification and re-interpretation of conventional symbols took place in the clearing house of the artist's personality. If it were possible, one could replace visual art by discursive statements. And yet attempts at valid interpretations of expressive symbols never cease. Nor can modern psychologists penetrate this mystery. Gestalt-psychologists, and, above all, psychoanalysts may be able to diagnose symptoms, but cannot answer the question why similar symptoms may be found in works of the highest order as well as in abominable vulgarizations. Modern psychology, however, has heightened our awareness of the fact that every work of art is a symbol of subconscious or unconscious impulses, of which what we call personal style must be regarded as an outward manifestation.

So much for the problems of rational interpretation. It seems worth summarizing what we have found. On the level of representational meaning great numbers of people are capable of objective interpretations. Taking into account some limiting factors, relatively little experience is needed to 'read' correctly representational conventions at different historical moments, from prehistorical to modern art. The circle of those able to interpret the theme is considerably narrower. This depends first on a familiarity with the religious,

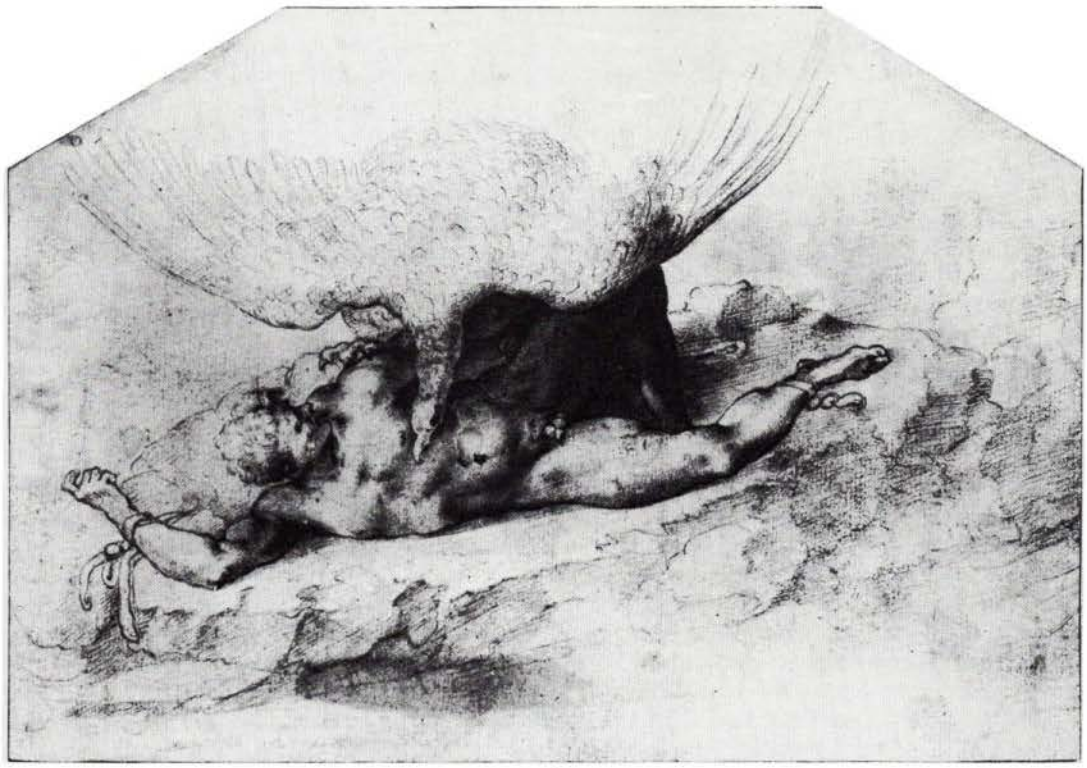
245 MICHELANGELO. *The Rape of Ganymede* (Windsor, Royal Library)

mythological, literary, and social conditions of the civilization to which the work belongs, and secondly on the particular knowledge of the verbal or textual tradition which the work illustrates. The circle of the initiated narrows further when we turn to the third category, multiple meaning: it is accessible only to a relatively small and often very small minority of contemporaries and to the scholar who carefully scrutinizes the past and builds up his evidence, stone by stone. Finally, interpretative rather than descriptive analyses of the expressive function and meaning of line, form and colour in a given context are hardly capable of being tested objectively.

As we proceed from representational to thematic and on to multiple meaning and expression, it becomes more and more difficult to control the objectivity of statements. And the more we try to unravel in depth the meaning of a symbol, the more complex is the approach, and the greater the margin of misinterpretation.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the differentiation between four levels of meaning is, as is the case with every dissection of unified mental processes, of limited heuristic value. In actual fact, the 'what' can only be perceived through the 'how', and the inscrutable 'how' is thus the primary factor. Art can therefore not dispense with form, but it can dispense with the objective theme, as modern art often does. Nor is an objective theme necessary to express multiple meaning. But this is all the more open to misinterpretation when an intended subjective symbolism is interwoven with the intrinsic subconscious symbolism. And who can say where intended symbolism ends and subconscious symbolism begins? It is modern abstract art that has exposed this problem in all its complexity.

Until now I have been careful not to talk about emotions, for I wanted to differentiate clearly between rational interpretation of, and emotive response to, works of art. We all know,



246 MICHELANGELO. *Tityus* (Windsor, Royal Library)

of course, that rational interpretation often stimulates emotive response and, conversely, that emotive response colours rational interpretation. To be sure, emotive participation is an intuitive form of interpretation. An image to which we do not respond will not be noticed. So far I have tried to define the limitations of rational interpretation; I now want to suggest that emotional reactions are less personal than the percipient is aware of.

Ritual and habit may determine emotional participation. This is the case in all closely knit societies. It may be claimed that the greater the degree of social and spiritual emancipation, the greater will be the scope for personal reactions and associations; but in fact, moral taboos, conventions, taste, fashion, and a thousand other factors give direction to emotional response in modern society. I must confine myself to a few words about two aspects of this problem, aspects which have become of ever-growing importance since the 18th century: I mean the influence of the art historian and critic and of aesthetic theory. Nowadays the intuitively gifted and persuasive writer and talker on art acts as a kind of middleman between art producer and art consumer. He is the medicine-man who canalizes the emotions of the modern tribe and often creates the symbols. The process is a complicated one: because what the beholder really does is to re-interpret the interpretation of the interpreter whose name has become a symbol to the public.

A whole generation in England saw Post-Impressionism through Roger Fry's eyes. And when the most brilliant contemporary interpreter of art in England, Lord Clark, says in his book *Landscape into Art:* 'Personally I find that Constable's *Hay Wain* remains an eternally moving expression of serenity and optimism' (to give one example out of many), we do not hesitate to follow him and make his mood our own.

Now the professional writer on art as well as

large sections of the public are dependent in their emotive reactions on consciously and unconsciously held theoretical convictions which have a long history of their own. We need only think of men like Diderot, Ruskin, Clive Bell. Innumerable attempts have been made to define the autonomous field of the arts and the character of aesthetic experience ever since aesthetics emerged as a discipline in its own right. It was then that the emotional appreciation of what might be called the aesthetic surface of the work of art came to be regarded as the only legitimate approach to art, past and present. In the wake of this development Bergson preached self-effacing sympathy and Benedetto Croce 'direct intuition' as the royal road to the interpretation, or rather absorption, of the work of art.[5] (The art of Expressionism is the creative counterpart to their philosophy.)

It may even be that 'the disinterested intensity of contemplation' – to use Roger Fry's turn of phrase – deepens intuitive understanding, but as a rule emotional surrender only tells us what the work means to him who surrenders himself. Thus Croce, with classical standards at the back of his mind, was never able to apply direct intuition either to Medieval or Baroque art; and since the fault could not be with his intuition something was wrong with the art of those periods.

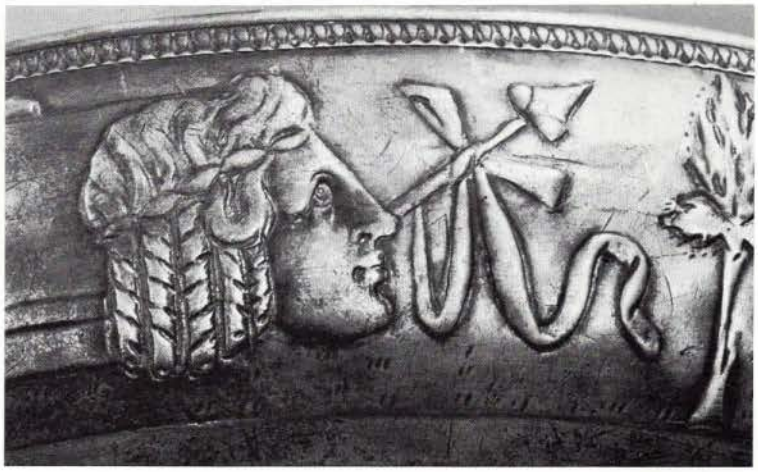
I hope these few remarks will have shown that the intuitive approach alone can rarely recapture the intended meaning of visual symbols. However, it is emotional participation that makes the arts a living heritage. It is therefore the interpreter's concern to investigate the reason for such emotive involvement, to try and throw light on the incessant process of generation, degeneration and regeneration of visual symbols. He has to interpret the 'life-story' of symbols, an enterprise which confronts him with complex problems.

Each generation not only interprets its own meaning into those older symbols to which it is drawn by affinity, but also creates new symbols by using, modifying and transforming those of the past. Simultaneously, traditional symbols survive, emptied of their content. For instance: artists like Picasso, Henry Moore and Graham Sutherland create new symbols and revitalize old ones, while certain sterile traditionalist artists, who shall remain unnamed, are busily devitalizing symbolic forms of the past. But it may be safer to turn to history.

In Greco-Roman architecture the gabled portico belongs to the temple. It designates the building as a sanctuary. Palladio, in the 16th century, gave the motif a new meaning: he introduced it into domestic architecture as a symbolic reference to the eminence of the owner. In the age of Liberalism art and learning came to be regarded as sacred dominions which should be open to all, and so 'temples' were erected to art and wisdom. Finally, the symbol was transferred to railway stations, banks, and exchanges. The symbol owed its power to the remembrance of its sacred origin; whenever it was revived with a new meaning, it retained its association with dignity and grandeur, and gave prominence to values which had gained high currency in their respective cultural setting.

By contrast to this symbolic form, which was instilled with ever new vitality, an example of a devitalized symbol. Among the finds of the Mildenhall Treasure, now at the British 248
Museum, there are a number of bowls with head-and-animal friezes. What do they mean? We can solve the problem by looking at similar, earlier objects, e.g. another dish in the British 247
Museum, dating from the 2nd century AD. The heads here are clearly Bacchic masks, and behind each mask appears the fir-cone of the thyrsus, the pole carried by Dionysus and his retinue during their revels. By combining mask and thyrsus the master of this dish represented perfectly correctly the symbols of Bacchic ritual, and it is likely that such dishes were originally used during the spring festival in honour of Dionysus. The master of the Mildenhall bowl no longer understood these symbols. He transformed the masks into heads, and the thyrsus into an arrow. The symbol, originally charged with ritualistic meaning, has been turned into decoration, it has been emptied of its content. This little story is rather illuminating when you consider the date of the bowl, about AD 350: the classical world was disintegrating.

When existing works of the near or distant past are given a new meaning we should, strictly, talk of misinterpretation. Collective misinterpretation is of an importance hardly to be overrated. We owe to it not only the per-



247 Detail from a silver bowl, 2nd century AD (London, British Museum)

248 Detail from a silver bowl, part of the Mildenhall Treasure, 4th century AD (London, British Museum)

sistent interest in a great many images of the past, but also decisive stimuli for the creation of new symbols.

The art of the Renaissance became what it was because of the misinterpretation of the monuments of antiquity. Elements of Muslim, Chinese, Hindu, Egyptian, Japanese and Negro art reached the West in consecutive waves. Lifted out of their symbolic context, they were misinterpreted, but gave rise to new symbols.

Individual images often have a particular hold on our minds, because we read into them concepts dear and meaningful to us. Goethe used for the first edition of his *Faust* a re-
249 etching of Rembrandt's 'Dr Faustus'. From then on to the present day the popular conception of Dr Faustus remained dependent on Rembrandt's print. But we know that Rembrandt never meant to represent Dr Faustus. The visual symbol is inseparably tied to the word, and the lasting spell of great works of art often cannot be divorced from their wrong titles. As symbol of 'Spring' Botticelli's *Primavera* has an unrivalled appeal, but give it some such more correct title as 'The Bliss of Platonically inspired Humanitas' (to paraphrase the result of a learned paper by Dr Gombrich)[6] and the spell is broken; for the average spectator is uncomfortably reminded that he is faced with a strange puzzle.

So far I have not mentioned that there exists something like spontaneous rediscovery or

249 REMBRANDT. So-called 'Dr Faustus' etching, 1652

remembrance of the original meaning of visual symbols. In fact, it occurs frequently and seems to be a prerogative of artists and poets. But in certain situations all of us rediscover the power of symbols which have long receded into subconsciousness.

Our lives are fenced in by rituals sunk down to the level of conventions. When we pay our fares we are only sorry that this means of communication changes from our hands into others, but we no longer realize that we part with a protective amulet. When we put a stamp on a letter, we only want to make sure that it reaches its destination. However, when we receive a letter with the stamp upside down, something snaps. Why do we notice this seemingly unimportant violation of the code of behaviour? Our subconscious depository of significant images has been activated. Criminals were hung by their feet; thumbs down meant death to the victim in ancient Rome and the gesture still communicates defeat; early Christians placed the Cross over inverted Roman columns, and so forth. In the case of our stamp, the symbol reasserted its strength. The violation of convention brought it to life again.

Let us see whether we can carry our observation a step further. In daily usage a stamp (or coin) fulfils a utilitarian purpose. But if we like to, we can look at our stamp as a work of art. Beneath the sign of communication or the object of aesthetic regard, however, lingers the old concept of divine kingship with its magical connotations. Clearly, the function of the sign or symbol changes in accordance with our approach.

This brings me to my last point, namely the question which so far I have carefully circumnavigated – what is the purpose of visual symbols?

I think we may do well to rid ourselves of the semantic nicety that, since art is not discursive but shows, it does not communicate but reveals. This is the conclusion at which Susanne Langer arrives in *Feeling and Form* (1953), and Professor Langer is certainly not a thinker to be lightly refuted. However, her statement is as wrong as is that of those philosophers who say that the purpose of all art is communication. The philosophical impasse seems to lie in asking a wrong question. Instead of enquiring after the function of all art we should be more modest and ask: what was or is the purpose of this or that particular work of art? Then it will be found that a great number of visual symbols were created with no intent to communicate – in any case with the living – from works made for, and buried in, tomb chambers to invisible statuary enshrined in Indian temples or Gothic cathedrals; while on the other hand large groups of works, particularly in Europe, were most emphatically created for the purpose of communicating concepts and ideas. And yet the question of function, even of the individual work, is not easily answered, as the example of the stamp has shown. When the function is clearly magical or purely aesthetic – that is in cases which are extremes at both ends of the scale – we may feel fairly confident. But there is a vast intermediary zone where decisions are not easily come to. Was the Gorgon, painted on 250
an archaic pot, a magic apotropaic symbol meant to protect its owner? was it conventionalized decoration meant to be enjoyed? or was it both? Is the 16th-century personification of Justice above the entrance to the Town Hall or in the Magistrate's Court an allegory befitting the character of the place, a simile of the ac-

tivity there performed, a moral and edifying lesson to judge and jury, a quasi-magical symbol revealing the mysterious quality of the abstract concept 'Justice'? or is it line, form and colour to enliven a bleak wall? A 'functional' interpretation will attempt to solve this puzzle, and it may be found that our personification of Justice served all these purposes.

In fact, most works of art are potentially magic as well as aesthetic. An idol may become an object of aesthetic contemplation and vice versa. The Church was always aware of the intrinsic ambiguity of function, and in practice never interfered with it: the same figure of the Virgin will be an idol to the many and a symbol to the few. During long periods of the history of art there is no saying how and where to draw the line between aesthetic and magical function. Often the two are so intimately intertwined that no analysis can tear them asunder. When the whole Sienese population carried Duccio's *Maestà* in triumph to the Cathedral, it was the grandeur and aesthetic perfection of this particular image that magically evoked the Virgin's protection of their city.

I have considered in this essay the limitations to which interpretation of visual symbols in the arts are subjected. My principal question was – to summarize briefly – how far statements about the 'what', the 'how' and the 'why' are capable of being tested. I hope I have made it clear that the basic quests confronting the art-historian today can easily be assimilated. For the arts visual and non-visual, and the sciences are moving in the same direction. Our concern is no longer description and classification of phenomena, but investigation of function and meaning.

250 Greek pot with Gorgon mask (Paris, Louvre)

NOTES

II Eagle and Serpent

[1] For a survey of ethnological methods cf. Alfred C. Haddon, *History of Anthropology*, 1934 and R. H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*, 1937.

[2] Cf. R. Lydekker, *The Royal Natural History*, 1895, IV, p. 194 ff.; Otto Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, 1887, p. 247.

[3] Pottier, *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, 1912, XIII, Pls. XVIII, 1, 3, 4, 5, XXVIII, 2, XXXI, 2, XXXIV, 2, XXXV, 2, XLIV, 6.

[4] Mecquenem, *ibidem*, p. 157, Nos. 396, 404; P. Toscanne, 'Études sur le Serpent', *ibid.*, XII, 1911, pp. 204 ff., 215 f., figs. 389–92, 430–35. The specimen published on plate 4 shows a double snake beside the beak of the eagle.

[5] E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, 1938, I, p. 663 f.

[6] *Ibid.* and V. Gordon Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, 1929, Pl. 24.

[7] Ebeling-Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1932, I, p. 37, Pl. 7.

[8] Such arguments *ex post* are always dangerous, and I do not wish to deny the probability that a symbol which in a relatively advanced state of religious life acquired solar significance fulfilled originally a more primitive function. Cf. note 13.

[9] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 101 (10, 13).

[10] Cf. Thureau-Dangin, 'L'aigle Imgi', *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXIV, 1927, p. 199 ff. who suggests that the eagle in Susa is the symbol of the local god Nin-šušina. M. Witzel in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, VI, 1931, pp. 95–104 maintains against Thureau-Dangin that the bird's name is 'Imdugud'.

[11] Often represented on seals. An exceptional example is the silver vase of King Entemena (*c.* 2900 BC) in the Louvre with the eagle holding two lions in its talons (Pl. 42). Cf. Léon Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, 1884–1912, I, p. 261 ff.

[12] Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Königsinschriften, op. cit.*, pp. 93 (4, 17), 99 (9, 13), 101 (10, 13), 135 (14, 15–16).

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 119 (27, 19). It is not impossible that the eagle acquired solar qualities when early fertility gods were superseded by solar deities during the 3rd millennium in Babylonia. This would explain the fact that on seals of the Sargonid age (*c.* 2500 BC) a bird of prey, probably an eagle, appears as the monster Zu (H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, p. 132 f.) side by side with the lion-headed eagle as representative of the 'good' side. This would give us the historical starting point for tracing the solar conception of the eagle which then migrated from Babylonia to many other civilizations.

[14] M. Witzel, *Der Drachenkämpfer Ninib* ('Keilinschriftliche Studien' 2), 1920, pp. 38 f., 75 f., 106 ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1905, I, pp. 153, 224, 459. Ninib combines many other qualities which in later civilizations are also attributed to the sun-god and to the eagle: he is the god of oracles, and of war, of thunder and lightning, of hunting, agriculture and medicine.

[15] Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ff. The idea of this fight was transferred to a number of other gods of the Babylonian-Assyrian Pantheon.

[16] A seal of the middle of the 3rd millennium BC actually shows Ningirsu's lion-headed eagle attacking the human-shaped monster. Cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, Pl. 23b. – I owe Professor Frankfort a great number of valuable suggestions for which I want to express my gratitude.

[17] Edward J. Harper in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1894, II, p. 390 ff.; Jastrow in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXX, 1910, p. 101 ff.

[18] Cf. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1925, II, p. 428.

[19] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 138 f. discusses the implications of the Etana seals.

[20] F. Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, 1917, p. 82.

[21] O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, 1920, II, No. 274.

[22] Ebeling-Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1932, I, p. 37, Pl. 6.

[23] For the date compare a similar green stone vase found in the temple of Sin in Khafaja. Cf. Frankfort, *Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq*. 1933–4. Chicago, 1935, p. 46.

[24] Calvin W. McEvan, *The oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship*, Chicago, 1934, p. 6 ff.

[25] Gardiner in Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, 1917, pp. 109 ff., 113; A. Erman, *Die Religion der Aegypter*, 1934, p. 55 f.

[26] Th. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter* ('Denkschriften der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien', vol. 57, 2), 1913, p. 111 f.

[27] W. Spiegelberg, *Der aegyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, 1917, p. 2; H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke der Aegypter*, 1924, p. 90.

[28] S. Reinach, 'Aetos Prometheus', *Revue Archéologique*, 1907, ii, p. 65 ff. For a hypothesis about the origin of the solar disk cf. H. Schäfer in *Die Antike*, III, 1927, p. 124 ff.

The development of the symbol from the simpler to the more composite form is preserved in a late version of a myth. The sun-god Rā asks his son Horus to slaughter his enemies, a task which the latter fulfils in the shape of the winged solar disk. But there is a second stage of the fight in which the goddesses of the North and South in the shape of snakes join in the battle against Set. The text published and fully commented by H. Brugsch, 'Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe', *Abhdl. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, XIV, 1869, p. 173 ff. Cf. G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägypten*, Jena, 1923, p. 120 ff. The real genesis of the symbol – one of the rare peaceful combinations of bird and snake – is probably the synthesis of a primitive chthonic snake cult with the higher forms of a solar cult. Cf. Theodor Hopfner, *op. cit.*, p. 136 f.

A similar story is told in the 'Book of the Dead'. Here the Sun-god, Rā, overcomes each morning the monster Āapep who lay hidden under the place where the sun rose, waiting to swallow up the solar disk. Such myths of the solar bird fighting the monster as a symbol of the opposed forces of light and darkness,

good and evil, are very much akin to the Babylonian myth of Ningirsu-Ninib's fight against the monster Labbu or that of Bel-Marduk against the dragon of the ocean Tiâmat.

[29] Goblet d'Alviella, 'Recherches sur l'histoire du globe ailé hors de l'Égypte', *Bull. de l'Acad. royale de Belgique*, LVIII, 1888, p. 623 ff., and *The Migration of Symbols*, 1894, p. 204 ff.; Eduard Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, 1914, p. 29 ff.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1914, I, p. 205 ff. A detailed account of the implications of the winged disk on Asiatic soil in H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, pp. 205–15.

[30] R. Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie syrienne*, Paris, 1903, p. 15 ff. – Pl. 9, after Cook I, p. 205.

[31] The significance of the eagle cult has not yet been definitely determined, cf. John Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, London, 1929, p. 115. But it seems very probable that there existed a Hittite sun cult with the eagle as its symbol.

[32] Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[33] For such eagle monuments cf. Garstang, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 115, 123, 143 and A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, 1932, p. 71 f.

An eagle about 6 feet high, probably also of the middle of the 2nd millennium, has been unearthed in Tell Halaf. It was originally placed on a column before the façade of the temple-palace. Cf. Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf. A new Culture in Oldest Mesopotamia*, 1933, p. 132 ff., Pl. 14, who calls it 'the great Sun-bird'.

[34] Cf. below p. 30.

[35] Material for the Persian eagle cult in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 240 f. and Sittl (cf. note 120), p. 6. In Vedic mythology which influenced strongly Persian thought the sun-god Sūrya is also conceived as an eagle. (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 30 f.) It illustrates the connection of Persia and Syria that Shuwardata = 'sun (sūrya)-given' occurs as name of Syrian princes. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 1924, p. 331.

[36] Probably 1st century AD. Cf. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, 1923, p. 28, Pl. 62; E. Herzfeld, 'Hatra', *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 68, 1914, p. 671.

[37] André Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan*, 1931, No. 205.

[38] Cf. below p. 28.

[39] Kolipada Mitra, 'The Bird and Serpent Myth', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), XVI, 1925–6, p. 89 ff., 180 ff., collected much evidence for these relations. The author claims that the bird and serpent myth was diffused from India.

[40] Ælian, *De natura animalium*, XVII, 37: 'Agricola, quod non ignoraret aquilam Jovis nuntiam et ministram esse, et quod nosset feram et improbam bestiam esse serpentem, falce eam dissecuit.'

[41] Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, 1859, I, p. 363.

[42] Cf. mainly Benfey, *loc. cit.*, who is in favour of the Indian origin, and A. Marx, *Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Tieren und Verwandtes*, 1889, p. 29 ff. who takes the opposite view.

[43] W. R. Halliday, *Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legend*, 1933, p. 49 f.

[44] E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel and ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte*, 'Mittlgn. d. Altoriental. Gesellschaft', II, 3, 1927, p. 17. Cf. also below pp. 24, 41.

[45] Pl. 13 is a modern representation formed on medieval prototypes.

[46] Related in the great epic of Brahman literature, the *Mahabharata*, and in the *Suparnadhyaya*, a poem still in the dialogue form of Vedic times. Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926, p. 51 ff. The myths about the theft of the drinks of the gods collected by Adalbert Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, 1859, p. 138 ff.

[47] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 89, 152 with further material.

[48] K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[49] Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 166 ff. A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan: an Essay in Vedic Ontology', *Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.*, LV, 1935, p. 418 f. interprets Garuda and Naga as 'outward opposition of the separated principles' of the powers of light and the powers of darkness.

[50] Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff., 142; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[51] A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Paris, 1918, II, pp. 28–40.

[52] Cf. note 67. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 171 ff.

[53] Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, 1900, p. 47 ff. A survey of Garuda-Naga representations in Gisbert Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1937, pp. 155–163.

[54] Foucher, *op. cit.*, fig. 466. For the date cf. K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, 1926, p. 36.

[55] Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, 1912, pp. 54, 129; A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, 1925, particularly frescoes in Qyzil, figs. 236, 237, 239; Zoltán de Takács, 'L'Art des grandes Migrations', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, VII, 1931–2, p. 33.

[56] The motif of the double eagle which occurs for the first time on a large scale in the Hittite Empire cannot be traced in this article. Relevant material can be found in the following studies: Sittl (below note 120), p. 11; Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 276; Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff.; M. van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, 1910, p. 93 ff.; Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 707; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 1924, p. 349 ff.; Walter W. S. Cook in *Art Studies*, 1924, p. 58; Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik*, 1931, p. 101 ff.

[57] It prevails in Tibet, cf. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

A bronze of Garuda and Naga from Tibet (Getty Coll., Paris) published by Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Studien zur Gorgo*, Berlin 1936, fig. 18, who, based on the material of the 'Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie' at Frankfurt, wrote a chapter on the bird-snake motif.

About the same motif on Chinese bronzes, cf. André Leroi-Gourhan, 'L'Art animalier dans les bronzes chinois', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, IX, 1935, pp. 185, 189.

[58] M. Anesaki, *Japanese Mythology* ('Mythology of All Races' VIII) 1928, p. 268; Kolipada Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

[60] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, pp. 185, 207, fig. 360; J. Ph. Vogel, 'The Relation between the Art of India and Java', in: *The Influences of Indian Art*, London, The India Society, 1925, p. 79 ff.

[61] J. Macmillan Brown, *Maori and Polynesians. Their origin, history and culture*, London, 1907, p. 98 ff.; S. Percy Smith in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1919, p. 19 ff.; Skinner, *ibid*, 1924, p. 229 ff.; R. B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*, 1923, pp. 344, 349, 385.

[62] Gilbert Archey in *Journ. of the Polyn. Soc.*, 1933, p. 182 ff. The fact that this solar bird lives on a mountain connects it with the common conception of the Mountain of the World. It is noticeable that amulets in bird form were popular in Polynesia, cf. Skinner in *Journ. of the Polyn. Soc.*, 1933, p. 2 ff.

[63] Sternberg in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1930, p. 135.

[64] Cf. Edge-Partington and Heape, *Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands*, 1890, Serie I, 2, Pls. 240, 241; F. von Luschan, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, Berlin, 1897, p. 78 f., pl. 47; W. Foy, *Tanzobjekte vom Bismarck Archipel, Nissan und Buka* ('Publicationen aus dem kgl. Ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden' XIII), 1900, p. 29 f., Pl. XII, 4, 5 with many references; Frobenius in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XI, 1898, p. 130 ff.; Skinner in *Journ. of the Polyn. Soc.*, 1924, p. 236 ff.

[65] Elsdon Best, *Maori Storehouses* ('New Zealand. Dominion Museum', No. 5) 1916, p. 42 ff.

[66] Edge-Partington and Heape, *op. cit.*, Pl. 240, 4.

[67] Luschan in *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstslg.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 205 ff. follows up the migration of the Greek Ganymede motif through the art of Gandhara, and through Java to the Bismarck Archipelago. Interesting as this migration is, it is certainly wrong to treat the fight between bird and snake in the islands of the Pacific as a distorted reminiscence of the Ganymede motif. It is evident that carvings as that from New Ireland are dependent on Indian prototypes of Garuda and Naga (Pl. 14, 18). Cf. also Luschan, *Beiträge, op. cit.*, p. 67.

[68] Cf. Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 207, 217; and Kondakof-Tolstoi-Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, 1891, pp. 248, 378, 379, 410.

[69] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[72] Pottier, *Délég. en Perse Mém., op. cit.*, XIII, p. 74. It could be argued that Scythian art has no ritual but only decorative meaning. And today it is certainly impossible to draw a strict line. But we think that the original ritual content of the Scythian animal style cannot be doubted. A scholar like Rostovtzeff (*Skythien und der Bosporus*, 1931, p. 595 f.) interprets e.g. the eagle from Perm (Urals, *c.* 500 BC) (Pl. 19) as a solar symbol and traces its origin back to Persia. And Alföldi ('Die geistigen Grundlagen des hochasiatischen Tierstiles', *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, VII, 1931, p. 278 ff.) tries to explain this style through the structure of the society, its myth and religious thought.

[73] From the Don basin. Cf. Borovka, *Scythian Art*, 1928, pl. 22b; C. Trever, *The Dogbird Senmurv-Paskudj*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 32 f.

[74] Cf. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, III, p. 184. The influence of the animal style on China of the Han period has been studied particularly by Rostovtzeff, *Le centre de l'Asie, la Russie, la Chine et le style animal*, 'Seminarium Kondakovianum', 1929, and *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, Princeton, 1919, particularly p. 79 ff.

[75] The most complete material has been collected by Leo Sternberg ('Der Adlerkult bei den Völkern Sibiriens', *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXVIII, 1930, pp. 125–53) on whose study the following observations are mainly based. Cf. also Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1938 (FF Communications 52, No. 125).

[76] Cf. U. Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* ('The Mythology of all Races' IV), 1927, p. 345; Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Harva, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 128. As in ancient myths of the Near East and in those of North and Central America the home of the evil snake is the ocean under the earth, and by squirting poison on the earth it destroys men and animals.

[77] Sternberg, p. 128.

[78] *Ibidem*, p. 132.

[79] The Shaman or magician of the Siberian tribes erects a tall pole, bearing a carved image of a bird. This signifies the Tree of the World on top of which perches the eagle, a symbol of the world and of its creator. Sternberg (p. 146 ff.) traces in detail the derivation of this idea from India. Cf. also Harva, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff., 465 f.

[80] Sternberg, pp. 131, 133.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[82] Holmberg, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 505; Sternberg, p. 141.

[84] The Finns being in contact with Siberia on a southern route through the Scythians and on a northern route through the Samoyeds who, dwelling on the shores of the Arctic Sea, belong to the Finno-Ugric race.

[85] Sternberg, p. 134, *passim*; Harva, p. 84 f., on the struggle of eagle and serpent at the Tree of the World. There are other conceptions connected with the eagle in Siberia and Finland, e.g. his veneration as master of fire which one finds throughout the Old World, in Oceania, Australia, and America. Cf. Reinach in *Revue Archéologique*, 1907, ii, p. 73 ff.

[86] Sternberg, p. 136. We may also refer to the fact that the serpent Midgard is a personification of the ocean. About Ash Yggdrasil, the Tree of the World, and about the Mountain of the World, cf. also John Arnott MacCulloch, *Eddic Mythology* ('Mythology of all Races' vol. II), 1930, p. 331 ff.

[87] Cf. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 1906, p. 55; Karl Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 1913, I, p. 173.

[88] The lack of a common name for the eagle in the main Indo-European languages is significant. Cf. d'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1936, p. 2.

[89] Edward Seler, the most distinguished student of American archaeology of the last generation, emphatically denied any real connection between the Old and the New World (cf. *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LXXIX, 1895, pp. 488–502). Ten years later this theory although challenged was still not abandoned, cf. R. Andree, 'Der Ursprung der amerikanischen Kulturen', *Sitzungsber. d. Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1905–6, pp. 87–98. Comprehensive articles based on the opposite view by Franz Boas, 'Migration of Asiatic Races ... to North America', *Scientific Monthly* (New York), XXVIII, 1929, p. 110 ff. and B. Laufer, 'Columbus and Cathay', *Journal of the American Orient. Soc.* 1931, p. 98 ff. About the recently unearthed cultures connecting N.E. Asia and Alaska, cf. Hrdlička in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXI, 1932, p. 393 ff.

[90] Through the whole Pacific and both parts of America the same ritual is connected with the *toki*. Cf. J. Imbelloni, 'La première chaîne isoglossématique océano-américaine', *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, pp. 324–35.

[91] Cf. Imbelloni in *Journ. of the Polyn. Soc.*, 39, 1930, pp. 322–45, on certain stone weapons belonging to Maori ethnography, specimens of which were found in North America.

[92] About common myths and tales cf. Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker*, 1905 ('Zeitschrift f. Ethnol', XXXVII, Beiheft), pp. 72 ff., 84 ff.; the essays of Cooper, Kreichgauer and Röck in *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, 1928, and in *Anthropos*, XII/XIII, 1917/8, p. 272 ff. on divination from the shoulder blades of animals, on remarkable identities in myth and imagery, and on the calender of Central America; Hornbostel in *Anthropos* 1930, p. 953 ff. on Chinese ideograms in America.

[93] W. Bogoras, 'The Folklore of Northeastern Asia as compared with that of Northwestern America', *American Anthropologist*, IV, 1902, pp. 577–683.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 663.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 612.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 637 ff., 670. E. Erkes, 'Chinesisch-amerikanische Mythenparallelen', *T'oung Pao*, XXIV, 1926, p. 32 ff.

[97] F. Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* ('Smithsonian Inst.', Bull. 30), 1907, p. 409 f.

[98] Franz Boas, *Kwakiutl Culture as reflected in Mythology* ('Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society' XXVIII), 1935, pp. 147, 157.

[99] F. Boas, *Tsimshian Texts* ('Smithsonian Inst.', Bull. 27), 1902, pp. 169 ff., 241 f. J. R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of Southeastern Indians* ('Smithsonian Inst.', Bull. 85), 1929, p. 7 f.

[100] K. Th. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition I. Die Religion der Cora-Indianer*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 50 f., 193 f. It is noticeable that the snake appears as a water-snake, the old identification of night, underworld, and water. Cf. note 75.

[101] E. Seler, *Codex Borgia*, 1904, I, p. 224.

[102] K. Th. Preuss, 'Naturbeobachtungen in den Religionen des mexikanischen Kulturkreises', *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, XLII, 1910, p. 798; E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* IV, 1923, pp. 583–95 collected all the material on the eagle available from Mexican and Maya MSS. Corresponding to the myth of the Cora Indians the feather-snake is the symbol of water. It should be recalled that in many mythologies the rabbit is said to live on the moon. Cf. Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, 1904, p. 356.

[103] Often the eagle only grips the rabbit with its talons, but in our plate 22 from the Codex Borgia (Seler, *op. cit.*, 1906, II, Pl. 52) it tears both enemies with beak and talons.

[104] Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 704 ff.

[105] Examples in Preuss, *Mexikanische Religion* ('Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte', ed. Haas, XVI), 1930, figs. 6, 7.

[106] Seler, *Altmexikanische Studien*, II ('Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum f. Völkerkunde' VI), 1899, pp. 172–83.

[107] Seler, *Ges. Abhdlg.*, IV, p. 583.

[108] Zelia Nuttall, 'On ancient Mexican Shields', *Internat. Archiv f. Ethnographie*, V, 1892, p. 45.

[109] Hermann Beyer, 'The original meaning of the Mexican coat of arms', *El Mexico Antiguo*, II, 1924–7, p. 192 ff.

[110] Philatelists know the eagle stamps issued by the Emperor Maximilian. Cf. S. Chapman, *The Eagle and Maximilian Stamps of Mexico*, 1912; Charles J. Phillips, *Stanley Gibbons Ltd. priced Catalogue of the 1856–1872 issues of Mexico*, 1917.

[111] The current Mexican peso bears the symbol.

[112] Clements R. Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, 1910, p. 95.

[113] The prototype is the legend of the Babylonian hero Gilgamesch who was saved by an eagle. For the many dynasties the origin of which is connected with the eagle cf. Reinach in *Revue archéologique*, 1907, p. 69; Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 240; Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1936, p. 7.

[114] Cf. F. Boas, 'The use of Masks and Head-ornaments on the North-West coast of America', *Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, III, 1890, p. 10, and Boas, *Kwakiutl Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 158. For an idea of the dissemination of the motif in Asia cf. Jastrow's material drawn mainly from Persian and Arabic sources (*Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.*, XXX, 1910, p. 128). For a possible way of migration to the East, cf. note 66.

[115] Philip Ainsworth Means, *Ancient Civilisations of Peru*, 1931, p. 211 ff.

[116] Clements R. Markham, *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, London, 1883, pp. 12 f., 96.

[117] Cf. note 67.

[118] Seler, *Ges. Abhdlg.*, III, p. 689; Thomas A. Joyce, *Central American and West Indian Archaeology*, 1916, pp. 100, 122 f. The latter publishes also a wooden idol from the Greater Antilles in the British Museum (Pl. 20), representing a bird pecking at a tortoise which might stand for the same symbolism as eagle and snake, the tortoise being in many myths a representation of the earth.

[119] Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as cosmological Symbols in Western Asia* (Verhdl. Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam) 1921, p. 46 f. identifies eagle and serpent as representations of two of the mightiest cosmic entities, the sun and the ocean. Cf. notes 76 and 100.

[120] C. A. Böttiger, *Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie*, 1826, II, pp. 31–46; Ludolf Stephani in *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour l'Année* 1862, St Petersburg, pp. 17–21; Karl Sittl, 'Der Adler und die Weltkugel', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplement XIV, 1884, pp. 1–51, particularly p. 8 f.; Otto Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, 1887, pp. 236–76, particularly p. 246 ff.; Cumont, 'Masque de Jupiter sur un aigle éployé', *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, 1898, pp. 291–95; Erich Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*, Giessen, 1913, p. 127 ff.; A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art, Its Symbolism and its Origin*, 1933, p. 53 ff.; D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London, 1936, p. 216.

[121] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, *s.v.* 'Adler', p. 373; Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[122] *Zeus. A Study in ancient Religion*. I, 1914, p. 341 ff.

[123] *Ibid.*, I, p. 1 ff., II (1925), p. 1 ff.

[124] *Ibid.*, II, p. 351 f., with further references, and p. 777 f. Cumont, *Et. Syr.*, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Cf. note 85.

[125] Cook, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83, 105, 116, etc., II, 188 f.

[126] *Ibid.*, I, p. 164.

[127] A definite connection of Hittite monuments with Proto-Corinthian vases (middle 7th century BC) has been established by Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 1931, p. 67 f.

[128] Cf. note 33.

[129] Cook, *op. cit.*, I, p. 66.

[130] *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.

[131] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, *s.v.* 'Adler', p. 373; Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 245 f.; Ludwig Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 87–92; Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff.

[132] Cf. note 14.

[133] Nicetas Choniates, *De statuis Constant.* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 139, 1050). Nicetas saw the monument in the hippodrome of Constantinople, and it is significant in our context that the wings of the eagle were made to be used as a sundial. For his miracle Apollonius was probably inspired by the Brazen Serpent. Moses made use of a similar magic procedure in which, however, the image of the serpent itself is the agent of healing.

[134] Pauly-Wissowa, p. 373; Keller, p. 246.

[135] Cf. a German Book of Dreams, MS of the 15th century, B. M., Add. 15696. The text accompanied by a picture tells that if one dreams of a bird vanquishing a dragon one may consider oneself generous and kind (Pl. 25).

[136] *Roman History* XLIII, 35 (Loeb Class. Libr. IV, p. 275).

[137] Cf. Warburg's article in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol 2, No. 4, p. 280.

[138] *Hist. anim.* IX, 1, 2 and 32, 6. For similar statements of other ancient writers, cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5.

[139] There was certainly no proper eagle cult in Crete during the 2nd millennium, although eagles occasionally occur on Minoan cylinders and gems under Hittite influence. Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, 1930, p. 411 and IV, 2, p. 451; Fr. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel*, 1928, pp. 61 f., 65 ff. with further references.

[140] Küster, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Ch. Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, 1905, p. 350, No. 59: a steatite cylinder, *c.* 10th century BC; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, 1900, Pls. VI, 23, 25 (possibly Mycenean, but found in Akra, N.W. India), LXI, 17 (5th century).

[141] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XII, 4, 10.

[142] Cf. Neugebauer in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1925, p. 183.

[143] Cf. above p. 19

[144] W, Wrede in *Athenische Mitteilungen* XLI, 1916, p. 296 ff. It was considered a good omen when the eagle killed his prey. For references cf. Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[145] Wrede, p. 272: on the Amphiaraos-krater in Berlin. Cf. also Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 1921, fig. 67. Cf. the symbol on the Attic Amphiaraos-vase of the 5th century in Athens, publ. by Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, 1889, p. 196, fig. 157.

[146] Amphora from Vulci, *c.* 550–500 BC, B. M., B 194. Shield of Geryon, from a representation of Herakles' fight with Geryon.

[147] Examples in Savignoni in *Amer. Journal of Archeol.* V, 1901, p. 413 f., Küster, *op. cit.*, p. 52 f., Schweitzer in *Athen. Mitteilg.*, 1918, p. 44, H. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Typical for the apotropaic significance of the symbol is its use as an akroterion, still in Roman times. Cf. H. von Rohden, *Die Terrakotten von Pompeji*, 1880, pl. 13, 3.

[148] Cf. particularly coins of the following towns: in the Peloponnese Elis, in Eubœa Chalkis, in Ægea Aphrodisias, in Bithynia Nicodemia, in Thrace and Macedonia Abdera, Olynthus and Pydna, in Bruttium Hipponium, in Cyrenaica Cyrene, in Sicily Agrigentum and Morgantia, in Samnium Aesernia. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Otto Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1889, Pl. IV, V, XX; Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1911.

[149] The eagle traditionally announces victory. Cf. Keller, *Thiere d. class. Alt., op. cit.*, p. 244 f.

[150] Other coins stress the solar character of the bird. They show the thunderbolt or Zeus himself on the other side (Elis) or the eagle with the serpent flying towards a statue of Zeus Lycaeus (Cyrene).

[151] An astronomical interpretation of the coins has been attempted by Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[152] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 242 ff.

[153] 1st century AD. Cf. E. Löwy, 'Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens', *Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Sammlg. Wien* II, 1928, p. 2, fig. 3.

It is worth mentioning that the symbol also occurs on Roman-British coins of the time of Tiberius. Cf. J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, pp. 119, 281, Pl. VIII, 13, 14 and *Supplement*, 1890, p. 505, Pl. XIX, 1, XX, 8.

[154] According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXV, 28) Philochares made a painting of two Romans with eagle and snake hovering above their heads – probably a devotional picture with a good omen.

[155] Sittl, *op. cit.*, 37 f.; Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[156] *Ibid.*, p. 72 ff.; Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 1132 ff.

[157] Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 85 f.

[158] W. Altmann, *Römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 1905, Nos. 8, 81, 180; Espérandieu, *Recueil général de la Gaule*, I, No. 491, cf. also I, No. 361, III, 2207, VI, No. 4921, IX, Nos. 6962, 6995.

[159] *Syria*, X, 1929, p. 217 ff.

[160] About the eagle as symbol of the soul cf. also Newbold in *Amer. Journal of Archeol.* XXIX, 1925, p. 361 ff.

[161] Rodenwaldt, 'Der Klinensarkophag von S. Lorenzo', *Jahrb. d. Archäol. Inst.* 45, 1930, pp. 116–89, Pl. 6.

[162] R. Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, Paris, 1903, p. 18 f.; Cook, *op. cit.*, I, p. 186 ff.

[163] A bronze eagle with the inscription 'Helios' was published by Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Pl. 35, a relief from Suweida in Syria (publ. by Dunand in *Syria* VII, 1926, p. 331, Pl. LXV) represents the eagle-Zeus with the chthonic snake in its talons accompanied by Azizos and Monimos, the personified stars of morning and evening.

The bronze disk, published by Cumont (*Festschr. für Benndorf, loc. cit.*), with the Phoenician *Baal-šamin* in the mask of Zeus on the wings of the eagle which seizes the coiled snake of eternity, proves that the old pictorial formula of the enmity between eagle and snake holds good, although in this case both creatures together determine the special character of the Lord of Heaven and Eternity.

[164] Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 888 f.

[165] Cumont, 'Un Ex-Voto au Théos Hypsistos', *Bull. de l'Acad. royale de Belgique*, 1912, p. 251 ff.

[166] Cumont, *Et. Syr., op. cit.*, p. 56 f.

[167] Cf. particularly Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff. 'Hélios psychopompe', Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.

[168] Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.

[169] Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* ('Publ. de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques'), Paris, 1909, I, pp. 325 f., 345 ff., 370 ff., 398 ff., II, Pl. XL–XLV. The style of all these tombs, dating from the beginning of our era, is Hellenistic.

[170] Keil and Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien', *Denkschr. d. kais. Akad. Wien*, LIII, 1908, p. 46, no. 94: Stele datable 159–58 BC.

[171] In the Arabic tombs of Medâur-Sâleh (east of the Red Sea) the eagle stands above the pediment in which two snakes attack a human mask, an old symbol of death.

[172] Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 83. He also discusses the adaptation of this story in the Romance of Alexander. About the eagle cult of Alexander cf. particularly Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 241 f.

[173] *Golden Bough. The Magic Art*, I, p. 371.

[174] It is worth mentioning that the Manicheans believed that Christ himself dwelt in the sun. Cf. F. Chr. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, 1831, p. 208.

[175] E.g. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 17, 694 f.): 'Aquilam in hoc loco Christum Dominum nostrum debemus accipere.' Cf. also Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 1855, II, pp. 60–65, 480 ff.

[176] Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Le Calice d'Antioche* ('Orientalia Christiana' VII, 1926).

[177] Extensive material presented in Jerphanion's book, pp. 136–45. About the eagle as an early Christian symbol of resurrection cf. also Newbold in *Amer.*

Journal of Archeol. XXIX, 1925, pp. 357 ff., 379; Dussaud in *Syria*, VI, 1925, p. 203 f.

[178] Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 1889, p. 9 f.

[179] Migne *P. L.*, XXXVII, 1323. The same story in Cassiodorus, cf. Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 95, and in other commentaries on the Psalm.

[180] Liber 5, caput 18, 60 (*P. L.* 14, 231). The same story referred to in Ambrose, *In Psalm. CXVIII expos.* (*P. L.*, 15, 1473); Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones* (*P. L.*, 17, 695); Tertul., *De Anim.* (*P. L.*, 2, 658); Augustine, *in Joann. Evang. tract. XXXVI*, 18, 5 (*P. L.*, 35, 1666).

[181] Deut. XXXII, 11: 'As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings.'

[182] *P.L.* 17, 695: 'Et sicut avis ista (sc. aquila) inimica serpentum est, quos dum in aere alarum remigio subvectando supportat, hos obunco rostro, et armatis quasi quibusdam telis, pedibus suis lacerat ac divellit; quos cum devorat . . . ita ergo et Christus Dominus unam diligit Ecclesiam, ut aquila nidum suum . . . Et ut aquila serpentes devorat . . . ita et Christus Dominus noster, percusso dracone, id est, diabolo lacerato, quod humanum sibi corpus assumit, peccatum illud quod hominem tenebat obnoxium, tamquam perniciosum virus exstinxit.'

[183] This motif by itself will be dealt with below.

[184] Hüsing, 'Zum Etanamythos', *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* VI, 1903, pp. 178–91 shows the survival of the myth in Iranian legends and follows it up into still current fairy tales. Cf. also *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, 1930–3, I, p. 16.

[185] IX, 32, 4. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* X, 15 and other ancient authors repeat Aristotle's report.

[186] *Hieroglyphica* II, 96.

[187] Cf. Keller, *Thiere d. class. Alt.*, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Thompson, p. 9.

[188] The texts collected by Keller, *loc. cit.*, Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 58, Thompson, pp. 8, 9.

[189] We have mentioned above p. 18 that in Egypt the falcon was supposed to gaze unharmed into the sun. Eagle representations of many different peoples are certainly meant to show the bird flying aloft towards the sun.

[190] Cf. *Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature* II, 1851, p. 164 ff.

[191] Conrad Gesner, *Historia Animalium*. Frankfort, 1586. II, pp. 168–207; Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, Bologna, 1599, Libri I, II, pp. 17–234; Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoici sive bipartiti operis de Animalibus scripturae*, London, 1663, II, pp. 162–85.

[192] The rarest of the three motifs is that of the bending of the beak. It occurs in Rabanus (*De univ.* VIII, 6), in Hildebert's *Physiologus* (*c.* 1135, *P. L.* 171, 1217), in Hugo de Folieto (*De bestiis*, I, 56), and also in Alexander Neckham, Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais, Brunetti Latini, but not often in later literature and the arts. Allusions in Elizabethan literature, on which the *Physiologus* has left an important mark (the relevant material has been collected by H. Höhna, *Der Physiologus in der elisabethanischen Literatur*, Erlangen, 1930 and P. Ansell Robin, *Animal Lore in English Literature*, 1932, p. 159 ff.). But that the symbol remained alive is proved by such a representation as that on the frontispiece of the *Biblia Sacra cum glossis* N. Lyrani (Venice, 1588), where an eagle is shown sharpening its beak on a rock in the water, with the quotation from Psalm 103, 5.

The diving into the fountain is traceable through many *Physiologus* versions (cf. Max Goldstaub and Richard Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, p. 386); it occurs already in patristic literature (Origen, Jerome, cf. Lauchert, pp. 71, 77) and later in such works as Bartholomew Glanvil's encyclopaedia (*De proprietatibus rerum* XII, 1), or popular manuals of natural science and medicine, such as the *Hortus Sanitatis* (De avibus 1). It can be traced in German medieval literature (cf. Lauchert, p. 193), in English literature from Caxton's *Mirrour of the World* to Lyly's *Euphues*, Dekker's *Wonder of a Kingdom*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. A pictorial type, appearing first in the Greek *Physiologus* (cf. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griech. Physiologus*, 1899, p. 28 of MS) is almost limited to the long series of medieval bestiaries, particularly from the 12th to the 14th centuries. (cf. M. R. James, *The Bestiary*, Oxford, 1928, p. 43, f. 31a). From here the motif spreads into such works as an Austrian book of models of the 13th century (Vienna, Nat. Bibl. cod. 507, f. 3v, cf. H. J. Hermann, *Die deutschen Romanischen Handschr. Beschreibendes Verz. d. illum. Handschr. in Oesterreich* VIII, 2. 1926, No. 231, Pl. 41), into the illustrations of Psalters (cf. A. Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, 1895, p. 116, fig. 34) and into the sculptural ornamentation of churches (cf. G. C. Druce in *The Antiquary*, 1914, p. 250). For the occurrence of the motif in Arabic literature, cf. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird Cult*, *op. cit.*, p. 38 f.

Of much wider importance than the two former symbols is the flight into the sun and the test of the eaglets. From patristic sources (cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 268) it passed through Isidore (*Ethym.* XII, 7, 11), Rabanus (*De univ.* VIII, 6) into the bestiaries, encyclopaedias and collections of *exempla* (cf. Goldstaub-Wendriner, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, f., 384 f.). Cf. e.g. Cecco d'Ascoli's cosmological poem *dell'Acerba* and the version of the *Physiologus* due to Leonardo da Vinci based on it (cf. Goldstaub-Wendriner, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–54; for German poetry cf. Lauchert, p. 171 f.).

Sculptures: Strasbourg Cathedral, north side, late 13th century; Cologne Cathedral, pews, *c.* 1350, (cf. B. von Tieschowitz, *Das Chorgestühl des Kölner Domes*, 1930, Pl. 14b); Ribbesford (Worcestershire) doorway, 12th century (Druce, *The Antiquary*, 1914, p. 250 f.). Cf. also stained glass in Lyons Cathedral (E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism*, 1896, p. 118, with many more references).

Secularization of the motif in the 16th century. It was now often used to allegorize the legality of the royal descent and to reject intruders into the lawful succession or to demonstrate the undiminished vitality of the race. Although by no means only used by ruling families, the dependence on the old idea of divine kingship is obvious. In this sense it occurs already in Wolfram von Eschenbach (Lauchert, p. 196). Later material: medal of Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino (Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals*, 1930, Nos. 318, 319) emblem of Duke Gabriele Cesarini (Jacopo Gelli, *Divise, Motti, Imprese*, Milan, 1916, No. 1041), *imprese* of Carlo Emanuele I of Savoia in 1584 (Gelli No. 1105), medal of Henry III of France, 1585 (J. de Bie, *La France Métallique*, 1636, p. 232, Pl. 78). Important symbol in the disputes of succession in England: Medals directed against the Old Pretender, son of James II, 1688 and 1689 (cf. Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume* III, 1692, pp. 94, 104; Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1885, I, pp. 644, 664, f.). Medal for Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II, 1792 (cf. *Cat. of Prints and Drawings Brit. Museum, Satires*, II, 1873, No. 1820). Used as a simile for love in a famous sonnet by Ariosto (Perchè simili siano e degli artigli . . .), and by Bernardo Accolti (16th century, cf. Gelli, *op. cit.*, No. 1429).

In English literature: Lyly, *Euphues*, Dryden, *Britannia Rediviva*, Shakespeare, *Henry VI* – here used as a simile for Prince Edward's descendence:

> Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
> Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun. (III, ii, 1).

Still more often than the test of the young eagles we find the first part of the story alone namely the flight and the gazing at the radiant sun as a symbol of fearlessness, intrepidity and magnanim-

ity. Dante (*Paradiso* I, 48) knows it as well as Chaucer (*Parl. of Foules* 330 f.), it appears in Jacopo de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* and becomes a regular image in popular poetry (cf. F. von Logan, *Deutsche Sinn-Getichte*, 1654: 'Wer nicht hat des Adlers Augen, Muss der Sonne Strahlen weichen.'). It is common as an *impresa* in the 16th century: Galeazzo Fregoso and Aretino (cf. L. Dolce, *Imprese*, 1566, and for further material: Ruscelli, *Imprese*, p. 245; Camillo Camilli, *Imprese*, 1586, p. 40 ff.); it is adopted in coats-of-arms (Gelli, No. 96; Clary, Hôtel de Bagis, Toulouse) and used in a personal religious context (Hill, *Corpus*, No. 1009; Gelli, No. 1472), it stands for the qualities of the ruler (Thomasin of Zirclaria, *Welscher Gast*, cf. Lauchert, p. 196. Medal for Charles VI of Sweden, 1725, cf. *Œuvre du Chevalier Hedlinger dédié à Gustave III de Suède*, 1776, Pl VII, p. 6) and for political strength and firmness (Gelli, No. 1313; E. Bahrfeldt, *Münzen und Medaillen d. Provinz Preussen*, 1901, I, No. 1838), it is even an amorous symbol. The beloved is the sun at which the lover alone is allowed to look (Gelli, No. 396, also No. 654).

The idea that the eagle can look steadily at the sun results from his extraordinary eyesight which is already mentioned by Aristotle; from Isidore onwards the word *aquila* is explained as deriving from the sharpness of the bird's eyesight. Through sympathetic magic the eagle is therefore capable of curing failing human eyesight. Aelian and Pliny recommend mixtures with brain and gall of the eagle as effective medicine. This remains an argument in medieval works on medicine, and the magic power of the eagle in curing illnesses of the eye is common to the folklore of many peoples (cf. e.g. Harper in *Beitr. zur Assyrologie*, 1894, II, p. 405). The legendary eyesight of the eagle induced Bernini to choose an eagle flying towards the sun as the frontispiece to a scientific book on optics (Zucchi, *Optica philosophia*, 1652).

193 References in Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

194 E.g. in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. nat.*, ed. 1624, pp. 1176–78.

195 Paris, Bib. Nat., MS syr. 33, f. 9r, first half 6th century. Cf. Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Göteborg, 1938, Pl. 127.

196 Cf. below and Pl. 41.

197 Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, II, p. 125, Pl. 174; L. Bréhier, *La Sculpture et les Arts Mineurs Byzantins*, 1936, Pl. 44, 6th–7th cent. Bronze, Louvre.

198 For the migration of eastern patterns into European art in general cf. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 1924, p. 340 ff.; Bernheimer, *Roman. Tierpl., op. cit.*, p. 82 ff.; J. Baltrušaitis, *Art Sumérien, Art Roman*, Paris, 1934; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, p. 316 ff.

199 See p. 37.

200 Michel and Struck in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1906, p. 299 ff.; Strzygowski, *Amida*, 1910, p. 367. By about AD 800 this type appears already in France. It occurs in the Gospels in the Bodleian, Douce MS 176, f. 62r. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, p. 220, II, Pl. 143 (our Pl. 40). Cf. also a MS from Tours of *c.* 800, Leyden, Univ. Libr. Voss. lat. Fol. 73, f. 45r. W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, 1930, I, Pl. 7e.

201 Kondakov, *Macédoine* (in Russian), 1909, p. 231, Pl. 3; Muñoz, *L'Art byzantin*, 1906, fig. 144; Filow, *Altbulgarische Kunst*, 1919, p. 35; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Pl. 43.

202 The material is extremely rich and scattered and deserves a special treatment. We know examples from Susa and Babylon, it occurs often on Greek coins and is not rare in Roman art. For Christian examples cf. e.g. Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 347–9, 367, 369; *La Basilica di Aquileia*, ed. A. Calderini, 1933, p. 271; Gabelentz, *Mittelalt. Plastik in Venedig*, 1903, p. 111.

203 Franz Xaver Kraus, *Real-Encyclop. d. Christl. Altertümer* I, p. 651.

204 Cf. A. Muñoz, *L'Art Byz., op. cit.*, p. 184, Grüneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'Art Copte*, 1922, p. 109 ff.

205 Monuments from Gandhara, cf. above, p. 21.

206 The mosaic illustrated on Pl. 45 dates from about 400 AD. It was unearthed during the excavations in the Great Palace of the Emperors. Other representations of the motif in Constantinople are known through literary sources. Nicetas (cf. above note 133) saw an eagle-snake monument in the hippodrome, and an anonymous chronicler of the 10th century AD describes a similar group before the bedroom of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos; he calls it a guard, a word which conveys its old magic destination of warding off evil. Cf. J. P. Richter, *Quellen zur Byz. Kunstgeschichte*, Wien, 1897 ('Quellenschriften', ed. Ilg, N. S. VIII), p. 327, No. 865.

207 For the following notes cf. particularly M. Wackernagel, *Die Plastik des 11 und 12. Jahrhunderts in Apulien*, 1911, pp. 50, 72.

208 Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, III, p. 623, fig. 579.

209 Cf. G. N. Fasolo in *Arte*, 1938, p. 21. Cf. also Volbach in *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstslg.* LIII, 1932, p. 183 ff. and Saxl's review in *A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics* II, 1938, No. 408.

210 J. C. Gavini, *Storia dell'Architettura in Abruzzo*, 1926, particularly I, fig. 452, p. 381.

211 This also holds good when the symbol occurs on the ivory cover of a Gospel in Darmstadt (11th–12th cent.). Cf. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, 1906, p. 313.

212 Cf. above note 181. Cf. e.g. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. nat.*, ed. 1624, p. 1177: 'pullos a serpentibus defendat'.

213 Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

214 I owe this reference and photograph to the kindness of Dr Adelheid Heimann, to whom I am greatly indebted for help in collecting the French material.

215 In the Medresa Ben Youssef at Marrakesh (Morocco) dating from about AD 1000. Cf. J. Gallotti, 'Sur une cuve de marbre datant du Khalifat de Cordove', *Hespéris*, III, 1923, pp. 363–91.

216 Camille Martin, *L'Art Roman en France*, 1910, I, Pls. 9, 60, 67, II, Pl. 34; F. Deshoulières in *Congrès Archéolog. de France*, 94, 1932, p. 451; Denise Jalabert in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1938, p. 187 ff.

217 Cf. M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge, 1938, frontispiece.

218 R. Hamann, *Deutsche und französische Kunst im Mittelalter*, Marburg, 1922, fig. 8.

219 G. de Francovich in *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VI, 1937, p. 104. The author maintains the dependence of Grossenlinden und Remagen on Lombard sculptures.

220 W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*, 1931, p. 133.

221 Latin text in Neuss.

222 Neuss is at a loss for an explanation of this tale.

223 Ample material e.g. in Benfey's edition of the Pantschatantra, 1859.

224 *Hist. an.* IX, 7, 3.

225 *Geographica* XVII, 812.

226 *Hist. nat.* 8, 36.

227 *De Iside* 74.

[228] Detailed material on the Ichneumon in Alfred Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 1890, p. 288 ff. and Th. Hopfer, *Der Tierkult der alten Aegypter. Denkschr. der kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien. Philos.-histor. Klasse*, vol. 57, 2, 1913, p. 55.

[229] Ambrosius, *De Jacob et vita beata* I, c.3.

[230] According to Beatus, the bird representing Christ held 'the tail of humanity before the face of divinity'. This corresponds to the *Physiologus* chapter on the snake where the body of the animal is identified with humanity, and its head with Christ. Cf. Fr. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 1889, p. 16.

[231] *Ibid.*, p. 35. In the text of the Beatus MSS. not 'margarita' but the more general term 'gemma' is used. But 'gemma' in the narrower sense as 'pearl' appears in classic as well as in medieval Latin. Cf. Forcellini *s.v.* gemma and Du Cange, *Glossarium, ibid.* – Christ as a pearl is a very common device with ecclesiastical writers, already with the Fathers of the Church. Cf. R. M. Garrett, *The Pearl. University of Washington Publications* IV, 1, 1918, p. 21 ff.

[232] Gubernatis, *Die Tiere in der indogermanischen Mythologie*, 1874, p. 481. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* X, 17, tells a similar story about the fight of eagle and stag.

[233] Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 242 ff., and G. Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten*, 1933, p. 9.

[234] Arguing from stylistic facts, Neuss draws the conclusion that the miniature in the Beatus MS was a later addition under mozarabic influence. This can be confirmed by our analysis. A general influence of *Physiologus* on the fine arts is very rare before medieval times (Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis des Physiologus*, p. 97 ff.), and the same can be said about the Indian marvel stories which migrate with the Arabs to the West.

It seems, therefore, almost certain that this story was added to Beatus' Commentary in the 9th or 10th century. This is probably the first intrusion of the *Physiologus* into Western Europe, and reveals the way by which these stories migrated to France. If Neuss's *stemma* of the manuscripts is right, one is bound to conclude that the story already appeared in lost manuscripts of the 9th century.

A channel of dissemination of the Beatus illustration is provided by other MSS. The motif occurs in the copy of 1162 of the Bible of St Isidore at Leon (dated 960), cf. Beissel, *op. cit.*, 145. About 1100 it is to be found in the Bible of Saint-Martial de Limoges (Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 8, f. 171r, in the initial A at the beginning of Book of Daniel. Cf. Ph. Lauer, *Les enluminures Romanes des Mss de la Bibl. Nat.*, 1927, p. 49 f.). Cf. also the German Psalter of the second half of the 13th century in Donaueschingen, Bibl. MS 185, f. 109v (H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illum. Handschr. des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 1936, p. 123, fig. 511).

[235] American private collection.

[236] Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[237] Cf. Max Goldstaub and Richard Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, p. 293 f.

[238] Cf. G. C. Druce, 'The Caladrius and its Legend', *Archaeological Journal*, LXIX, 1912, p. 384.

[239] H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, 1916, p. 148 f., Pl. I, 7. Munich, cod. lat. 6224, f. 82v.

[240] A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, II, p. 301; Paul Blanchon-Lasserve, *Écriture et Enluminure des manuscrits du IX^e au XII^e siècle* (1926), Pl. 39. Paris, Bib. Nat., cod. lat. 9388. Initial 'I' of 'In principio . . .'

[241] Cf. also Luke X, 19: 'Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions.'

[242] Cf. e.g. the *Acta Thomae* (chapter 33), originated in the early 3rd century AD in Syria under the influence of gnostic ideas.

[243] Cf. e.g. Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, 8, 3 (Migne, *P. L.* 111, col. 231). Honorius Aug., *Speculum Ecclesiae* (*P. L.*, 172, 915) interprets the lion as Antichrist, the dragon as Satan, the basilisk as death, and the asp as sin.

[244] Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, 1902, p. 316; Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 1928, p. 123; Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik*, 1931, p. 50.

[245] Cf. also lecterns in Hal, Notre Dame and St Martin (Flemish, 15th century); Bourges, Museum (18th century); Évreux, Cathedral (19th century).

[246] The story of the pelican first told in the *Physiologus* (cf. Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 8) and endlessly repeated. There are even *Physiologus* versions which speak of the enmity of pelican and snake.

[247] According to the *Physiologus* the pelican is a simile for Christ's death on the cross.

[248] A Hind, *Early Italian Engr.*, 1938, AI, p. 39, Pl. 31. The eagle alone, as well as eagle and snake, appears in ivories in connection with the Crucifix as early as the 10th century. Cf. A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen der karoling. Zeit* I, Pl. 23, No. 56, and *Byzantinische Elfenbeine* II, Pl. 12, 32b, p. 34.

[249] Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens*, 1886, I, No. 182, Pl. 64. The composition is known in engravings by Vorsterman (dated 1620) and others. The picture was at Blenheim.

It may here be mentioned that Titian made a drawing of eagles fighting with a dragon (original lost, formerly Bianconi Coll., Bologna, cf. Tietze, *Tizian*, 1936, p. 262). It seems not impossible that Titian would have placed the group in the background of a sacred picture. Cf. also the group in the background of his *Baptism of Christ* in the Museo Capitolino.

[250] Cf. the occurrence of the same symbol in Martin de Vos' engraving of *Christ carrying the Cross* (B. M., Print Room 1868–6–12–383).

A modern sculpture from Bali (Pl. 57) shows the struggle of pelican and serpent, perhaps under the influence of such Christian representations.

[251] The motif occurs in a drawing by Poussin (Louvre No. 32445) representing the *Judgment of Paris* (?) apparently as a moralized illustration of the Homeric scene.

[252] Pp. 12–13. Horace's lines run:

> neque imbellem feroces
> progenerant aquilae columbam.

This passage has become proverbial in France, Italy, Spain and Germany ('Adler brüten keine Tauben'). Cf. W. Gottschalk, *Die bildhaften Sprichwörter der Römer*, 1935, I, p. 218.

[253] In the foreground of the engraving a personification of Nature recommends a woman to Minerva. The woman symbolizes Virtue. In the background bulls and horses copulating: symbols of that natural vigour which needs to be ennobled by Minerva.

[254] *Thesaurus Philopoliticus*, 1627, p. 603.

[255] Cf. L. C. Sylvestre, *Marques typographiques*, Paris, 1867, I, p. 105, No. 216, p. 107, No. 217. Rovilli's *impresa* with the motto: 'In virtute et fortuna.'

[256] The bookplate Pl. 60, which has been in my possession for a long time, belonged to the historian, the late Thomas Hodgkin of Newcastle.

[257] P. Valeriano, *I Ieroglifici*, Venice, 1625, p. 243.

[258] Conrad Lycosthenes, *Wunderwerk oder Gottes unergründtliches Vorbilden*, Basle, 1557, p. 105, with a woodcut almost corresponding to that of P. Valeriano.

259 H. S. Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages*, 1906, p. 128: Hawkin's voyage of 1565. For the problem of the revival of literary patterns in the geographical literature cf. Leonardo Olschki, *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, 1937.

260 Cf. C. Schuster, 'Das Vogelmotiv in der chinesischen Bauernstickerei', in Strzygowski, *Spuren indogerman. Glaubens in der bildenden Kunst*, 1936, p. 342.

261 E.g. 'L'aquila combatte sempre coi serpenti.'

262 For other fairy tales cf. Wolf, *Deutsche Hausmärchen*, pp. 168 ff., 198 ff.; Gubernatis, *Die Thiere in der indogermanischen Mythologie*, 1874, p. 484 f.

263 Cf. Adolf Brüning, *Die Schmiedekunst seit dem Ende der Renaissance*, fig. 150.

264 E.g. as crowning piece over mirrors, bookcases, etc. in the 18th century. For earlier decorative occurrences of the motif, cf. e.g. the letter 'R' in the figure-alphabet of the Master E. S. (M. Geisberg, *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E. S.*, 1924, Pl. 206.)

265 Bronze, late 16th century, Northern Italy. I want to express my thanks to Dr Otto Kurz, to whom I owe a number of valuable references, for pointing out to me this work and for furnishing me with a photograph. Cf. also L. Planiscig, *Die Bronzeplastiken. Kunsthist. Mus. Wien*, 1924, No. 199.

266 Osterley Park, 18th century. In this case it is the crest of the Child Family. Cf. A. Ch. Fox-Davies, *Armorial Families*, 1929, p. 363.

267 Chestret de Haueffe, *Numismatique de la principauté de Liège*, Bruxelles, 1890, p. 120, No. 155.

268 Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, 1599, I, p. 98.

269 Exhibited British Museum.

270 The snake upon a dragon is the crest of the Guelphs. Cf. e.g. the medallion in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. On the tomb of Alexander II Sobieski in Rome (Chiesa dei Cappuccini, 1714, by Rusconi) appears the Polish eagle grasping the snake of eternity. In this case the eagle of the coat-of-arms has been used as symbol of resurrection which is the promoter of eternal life (snake). The crest of Walter George Raleigh Chichester-Constable shows a stork carrying in its beak a snake and the motto: *Ferme en Foy* (cf. Fox-Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 362.).

271 Cf. its occurrence on the so-called cloak of Charlemagne, 12th century. Metz, Cathedral (Bréhier, *La sculpture Byz., op. cit.*, Pl. 92).

272 E. Sadeler, *Symbola divina et humana*, 1601, I, p. 57.

273 H. Green and J. Croston, *The Mirrour of Maiestie*, London, 1870, after *Selectorum Symbolorum Heroicorum Centuria*, 1619, No. 209, Pl. 24.

274 Medal of 1588, motto: 'Vincit pia destra profanas.' Cf. De Bie, *La France Métallique*, 1636, p. 238, Pl. 80.

275 Sadeler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25.

276 Milford Haven, *Naval Medals*, London 1929, II, p. 32, Nos. 75, 76. The eagle is the badge of the Valieri.

277 Picinelli, *Mundus Symbolicus*, 1600, IV, No. 212. For further material cf. *Trésor de Numismatique*, Paris, 1836, p. 13, Pl. 16, 1837, p. 31, Pl. 38, 2.

278 On 5 December 1804 the Roman eagle became the official symbol of the dynasty. Cf. E. Babelon, *Les Médailles historiques du Règne de Napoléon le Grand*, 1912, p. 167. Albertolli's engraving (1796) is slightly earlier, but we know that Napoleon esteemed the Milanese artist who was of first rate importance for the development of the Empire style.

279 The same idea was applied to Napoleon by Heine, *Französische Zustände*, Artikel 2: 'Napoleon, in dessen Haupte die Adler der Begeisterung horsteten, während in seinem Herzen die Schlangen des Kalküls sich ringelten.'

III Marvels of the East

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Otto Kurz and other friends who have generously helped with bibliographical notes and other suggestions. Some of the material which had been collected before the war could unfortunately not be checked under present conditions.

1 This is the title given by Montague Rhodes James to an early medieval tract about the wonders of the East: *Marvels of the East. A full reproduction of the three known copies*, Oxford, printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1929.

2 Bk. IV, 44. Herodotus' other remarks about India are condensed in Bk. III, 97–106. Herodotus wrote his *History* towards the end of his life, in the second half of the 5th century BC. His account on India was probably based on that of Hekataios of Miletus (written about 500 BC) who in his turn drew on Skylax's report of a journey made *c.* 515 BC.

The classical sources about India have been collected, translated and commented upon in different works published by J. W. McCrindle. His sections dealing with Herodotus are in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, Westminster, 1901, p. 1 ff. Cf. also the article Herodotus in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, Suppl. II, 1913, *c.* 430. On the earliest Greek sources about India cf. Wilhelm Reese, *Die griechischen Nachrichten über Indien*, Leipzig 1914. Christian Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Bonn, 1849, II, p. 621 ff. 'Geschichte des griech. Wissens von Indien' is still very useful. For the first part of this article cf. also H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the western World. From the earliest Times to the Fall of Rome*, Cambridge, 1926.

3 Cf. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian*, 1882; Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff. Ktesias returned to Greece in 398/397 BC where he wrote his Ἰνδικά. Cf. article Ktesias in *Paulys Real-Encycl.* XXII, 1922, mainly *c.* 2037 f.

4 This famous story appeared first in the *Iliad* III, 6. Herodotus III, 116, IV, 13, although himself incredulous, reported on the authority of Aristeas' Ἀριμάσπεια that the one-eyed Arimaspi, inhabitants of the North, were the enemies of the griffins, and said that the Scythian word Arimaspi means 'people with one eye' (IV, 27). Both traditions remained alive and reached the Middle Ages which represented either a dwarf-like race or cyclopes as fighting the birds.

5 For earlier references to the sciapodes by Skylax, Hekataios and Herodotus cf. Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Pliny VII, ii, 23 calls this race also Monocoli and this name remained the alternative for Sciapodes.

6 Ktesias gave the first elaborate account of this people. See Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 75 f.

7 Transmitted through Pliny, *Hist. nat.* VII, ii, 23 and then repeated over and over again.

8 Skylax first mentioned the people with large ears (cf. Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 51). For Megasthenes (see note 20) they were different from the people with eight toes on each foot.

9 Ktesias 33.

10 Ktesias 7 says that the name 'martikhora' means in Greek ἀνθρωποφάγος i.e. man-eater, which is correct, the derivation being the Persian *mard* = man and *khora* = eater. Cf. McCrindle, *Ktesias, op. cit.*, p. 12. See also Pausanias, *Boiot.* IX, 21, 4 and the detailed account in Aelian, *De natura animal.* IV, 21. Ktesias was the first to locate and describe the unicorn. The belief in its existence was widely accepted after Aristotle, *Hist. an.* II, 1

(501[a]), had followed Ktesias' tale. Ktesias blended his story about the griffins with that reported by Herodotus (III, 102 ff.) about the gold-digging ants. Cf. C. Robert's analysis in *Paulys Real-Encl.* XIV, 1912, *c.* 1920 (*s. v.* 'Gryps').

[11] *Ind.* 13 and Aelian, *De nat. anim.* XVI, 2.

[12] Arrian, *Anab.* VI, 1, 2; Strabo XV, i, 25 (696). Cf. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 1893, p. 131 f., *Paulys Real-Encl.* Suppl. IV, 1924, *c.* 558 (*s. v.* 'Geographie').

[13] This confusion seems to be traceable to Homer (*Od.* I, 23 f.) who divides the Ethiopians into those who live at the world's end towards the setting of the sun or towards its rising. Later authors use the words 'Indians' and 'Ethiopians' almost as synonyms. Ktesias frequently calls the Indians Ethiopians. With Herodotus and Hekataios the sciapodes dwell in Ethiopia, Pliny finds the martikhora in that part of the world, etc. Cf. the compilation of the relevant material in E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica*, Bonn, 1846, p. 1 ff. After a period of comparative enlightenment the confusion gets even worse during the decay of the Roman Empire. So the anonymous author of the *Itenerarium Alexandri Magni*, written in AD 345, says: 'India taken as a whole, beginning from the north and embracing what of it is subject to Persia, is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians . . .' (cf. McCrindle, *Class. Lit., op. cit.*, p. 153). Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (AD 325), mentions to the 5th year of the government of Amenophis that the Ethiopians left the Indus and settled in the neighbourhood of Egypt. This was repeated by Isidore (*Etym.* IX, 2, 128) whose report about the three peoples inhabiting Ethiopia, the Hesperii in the West, the Garamantes in the centre and the Indians in the East, reappears with a number of later authors, e.g. Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia imperialia*, ed. Leibnitz, 1707–11, II, p. 759). The same division exists in Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* (1267), ed. J. H. Bridges 1897, I, p. 312, who specified now, however, that the Ethiopian Indians were called Indians because of their nearness to India. (Still repeated by Pierre d'Ailly, *Ymago Mundi*, 1410, ed. E. Burton, 1930, p. 360 f.) In fact, Ethiopians and Indians appear as neighbours or were mixed up in most of the medieval maps. About the confusion of the three Indies in 13th-century travellers' reports cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*, London, 1914, II, p. 27 f. Valuable material for the whole question is to be found in John Kirtland Wright, *The geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, New York, 1925, p. 302 ff.

[14] McCrindle, *Invasion of India, op. cit.*, p. 7 ff.

[15] The implications of the dating of Megasthenes' embassy fully discussed by O. Stein in *Paulys Real-Encl.* XXIX, 1931, *c.* 231 f.

[16] Cf. K. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 1848, II, p. 397 ff. The earlier collection of the fragments of Megasthenes by Schwanbeck (see note 13) was used by McCrindle for his translation: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1877.

[17] Mainly in Strabo XV, i, 57 and II, i, 9 and Pliny, *Hist. nat.* VII, ii, 21–30.

[18] Aelian, *De nat. anim.* XVI, 41.

[19] These animals are the size of foxes, and fiercely attack people who try to carry off the gold. The accounts of Megasthenes and other authors about the ants are most circumstantial. Herodotus (III, 102) asserts that some specimens were preserved by the Persian king, and Arrian in his *Indika* XV, 4 quotes Nearchos, the admiral of Alexander's fleet, who reported that 'he had seen several of their skins which had been brought into the Macedonian camp'. (Cf. also Strabo XV, i, 44.) Even in the 16th century one of these ants was said to have been sent by the Shah of Persia to Sultan Soliman at Constantinople. Cf. E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, London, 1879, I, p. 230; Jules Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques*, Paris, 1836, p. 263.

[20] Cf. note 8. The report that these people have eight toes on each foot only in Pliny VII, ii, 23. They were later identified with the Antipodes. Cf. below, p. 60

[21] All authors agree that these people live near the source of the Ganges. Pliny VII, ii, 25 calls the race Astomi.

[22] These happy people, belonging to the oldest mythological conceptions of Greece, were generally located in the farthest north. Their opposite number in Sanskrit literature, the Uttarakurus, also inhabit the northern regions. Cf. McCrindle, *Megasthenes, op. cit.*, p. 78.

[23] Strabo calls this race Amuktêres and Pliny Sciritae.

[24] Strabo XV, i, 57 calls them Monommati. Other cyclopic people are the Arimaspi, cf. note 4.

[25] Cf. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 59 f., 425 f., 516 f., etc.; Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1936, p. 122. For the whole question of trade between the Roman Empire and India, cf. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928.

[26] Cf. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea; being a Translation of the Periplus Maris Erythraei* . . . 1879, §57; Wilfrid H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 1912, pp. 45 f., 227 f. The Periplus, written by an anonymous writer probably about AD 60–80 gives the first account of the discovery of the monsoon. Cf. the discussion of the trade route by sea in Bunbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 470 ff. and of the trade policy of the Roman Empire in the centuries before and after our era in M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, London, 1929, p. 73 ff., and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, Madras, 1939, p. 4 ff.

[27] Mainly after the 2nd century AD, cf. Cary and Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 84. But even at the time of the Periplus cargoes changed hands about six times, cf. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 228. The caravan trade remained also in oriental hands, cf. Rostovtzeff, 'The Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Times', *Dumbarton Oaks Inaugural Lectures*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1941, p. 35.

[28] Cf. the considered statement in the *Cambr. Hist. of India, op. cit.*, p. 425.

[29] The belief in the existence of dog-headed creatures is known to us in all parts of Asia, in China as well as in Java and Siberia, in Egypt as well as in America and Europe. Cf. the material collected by Henry Cordier, *Les monstres dans la légende et dans la nature*, Paris, 1890, with further references; *idem, Les voyages en Asie au XIVe siècle du Frère Odoric de Pordenone*, Paris, 1891, pp. 206–17; *idem, Ser Marco Polo. Addenda*, London, 1920, p. 109 f.; W. Klinger, 'Hundsköpfige Gestalten in der antiken und neuzeitlichen Überlieferung', *Bull. international de l'Acad. Polonaise des sciences . . . Cl. d'hist. et de phil.* 1936, pp. 119 f.

[30] One-eyed races, familiar to the Greeks as the Cyclopes, are mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and in other Indian epics, cf. Schwanbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and McCrindle, *Megasthenes, op. cit.*, p. 77. To have only one eye seems to have been in India the symbol of the barbarian. As late as the 15th century an Italian traveller, Nicolò Conti, reported, that the Indians say 'that they themselves have two eyes and that we have but one, because they consider that they excel all others in prudence'. (Mario Longhena, *Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava di N. de' C.*, Milan 1929, p. 179.) In this detached symbolical form the device occurs also in English literature, cf. Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, 1661, p. 129: 'We judge truth to be circumscrib'd by the confines of our belief . . . and . . . repute all the rest of the world Monoculous.'

[31] Klinger, *op. cit.*, has shown that the cynocephali were originally probably chtonic demons, traces of which have been preserved in folklore adaptations of the early myth. About the diffusion of the myth of one-eyed creatures cf. *Paulys Real-Encycl.* XXII, *c.* 2346 with further references.

[32] Aelian, *De nat. anim.* IV, 27 gives from Ktesias a detailed description including the colour of feathers, wings and neck, and goes on 'its head is like the representations which artists give in paintings and sculptures'. It is quite probable that Ktesias' account was based on Persian representations of the griffin with which he must have become familiar during his stay in Persia.

It may also be recalled that Ktesias refers to pictures of satyrs in the description of tailed men, cf. above, p. 46.

[33] Cf. Steier *s.v.* 'Nashorn' in *Paulys Real-Encycl.* XXXII, 1935, *c.* 1780 ff. It may also be noted that the figure of a unicorn occurs frequently on seals from Mohenjo-Daro (John Marshall, *Moh.-Daro and the Indus civilisation*, London 1931, II, p. 382 ff. and pl. CXV) and that the unicorn was familiar to the civilizations of the Near East.

Hennig, 'Der kulturhist. Hintergrund der Gesch. vom Kampf zwischen Pygmäen und Kranichen', *Rhein. Mus. f. Philologie*, N.F. 81, 1932, p. 20 ff. believes to have found the ethnographical basis of the pygmy legend.

In some cases perhaps too realistic explanations have been sought. The people without mouths who live only on smell were, according to H. Hosten ('The mouthless Indians', *Journal and Proceedings As. Soc. of Bengal* VIII, 1912, p. 291 ff.), Himalayan tribesmen who used strongly smelling fruits and vegetables as remedy against height-sickness.

[34] Strabo XV, i, 57.

[35] Lassen, *Ind. Altertumskunde, op. cit.*, II, p. 651.

[36] Cf. Schwanbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 66; McCrindle, *Megasthenes, op. cit.*, p. 75.

[37] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[38] Cf. Bunbury, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 69 f.; O. Peschel, *Abhdl. Zur Erd- und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 41 ff.; Hennig in *Rhein. Mus. f. Philologie*, N.F. 79, 1930, pp. 326–32. A new satisfactory explanation of all the details of the story by George Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, Manchester, 1937, pp. 190–93. An interesting, though erroneous, attempt at explanation was made by A. F. Graf von Veltheim, *Von den goldgrabenden Ameisen und Greiffen der Alten*, Helmstädt, 1799.

For other translations from the Sanskrit see Lassen, Schwanbeck and McCrindle.

[39] The Indian conceptions of monsters made their way also into China, where they can be traced long before our era. Berthold Laufer ('Columbus and Cathay', *Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.* 1931, pp. 87–104) said that the Chinese 'had outlined a complete picture and a fixed scheme of geography and ethnography of wonderous nations as early as the 6th century AD'. Cf. also Bazin in *Journal Asiatique*, 3 sér., VIII, 1839, pp. 337–82; F. de Mely, *De Périgeux au Fleuve Jaune*, Paris, 1927, p. 21 ff. The fabulous races in the cosmography of Piri Re'îs, were published by Kahle in *Beiträge zur histor. Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Karthographie, vornehmlich des Orients*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig and Wien, 1929, pp. 60–76. Kahle has shown that the monstrous nations described by the Turkish author of the 16th century can be traced back to a pre-Christian Chinese source (Shan Hai King, between 1122 and 249 BC).

[40] Strabo II, i, 9. Translation after McCrindle.

[41] Gellius IX, 4. Gellius' miscellaneous work was written *c.* AD 169.

[42] Other critical authors quoted by James, *Marvels, op. cit.*, p. 36.

[43] *De caelo* II, 14.

[44] Cf. Bunbury, *op. cit.*, I, p. 615, ff.

[45] The best English edition of Ptolemy's work by E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, New York, 1932.

[46] Bunbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 642, discussed the difficulties of reconstructing correctly Ptolemy's map of India.

[47] Pliny VII, ii, 21: 'Praecipue India Aethiopumque tractus miraculis scatent.' – Here Pomponius Mela should also be mentioned, who in AD 41 finished a rather pedestrian treatise on geography – *de situ orbis* – in which the marvels have their full share. Although Mela was much read and quoted during the Middle Ages his influence cannot be compared with that of either Pliny or Solinus.

[48] Critical edition by Mommsen, Berlin, 1895 (2nd ed.). Cf. also the chapter on Solinus by C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of modern Geography*, London, 1897, I, pp. 246–73.

[49] Geographical remarks mainly in his commentary to Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, ed. F. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig, 1893, Lib. II, ch. 5 ff. About Macrobius' geographical views cf. George H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, London, 1938, p. 8 f.

[50] *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. F. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig, 1866. Cf. Kimble, *op. cit.*, p. 9 ff. Capella's geography is to be found in his 6th book on geometry.

[51] Cf. Mommsen's Solinus, index locorum, p. 243 f. and *Paulys Real-Encycl.* XXVIII, 1930, *c.* 2010.

[52] Cf. for instance § 605 ff. Antipodes, 664 Hyperboreans, 665 Amazons, 674 Blemmyae with head in breast, Satyrs, Himantopodes who crawl instead of walking, all in the interior of Africa after Pliny V, 8, 46; 695, 697 Pygmies and giants in India, etc.

[53] 'An ex propagine Adam vel filiorum Noe quaedam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint.' – The following is a paraphrase of Augustine's text.

[54] An Ethiopian species of monkeys was called sphinx in antiquity, cf. W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 27), Baltimore, 1938, pp. 67 f., 84 f.

[55] Migne, *P. L.*, 82, c. 419. Lib. XI, c. 3, 1: 'Portenta esse ait Varro quae contra naturam nata videntur; sed non sunt contra naturam, quia divina voluntate fiunt . . .'

[56] Cf. Index locorum in Mommsen's Solinus, p. 245 ff.

[57] Cap. 3, 2: 'Portentum ergo fit non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura. Portenta autem, et ostenta, monstra, atque prodigia, ideo nuncupantur, quod portendere, atque ostendere, monstrare, atque praedicere aliqua futura videntur . . .'

[58] A wealth of material published by B. Meissner, 'Babylonische Prodigienbücher', *Mitt d. Schlesischen Ges. f. Volkskunde* XIII–XIV, Breslau, 1911, p. 256 ff. (Festschrift Univ. Breslau); F. Lenormant, *La divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1875, pp. 103–26, chap. 7: 'Présages des naissances monstrueuses'; L. Dennefeld, *Babyl.-Assyr. Geburts-Omina*, Leipzig, 1914. A few examples from the birth omens may show the correspondence of the races with the Babylonian portents. If a child is born 'that has no mouth, the mistress of the house will die, – whose nostrils are absent, the country will be in affliction, and the house of the man will be ruined, – that has six toes on each foot, the lord will rule over the country of the enemy, etc.' (Lenormant, pp. 107, 111, and Dennefeld, p. 51 ff.). Greek and Roman divination was less based on monstrous births than on natural phenomena on the earth and in the sky, cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1882, IV, p. 74 ff. ('Procuration des prodiges') and Dar-

emberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités* III, p. 292 ff. (*s.v.* Divinatio). Still, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius and others abound with reports of auguries from miraculous births. Julius Obsequens, an author probably of the 4th century AD, collected from Livy the material for his *Liber prodigiorum*, which contains the Roman prodigies from 190–12 BC listed together with the events which they foreshadowed. About Obsequens' rediscovery in the 16th century cf. note 171.

[59] Based on Cicero, *De nat. deorum* II, 3, 7.

[60] H. Wuttke, *Die Kosmographie des Istrier Aithikos*, Leipzig, 1853. Cf. Bunbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 705; Beazley, *Dawn, op. cit.*, I, p. 355 ff.; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and experim. Science*, London, 1923, I, p. 600 ff. About Aithikus' influence on cartography cf. Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, IV, 1896, p. 47.

[61] Migne, *P. L.* CXI, *c.* 195, Lib. 7, 7. Isidore's text was, however, supplemented by a short paragraph at the end in which the Prophets are quoted to show that portents foretell 'aliquid de futuris'.

[62] Migne, *P. L.* 172, Lib. 1, 8: Paradisus; chap. 11: De India; chap. 12: De Monstris; chap. 13: De Bestiis. Written *c.* 1100. The geographical parts depend largely on Isidore, the marvels of India on Solinus. Sources and influence of the *Imago Mundi* discussed by Doberentz, 'Die Erd-und Völkerkunde in der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Hohen-Ems', *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philologie* XII, 1880, p. 298 ff.

[63] In verse, chiefly dependent on the *Imago Mundi*. This work was very popular and amongst other translations is an English one by William Caxton, *The Mirrouer of the Worlde*, published in 1481. Cf. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 1931, II, p. 591. About the influence of the *Image du Monde* cf. Charles-Victor Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1927, III, p. 151 ff. For Italian versions of the *Imago Mundi* and the *Image du Monde* cf. F. L. Pullé, 'La cartografia antica dell'India', *Studi Italiani di filol. Indo-Iranica* V, 1905, Appendix I.

[64] Written *c.* 1211 for Emperor Otto IV. The third part of this encyclopaedia, which includes the marvels, is largely borrowed from the letter of Fermes to Hadrian (see below, p. 52). The two texts printed side by side by James, *Marvels, op. cit.*, p. 41 ff.

[65] *De proprietatibus rerum*. A full list of the marvels in the 18th book on animals. Pliny, Solinus and Isidore seem to be the main sources, but for the martikhora (18, 69) Aristotle is cited. Apart from the great number of Latin printed editions between 1470 and 1601, Bartholomew's encyclopaedia appeared in French, English, Spanish and Dutch translations in the 15th and 16th centuries. Cf. Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic, op. cit.*, II, p. 401 ff.; Robert Steele, *Medieval Lore*, London, 1893 (excerpts from Bartholomew with notes).

[66] Written in French during his exile. The popularity of this encyclopaedia is shown by the fact that apart from the great number of MSS three Italian editions appeared between 1474 and 1533. The marvels form part of the sections on geography and natural science, book I, 4 and 5. Brunetti's main source is Solinus. Cf. Thor Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetti Latini* (translation by Rodolfo Renier), Florence, 1884, p. 99 ff.

[67] Written about 1250. The monsters are treated in great detail in the *Speculum Naturale*, Lib. 31, cap. 118–27 (ed. 1624, vol. I, *c.* 2387 ff.), mainly based on Solinus and Isidore. The *Speculum Historiale* contains a short and a long passage about the marvels (vol. IV, *c.* 24 and *c.* 131): (a) after the dissemination of the human race, Lib. I, cap. 64: 'De India et eius mirabilibus,' and (b) amongst the exploits of Alexander the Great, Lib. 4, cap. 53–60: 'De mirabilibus quae vidit Alexander in India,' copied chiefly from the *Epistola Alexandri* (cf. below, p. 58).

[68] Ed. E. Buron, Paris, 1930, p. 264 ff., 'De Mirabilibus Indie'. The sources are Pliny and Solinus.

[69] *Gesta hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, *MG. SS.* VII, p. 373 (IV, 12) Hyperboreans in Denmark and Sweden, p. 375 (IV, 15) Amazons, cynocephali, anthropophagi and others after Solinus, also p. 379 (IV, 25) and passim. Cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 514–48; Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalt.*, II, 1923, p. 398 ff.

[70] Written 1250–54, based on Honorius Augustodinensis' *Imago Mundi*; cf. Doberentz, *op. cit.* (above note 62). G. Ehrismann *Rudolfs von Ems Weltchronik* (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters XX), 1915, mainly vv. 1417–1848.

[71] Cf. below, p. 61 f.

[72] *De natura rerum*, written between 1228 and 1244. The third part contains the marvels, published by Alfons Hilka, *Liber de monstruosis hominibus Orientis* (Festschr. z. Jahrhundertfeier d. Univ. Breslau. Herausgeg. vom Schles. Philologenverein), Breslau, 1911, pp. 153–65. Cf. also F. Pfister in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 Sept. 1912, *c.* 1129 ff. who gives a valuable summary of the literary transmission of the monster stories. Cantimpré is largely dependent on Jacques de Vitry (cf. below, p. 60).

[73] Megenberg's *Buch der Natur*, written *c.* 1350, is a free translation after Cantimpré's *De natura rerum* (a translation into Flemish had already been made in the second half of the 13th century by Jacob van Maerlant). A great number of MSS of Megenberg's work are preserved and it was printed seven times in the 15th century alone. Cf. Helmut Ibach, *Leben und Schriften des Konrad von Megenberg* (Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abtlg. Mittelalterl. Geschichte, vol. 7), Berlin, 1938, p. 58 ff.

[74] *De animalibus libri XXVI* (ed. H. Stadler, Münster, 1916–20). Written in the 1250s. Although Albertus Magnus was extremely critical he accepted for instance the martikhora (Lib. 22, 120). He tells the story of the gold-digging ants, but concludes on a critical note: 'sed hoc not satis est probatum per experimentum' (Lib. 26, 21). The main source for books 22–26 was Thomas of Cantimpré.

[75] Bacon, in the geographical section of his *Opus Majus* (1267) selected with great discrimination from his main sources, Pliny, Isidore and Aethicus. But there still appear the Hyperboreans, the Indian people who live a hundred years, and the Amazons. He also accepted other geographical myths: the sources of the Nile in Paradise (cf. below, p. 60), the kingdom of Prester John (cf. below, p. 60) and some of Alexander's exploits (cf. below, p. 58). Cf. ed. by J. H. Bridges, Oxford 1897, I, pp. 291, 304, 308, 310, 319, 354, 361, 364, 368.

[76] *De Civ. Dei* XVI, 8: 'Hominum vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritima platea Carthaginis musivo picta sunt, ex libris depromta velut curiosioris historiae.' Pliny VII, 3, 34, recorded that 'Pompey the Great among the decorations of his theatre placed images of celebrated marvels . . . by eminent artists'.

[77] An illustration of Minerva in the 10th-century Vienna MS cod. 177 is of purely medieval invention (cf. Saxl, *Verz. astrol. und mythol. ill. Handschr. des latein. Mittelalters*, II, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 79, fig. 3), just as the miniature from Remigius' commentary to Martianus Capella (9th century) from *c.* 1100 in Munich, cod. lat. 14271 (cf. Panofsky and Saxl in *Metropolitan Museum Studies* IV, 1933, p. 260, fig. 39). But R. Uhden, 'Die Weltkarte des Martianus Capella', *Mnemosyne* III, 3, 1936, p. 98 ff., was able to show that the map in the *Liber Floridus* in Wolfenbüttel (12th century) reproduces the original world map by Martianus Capella.

[78] Milan, Ambrosiana, cod. C. 246 inf. The discovery of this MS is due to F. Saxl.

[79] Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, p. 4 f.

[80] Cf. below, p. 68, about the survival of this group in later monuments.

[81] Another group in the same manuscript (f. 34r) shows the fight of dragon and elephant, which is also a feature of the *Physiologus*-Bestiary tradition. One pair of dragons appears with necks twisted round each other, a motif familiar from Sumerian seals (cf. Delaport, *Cat. des cylindres orientaux du Mus. du Louvre*, Paris, 1920, Pl. 64, 9). This motif may have been introduced with the Arab transmission of oriental prototypes – as is the case in the mosaic pavement in Reggio Emilia and other 11th- and 12th-century monuments – and may therefore belong to the later additions to the original Solinus. However, it is not unlikely that such eastern elements formed part of the original manuscript.

[82] The text printed by H. Omont, 'Lettre à l'Empereur Adrian sur les merveilles de l'Asie', *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* LXXIV, 1913, p. 507 ff. after a MS of the 9th century (Paris, Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. lat. 1065, f. 92v–95). Cf. also E. Faral in *Romania* XLIII, 1914, p. 367 ff.

[83] The earliest of the tracts, 'Marvels', was published by James, *Marvels, op. cit.*, p. 15 ff., together with the text of the second tract (p. 37 ff.) the 'Epistola Premonis regis ad Traianum Imperatorem' which is a shortened replica of the same archetype as the 'Marvels'. The last tract, 'De Monstris et bellvis', was edited by Moritz Haupt, *Opuscula*, 1876, II, p. 221 ff. The relationship of these tracts to each other has been discussed by James, pp. 9 ff., 33 ff.

[84] The text of the 'Marvels' in B. M. MS. Tiberius B V is in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, Vitellius A XV only in Anglo-Saxon.

[85] James, *op. cit.*, illustrates the pictures of three MSS: (1) B. M. Vitellius A XV; about 1000, (2) Tiberius B V; between 991 and 1016, (3) Oxford, Bodl. 614; early 12th century. Although all three texts are identical, the illustrations follow two different pictorial traditions. The pictures of 3 appear to be copied from 2 or to go back to the same archetype; 2 is much superior in quality.

[86] 'Homodubii qui usque ad umbilicum hominis speciem habent, reliquo corpore onagro similes, cruribus ut aves . . .'

[87] 'Aures habentes tanquam vannum. quarum unam sibi nocte substernunt, de alia vero se cooperiunt, et tegunt se his auribus.'

[88] Cf. note 8.

[89] Cf. above, p. 46. Ktesias has no name for this race.

[90] Solinus 19, 8 (Mommsen, p. 93): The Phanesii live in Scythia 'quorum aures adeo in effusam magnitudinem dilatentur, ut reliqua viscerum illis contegant nec amiculum aliud sit quam ut membris membra vestiant.' – Isidore 11, 3, 19: 'Panotios apud Scythiam esse ferunt, tam diffusa magnitudinem aurium, ut omne corpus contegant.' The first half of this sentence depends on Solinus, the second on Pliny VII, ii, 30.

[91] Cod. 132, f. 166. The MS was executed *c.* 1023 in Montecassino. Cf. Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023 illustranti l'Enciclopedia medioevale di Rabano Mauro*, Montecassino, 1896.

The 15 races shown here do not follow exactly the sequence of the text. They are from left to right: Androgyni (dextram mamillam virilem, sinistram muliebrem habentes), cynocephali, cyclopes, Lemniae in Lybia (oculos in pectore), alios oculos habentes in humeris, Artabaticae in Aethioppia (proni, ut pectora, ambulare dicuntur), satyri, Panotii (see last note), Sciopodes, Antipodes, Hippodes, Pygmies (two representatives), centaur, onocentaur, hippocentaur.

[92] Corresponding to Isidore's text quoted in note 90.

[93] In Strabo XV, i, 57, who says that these people have ears reaching down to their feet. He calls the race ἐνωτοκοῖται, i.e. those who sleep in their ears.

[94] Cf. Adolph Goldschmidt, 'Frühmittelalterliche illustrierte Enzyklopädien', *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg 1923–24*, p. 217 f.

[95] Panofsky and Saxl, *Dürer's 'Melencolia I'* (Studien der Bibl. Warburg II), 1923, p. 125 ff. Saxl has gone more fully into this problem.

[96] *Patrologia Latina* 291, f. 75v. German, 1425. Cf. Paul Lehmann, 'Fuldaer Studien', *Sitzungsber, Bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl.* 1927, 2. Apart from the more naturalistic conception of the figures, the strip composition has been given up, the order of monsters has been slightly rearranged and the choice of races has somewhat changed. We see now: Cynocephali, cyclopes, Lemniae, oculis in humeris, alii labro subteriore prominente, alii concreta ora esse modico tantum foramine, calamis avenarum haurientes pastus, Panotii, Artabaticae, satyri, sciopodes, probably pygmies showing one instead of 7 in a hole (sub uno caule), hydra.

About other illustrated Rabanus MSS cf. Lehmann in *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen* LV, 1938, pp. 173–81.

[97] Cf. Konrad Miller, *Mappae Mundi. IV. Die Herefordkarte*, Stuttgart 1896. W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Mediaeval Geography. An Essay in Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi*, London 1873, is still very useful.

[98] The two other main examples with a full display of these marvels are the large Ebstorf map from 1284 (cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, V, 1896) and the 13th-century Psalter map of the B. M. (Add. 28681; Miller III, 1895, p. 37 ff.).

[99] A full analysis of the sources in Miller, IV, p. 47 ff. Next to Solinus, Isidore and Aethicus have been used.

[100] For instance the dragons with twisted necks, cf. note 81.

[101] For instance the sciapod.

[102] Miller, *op. cit.*, VI, 1898, pp. 108 and 143 ff. reconstructed this map with all the paraphernalia of the large medieval maps. Detlefsen, *Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas* (Sieglin, Quellen u. Forschungen XIII) 1906, pp. 113–17, refuted any influence of Agrippa on medieval cartography. But modern investigations have shown that Miller was probably nearer the truth. Cf. R. Uhden, 'Zur Herkunft und Systematik der mittelalterlichen Weltkarten' *Geographische Zeitschr.* XXXVII, 1931, pp. 321–40. A detailed analysis of the pictures would, it seems, strengthen Uhden's case.

[103] There was a tradition which identified the cynocephali with the giants. Cf. Klinger (see note 29) p. 119 ff. Cristophorus, the giant, was said to be a cynocephalus, 'Sanctus de Cynocephalorum oriundus genere' (*Acta Sanctorum*, July 25, p. 139), cf. also Ratramnus' *Epistola de Cynocephalis* (*P. L.* CXXI, *c.* 1155); P. Saintyves, 'Saint Christophe successeur d'Anubis, d'Hermès et d'Héraclès', *Revue anthrop.* XLV, 1935, mainly p. 319 ff. In Isidore (XI, 3, 13–15) the description of the cynocephali follows immediately after the giants. The cynocephali proper appear on the Hereford map in the north of Europe (cf. Miller, p. 18), also as a barking group but sitting. The northern tradition goes back to Aethicus *c.* 28, p. 15. Cf. the material collected by Wuttke, *Aethicos, op. cit.*, p. XIX ff.

[104] Cod. Arab. 464, f. 211v. This is the earliest Kazwini MS known to us, written in 1280; cf. Buchthal-Kurz-Ettinghausen in *Ars Islamica* VII, 1940, p. 162.

[105] Cf. above, p. 46.

[106] The group may have a still older pedigree, being perhaps derived from a Babylonian 'antithetical' model. Saxl in *Islam* III, 1912, p. 151 ff. could retrace the representations of planets in Kazwini's cosmography to Babylonian sources.

[107] It is, of course, not impossible that the type reached the West through Byzantine MSS, but none of the western MSS show the cynocephali as a group. Cf. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustr. im Mittelalter*, p. 56; Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griech. Physiologus*, p. 85; Dalton, *Byzant. Art and Archeology*, 1911, p. 161.

[108] It may be noted, that the original of the *Physiologus* illustrations can now be dated back as far as the 2nd to 4th century AD (cf. Helen Woodruff, 'The Physiologus of Bern', *The Art Bulletin* XII, 1930, p. 242).

[109] Psalm 145, 17, quoted by Rabanus at the end of his chapter on 'De Portentis'.

[110] Cf. Abel Fabre, 'L'iconographie de la Pentecôte', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1923, ii, p. 39 ff. against E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, 1924 (2nd ed.), p. 326 ff.

[111] The views of St Augustine on this point were confirmed by writers of later times, cf. Ratramnus' letter (9th cent.) in *P. L.* CXXI, *c.* 1153 ff.

[112] According to apocryphal legends St Thomas and St Bartholomew preached in India and St Matthew in Ethiopia. This was repeated by medieval authors in different ways. Gervase of Tilbury, to quote one instance (*Otia imp.* ed. Leibnitz, 1707–11, vol. I, p. 911), says that St Bartholomew preached in 'India superior', St Thomas in 'India inferior', and St Matthew in 'India meridiana'.

[113] *Op. cit.*, p. 328 f.

[114] H. Buchthal in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1939, p. 613 ff.

[115] The whole material collected and analysed by Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 323 ff.

[116] The relevant material has been collected by Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches. I. Misericords*, 1910; M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge, 1938; and by G. C. Druce in his fundamental study, 'Some abnormal and composite human Forms in English Church Architecture', *Arch. Journal*, LXXII, 1915, pp. 135–86.

[117] Aus'm Weerth, *Der Mosaikfussboden in St Gereon zu Cöln*, Bonn, 1873, p. 20 f.; Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte It.* III, p. 420 ff.

[118] MS 22. The fabulous races on ff. 1v and 3r (Pl. 79), cf. J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The MSS of Westminster Abbey*, Cambridge, 1909, p. 77 ff. and Druce, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff. and plates 1 and 2. M. R. James, *The Bestiary*, Oxford, 1928, p. 22 ff. lists five Bestiaries with fabulous races: No. 10 (Sion Coll.), No. 36 (Fitzwilliam Mus. 254), No. 37 (Cambridge Univ. Libr. Kk. 4. 25), No. 38 (Westminster 22), No. 39 (Bodl. Douce 88), all dating from the 13th century.

Further bestiaries incorporated only the martikhora and the satyr (cf. below, p. 68), others the story of the gold-digging ants (cf. note 19). See *Guillaume Le Clerc. Le Bestiaire*, ed. R. Reinsch, Leipzig, 1890, p. 91 ff. and Druce, 'An account of the Μυρμηκολέων or Ant-lion', in *The Antiquaries Journal* III, 1923, p. 354 ff.

[119] Psalm 111, 9. The page here illustrated shows the triple-headed giant, pygmy, sciapod and 4 Brahmins in a cave; cf. Druce's comment to these figures.

At the same time or even earlier other monsters were invested with allegorical significance. They are composite creatures of different animals, each part of which signifies that virtue or vice for which the special animal was renowned. Cf. an example in A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, London, 1939 (Studies of the Warburg Inst., 10), fig. 61.

[120] Cf. Hermann Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, p. 574 ff. Oesterley cites in his introduction 138 manuscripts of the *Gesta*, but not all of them contain the chapter on the 'mirabilia'. 23 Latin editions were printed during the 15th century alone. The 'Gesta' appeared in French, English (9 editions during the 16th and 17th centuries), German and Dutch translations. Cf. bibliography in Grässe, *Gesta Romanorum*, Leipzig, 1905, II, p. 307 ff.

[121] The change from the mystical to the moral allegorization can be followed up in the Bestiaries themselves, cf. Goldstaub and Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, pp. 4, 6 ff., 207 ff. and passim.

[122] Publ. by A. Hilka, 'Eine altfranzösische moralische Bearbeitung des Liber de monstruosis hominibus orientis aus Thomas von Cantimpré, De natura rerum', *Abhdl. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* III, 7, 1933. MS Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 15106, with miniatures which I was unable to consult.

[123] Bruges cod. 411. The page shows representatives of the anthropophagi, cyclopes, sciapodes, of the people with their head in shoulders and breast, people who subsist on their sense of smell, people with six arms, amazons and women with long beards. The race with 6 arms, borrowed from the Romance of Alexander, obviously goes back to Indian models which had reached Europe.

[124] Illustration to the 12th book combining fabulous people with marvellous fountains, shown top right hand corner. This woodcut which appeared first in Bämler's edition, Augsburg 1475, was either used or copied in the other editions of the 15th century, cf. Richard Muther, *Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance*, München, 1922, I, Nos. 43–45, 171, 269, 323. Two illustrated Megenberg MSS are in Heidelberg, Univ. Bibl. pal. germ. 300 (*c.* 1440–50) and pal. germ. 311 (*c.* 1450–60), cf. H. Wegener, *Beschr. Verz. der deutschen Bilderhandschr. d. späten Mittelalters* . . . Leipzig, 1927, pp. 42 f., 48 f.

[125] It must, however, be mentioned that two other illustrated Cantimpré MSS show also isolated pictures like the Bruges MS, but in all three MSS the single types of monsters follow different traditions. Cf. MS Breslau, Stadtbibl., cod. Rehdig 174, *c.* 1300; publ. by Hilka (cf. note 72) and MS Prague, Metropolitan Libr., *L.* 11, f. 51v–53v, dated 1404, cf. Podlaha, *Topogr. d. hist. u. Kunst-Denkmale im Königr. Böhmen*, II, 2, Prague, 1904, p. 212, figs. 236, 237.

[126] Dated by Adolf Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 237 ff., *c.* 200 BC, but by W. Kroll, *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Berlin, 1926, 3rd century AD.

[127] The original version of archipresbyter Leo's text published by F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipr. Leo* (Slg. mittellatein. Texte 6), Heidelberg, 1913. Its history has been traced and the many poetical adaptations have been published in the fundamental work by Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886. For the tradition in England cf. Pfister, 'Auf den Spuren Alexander's in der älteren englischen Literatur', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatshefte* XVI, 1928, p. 81 ff. Cf. also *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, ed. F. W. Bateson, I, 1940, p. 142, ff. For the interrelation of the *Historia de proeliis* and the marvel treatises cf. James, *Marvels*, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff.

[128] *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*. Cf. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman* (Slg. vulgärlateinischer Texte 4), 1910. Cf. also Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, p. 555 ff.

[129] Cf. e.g. the MSS of *Le Roman de toute chevalerie* by Eustace or Thomas of Kent (mid 13th century), Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275, ff. A number of illustrated Alexander MSS of the 14th and 15th centuries discussed by Druce, *Arch. Journal*, 1915 (*op. cit.*), p. 137 f. Cf. also Bodley 264, publ. by M. R. James, 1933.

[130] Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. cod. CCCCXVII. Rep. II, 4°. 143, f 103v. Cf. R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, p. 176 ff.

[131] Bibl. Royale cod. 11040, f. 73. Cf. E. Bacha, *Les très belles miniatures de la Bibl. r. de Belgique*, Paris, 1913, Pl. 2 (another page of the same MS).

[132] Made in Tournai in 1459, cf. A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1932, I, p. 247.

[133] For Frutolf cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters* III, München, 1931, p. 351. *MG. SS.* 6, p. 70 ff., a long chapter: 'De mirabilibus rebus, quas Alexander vidisse dicitur.'

Otto of Freising, however, in his *Chronicon* (II, 25), written mid 12th century, was obviously sceptical; his reference is short: ' . . . qui scire vult, legat epistolam Alexandri ad Aristotelem . . . in qua pericula eius quae passus est . . . et multa quae tam mirabilia sunt, ut etiam incredibilia videantur, diligens inquisitor rerum inveniet' (*MG. SS.* 20, p. 155).

[134] *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 780, 783 f., 815, etc.

[135] *Historia orientalis seu Hierosolymitana*. The marvels mainly appear in the later parts of Book One. Vitry makes an interesting remark about his sources: 'Tous les détails que je viens de rapporter, en interrompant un moment mon récit historique, je les ai empruntés soit aux écrivains orientaux et à la carte du monde, soit aux écrits des bienheureux Augustin et Isidore, et aux livres de Pline et de Solin.' (Quoted from the translation by Guizot in *Coll. des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, 1825, vol. 22, p. 223.) This shows that for Vitry the *mappae mundi* were sources for historical information. About Vitry's sources cf. also Doberentz in *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil., op. cit.*, p. 426 ff. and Pfister in *Berliner philol. Wochenschr.*, 7 Sept. 1912, c. 1232.

[136] All the sources about Prester John were collected by F. Zarncke in *Abhandlg. der philol.-hist. Classe d. kgl. Sächsischen Ges. d. Wissenschaften* VII and VIII, 1876–79. Zarncke discussed 96 MSS with the letter of Prester John. Cf. also the references in Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic, op. cit.*, II, p. 236 ff. (Prester John and the Marvels of India).

[137] Cf. the material published by Zarncke, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 947–1028, and by Langlois, *Vie en France, op. cit.*, III, pp. 44–70. I have to refrain from following up the story into that field, just as in the case of the Romance of Alexander. I must also omit the many references to the marvels in English literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Much material for one side of this question can be found in P. Ansell Robin, *Animal Lore in Engl. Literature*, London, 1932.

[138] Cf. Zarncke, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 7 ff. An attempt of interpreting the letter by Prester John as a political utopia was made by L. Olschki, 'Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes', *Historische Zeitschr.* 144, 1931, pp. 1–14, cf. also his *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, 1937, p. 194 ff. Cf. also the contributions by Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1903, I, pp. 231–37, Wright, *Geographical Lore, op. cit.*, pp. 283–86, and Kimble, *Geography, op. cit.*, p. 128 ff.

[139] Most complete collection of the material by Arturo Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, Turin, 1892–3, I, pp. 1–238. 'Il mito del Paradiso terrestre.' Cf. also Pullé, *La cartografia antica dell'India, op. cit.*, II, p. 80 ff. A valuable résumé in Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f., 261 ff. Cf. also E. von Dobschütz, 'Wo suchen die Menschen das Paradies?', *Mitt. d. Schlesischen Ges. f. Volkskunde* XIII–XIV, 1911–12, pp. 246–55, and S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 1901, pp. 250–65: 'The Terrestrial Paradise', with material also from the 17th–19th centuries. As late as 1842 Sir W. Ouseley read a paper before the Literary Society in London about the situation of Eden.

About other elements of mythical geography cf. Olschki, *Storia lett., op. cit.*, pp. 142–63 with further references.

[140] *De civ. Dei* XVI, cap. 9.

[141] An exhaustive study of the whole question by Giuseppe Boffito, 'La leggenda degli antipodi', in *Miscellanea di studi critici ed. in onore di Arturo Graf*, Bergamo, 1903, pp. 583–601. Cf. also Wright, *Geogr. Lore, op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff., 159 f., 385 f., 429.

[142] *Etym.*, IX, 2: 'Jam vero hi qui Antipodes dicuntur, eo quod contrarii esse vestigiis nostris putantur, ut quasi sub terris positi adversa pedibus nostris calcent vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est . . .' Cf. also XIV, 5.

[143] Cf. note 20. Isidore, *Etym.* XI, 3, 24: 'Antipodes in Libya plantas versas habent post crura, et octenos digitos in plantis.'

[144] Bodl. 614, f. 50r.

[145] Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, III, p. 457 and passim.

[146] Ptolemy's geography was first translated into Latin by Jacobus Angelus, *c.* 1400–06.

[147] *Liber Cronicarum*, Nürnberg, 1493, f. 12r–4. Second ed. Augsburg, 1499. German eds. Nürnberg, 1494 and Augsburg, 1496, 1500.

[148] He also quotes the Greek sources, but his knowledge of them probably came through Pliny. It may also be noted that Schedel made use of the cosmography by Aethicus which was known to him in a MS of AD 754. Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit., op. cit.*, I, 1911, p. 233. But Schedel's immediate source was – as is well known – Filippo Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicarum*, Bergamo, 1483 (and many later editions), on which also Giuliano Dati drew extensively in his very rare book on the marvels of India, *Il secondo Cantare dell'India*, Rome, 1494/5. In this work, however, the fabulous races, who appear in delightful woodcuts, are used as a pretext of moral and devotional expositions. Cf. L. Olschki, 'I "Cantàri dell'India" di Giuliano Dati', *Bibliofilia* XL, 1938, pp. 289–316.

[149] *Chronika, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibel*, Strasbourg, 1531. In the ed. of 1585, p. 23 f. His list of fabulous races follows Schedel closely, but he transferred the people with long ears from Scythia to Sicily!

[150] In *Vie des hommes illustres*.

[151] Cf. Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire histor.*, 1759, X, p. 139.

[152] Cf. vol. I, pp. 390, 442 f.

[153] Vol. I, p. 52.

[154] Ktesias described it with the tail of a scorpion, cf. note 10.

[155] Representations of the martikhora were common during the Middle Ages. As has been mentioned (note 118) the martikhora is a feature of a group of bestiaries with text from Solinus; examples: Cambridge, Univ. Libr. II, 4. 26, f. 15v (12th cent., ill. in James, *The Bestiary, op. cit.*) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 53, f. 193v (14th cent., ill. in James, *A Peterborough Psalter, op. cit.*). Early specimens of the martikhora on the column of Souvigny Abbey, ill. in Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 324, and in the mosaic pavement of the Cathedral of Aosta, cf. Aus'm Weerth, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.

[156] *Boiot.* IX, 21, 4. Pausanias thinks that the false reports were circulated 'amongst the Indians owing to their excessive fear of the beast'.

[157] About Münster cf. F. Gundolf, *Anfänge deutscher Geschichtsschreibung*, Amsterdam, 1938, pp. 53–65.

[158] There appeared at least 46 different editions. François de Belleforest made Münster the foundation of his *Cosmographie universelle*, Paris, 1552 ff. An English abstract was published by Richard Eden, *A briefe collection gathered oute of the cosmographye of S. Munster*, 1572 and 1574.

159 Ed. Basel 1545, p. 752 f.

160 Repetitions of pictures throughout the book illustrate different stories. After the fabulous races had appeared in India (p. 750 ff.) they were mentioned again and illustrated as possibly existing in Africa (p. 808 ff.). There were, of course, a number of other 16th-century cosmographers who accepted the existence of monstrous races, e.g. Gemma Frisius, *De principiis astronomiae et cosmographiae*, Basel, 1530, pars III, cap. 26. 'De India'. Frisius was a follower of Copernicus. Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, VI (1941) p. 275.

161 The bicephali were mentioned by Isidore and often illustrated, e.g. in the Milan Solinus (f. 40v) with the inscription cinocephali; cf. also the woodcut in Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* (Pl. 81).

162 15th century: Mandeville, Augsburg, 1482, cf. below, p. 73 – Mid 14th century: *Livre des Merveilles*, Paris Bib. Nat. cod. fr. 2810, cf. Note 242 and Chapter IV, pp. 75–92 – 13th century: Hereford map; Sens Cathedral, Grand Portal, as part of an encyclopaedic programme. – End 12th century: Map in Beatus Apocalypse, Paris, Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. lat. 1366, cf. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*, 1931, p. 49. – Probably 1113: St-Parize-le-Châtel, capital. Cf. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, p. 120, ill. 25.

163 'Von unergründtlichenn wunderwercken Gottes, die er syd anbeginn der Welt in seltzamen geschöpffen, missgeburten, in erscheinungen an dem himmel, auff der erden, in den wassern den mentschen zur anmahnung, schrecken, mit sondern bedeutungen und nachgedencken fürgepracht.' These subtitles do not appear in the Latin edition.

164 This idea was widely spread by popular pamphlets, cf. Hans Fehr, *Massenkunst im 16. Jahrhundert. Flugblätter aus der Slg. Wickiana*, Berlin, 1924, p. 14 ff.

165 *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, p. 522 ff.

166 *Prodigiorum ostentorum et monstrorum quae in saeculum Maximilianeum inciderunt quaeque aliis temporibus apparuerunt, interpretatio.* 1502. As MS in the University Libr. at Innsbruck, cf. H. J. Hermann, *Die ill. Handschr. in Tirol*, 1905, No. 314.

167 Vienna, N. B. cod. 4417*: *Tractatus de Signis, Prodigiis, & Portentis antiquis et Novis.*

168 Warburg, *op. cit.*, p. 522, note 2.

169 *Wunderzeichen. Warhafftige beschreibung und gründlich verzeichnus schrecklicher Wunderzeichen und Geschichten 1517–1556*, Jena, 1556.

170 *Lectiones memorabiles.* A vast collection of chronologically arranged excerpts from other authors. Warburg characterized this sort of historiography 'dass sie die Weltgeschichte gleichsam auf Schienen ablaufen lässt, an denen die Weltmirakel wie Wärterhäuschen stehen'.

171 Cf. note 58. Printed together with the letters of the younger Pliny, etc. There followed 12 new editions before Lycosthenes published the treatise, together with the *De prodigiis* by Polydore Vergil and the *De ostentis* by Camerarius, in Basel 1552. The interest in classical prodigies did not slacken. J. G. Graevius included in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum*, 1696, vol. 5, p. 758 ff., a lengthy treatise by J. C. Boulenger, *De Prodigiis*, with a systematic arrangement of a vast material, cf. mainly cap. 16: 'Monstrosi parti' and cap. 17: 'De Androgynis, et Monstris.'

172 *Histoires prodigieuses les plus memorables qui ayent esté observées, depuis la Nativité de Jesus Christ, jusques à nostre siecle*, Paris, 1560. This book, which is richly illustrated, was a great success. More than 10 editions appeared after 1560 as well as translations into Spanish, Dutch and English. E. Fenton published the last under the title *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, London, 1569.

173 *Catalogus prodigorum, miraculorum, atque ostentorum, tam coelo quam in terra, in poenam scelerum, ac magnarum in Mundo vicissitudinum significationem*, Nuremberg, 1563.

174 *De conceptu et Generatione hominis*, 1554. An article about 'J. Rueff und die Anfänge der Teratologie', in *Janus* 30, 1926, was not available to me.

175 *Deux Livres de Chirurgie*, Paris, 1573. An English translation of the works by Paré by Th. Johnson, London, 1634.

176 *De naturae divinis characterismis; seu Raris et admirandis spectaculis, causis, indiciis, proprietatibus rerum.* Antwerp, 1575. Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, VI, 1941, p. 406 ff. Cf. also other material *ibid.*, p. 488 ff.

177 *Op. cit.*, p. 95v: 'j'ay protesté plusieurs fois que je ne rempliray mes écritz d'aucune chose fabuleuse, ny d'histoire aucune, laquelle je ne verifie par autorité de quelque fameux auteur Grec, ou Latin, sacré ou prophane.'

178 *Ibid.*, p. 138v.

179 P. 69.

180 *Anthropometamorphosis: Men Transformed: or The Artificiall Changling*, London, 1653 (1st ed. 1650), pp. 34 ff., 300 f.

181 Cf. above, note 167. F. 9v. The inscription reads: 'Anno Cristi IX°XIIII monstrum habens Caput Caninum et cetera membra sicut homo presentur Ludivico. Et bene potuit monstruosam statum significare huius temporis ubi homines sine Capite quasi canes latrando hinc inde vacillabant.' The year 914 is a slip and must read 814; the last picture treated a portent under Charlemagne. – Mennel's text was taken verbally from Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, a popular universal history, which was first printed in Cologne in 1474 and had an extraordinary success; 30 editions and different translations appeared during the 15th century. Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, Lib. 31, cap. 126 (ed. 1624, *c.* 2392).

182 For the history of teratology cf. above all Jules Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques*, Paris, 1836; Isidore Geoffroy St-Hilaire, *Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies*, Paris, 1832–7, 3 vols.; Ernest Martin, *Histoire des monstres*, 1880; Cesare Taruffi, *Storia della teratologia*, Bologna, 1881–94, in vol. I the most comprehensive study of the history of teratology (p. 152–75 about the fabulous races); Ernst Schwalbe, *Die Morphologie der Missbildungen des Menschen und der Tiere*, Jena, 1906 ff., I, pp. 5–21 'Geschichte und Literatur der Teratologie'. Cf. also bibliography by Grässe, *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica*, Leipzig, 1843.

183 Eugen Holländer, *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt*, Stuttgart, 1921, pp. 61–83, treated the question of objective representations of monsters from a medical point of view and came to the conclusion that the earliest prints tried rather more than the later ones to give an accurate picture of individual monstrosities.

184 *Observationum medicarum rariorum libri VII*, Frankfurt, 1600. Later ed. 1604 (Freiburg), 1609 (Frankfurt), 1644 (Lyons), 1655 (Frankfurt). Single volumes on the head, the breast, etc. appeared during the 1580s and 1590s before the general edition of 1600.

185 *De miraculis vivorum seu de variis hominum*, Frankfurt, 1614. Later ed. *Opera curiosa*, Frankfurt, 1694.

186 Aldrovandi (1522–1605), a scholar of immense learning but somewhat more credulous than one would expect a man of his calibre to be – he accepted all the old authorities including Solinus and even Mandeville – endeavoured to lay the foundation of a modern *Historia naturalis*. It is characteristic that for him

a work on monsters had to form part of a comprehensive natural history. Of his whole work only 3 folios appeared during his life-time, the rest were edited from his manuscripts and with additions by his pupils. About A.'s life and work cf. Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1781, I, p. 165 ff.; about his scientific method cf. J. V. Carus, *Geschichte der Zoologie*, München, 1872, p. 290 ff. and Thorndike, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 276 ff.

187 *De gen. anim.* IV, 4, 770^{b}, 9–19. Eds. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross.

188 *De Hermaphroditorum monstrorumque partuum Natura*, Oppenheim, 1614 (2nd ed. 1629), cf. mainly p. 59 ff.

189 Padua, 1616; 2nd ed. 1634; 3rd ed. by G. Blasius with an appendix from the work of Tulp (cf. below, p. 68) 1665; 4th ed. 1668; French translation by Jean Palfyn, Leyden, 1708. Modern French ed. by F. Houssay, *De la nature des causes des différences des monstres d' après F. L.*, Paris, 1937.

190 Cf. Carus, *Gesch. d. Zoologie*, *op. cit.*, p. 265 f.

191 pp. 49v–50, cap 66: 'Multiformes hominum effigies, & mira quaedam de hominibus alia.' pp. 71v–72, cap 91: 'De monstrosis quibusdam aliis animalibus in India aut Aethiopia prognatis.'

192 *The historie of fourfooted beasts . . . collected out of all the volumes of Conrad Gesner*, 1607. The 2nd ed. was edited by J. Rowland.

193 2nd ed., pp. 7, 8, 10, 14. This classification is based on classical sources, cf. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f., 67 f., 79 f. and was kept alive throughout the Middle Ages, cf. note 54.

194 *Ibid.*, p. 551 ff.

195 *Ibid.*, p. 343 f.

196 Amsterdam, 1641.

197 P. 274 ff., cap. 56, Pl. 14. The specimen was, in fact, a chimpanzee, cf. Carus, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

198 Cf. above, p. 46.

199 V, 8, 46; VII, 2, 24 and 30; VIII, 80, 216; X, 93, 199.

200 27, 60 (ed. Mommsen).

201 F. 37r, cf. above, p. 51.

202 Written early 12th century. *PL.* 177, c. 62, Lib. II, 12: 'De Simiis.'

203 'De satiris monstruosis', heading in B. M. Harl. 3244 (early 13th cent.), cf. Druce, *Arch. Journal* 1915, p. 157; James, *Bestiary*, p. 17, No. 22.

204 12th century: B. M. Burney 527, cf. Mann in *Anglia* VII, p. 448; Oxford, Bodl. Ashmole 1511, f. 19r and the later copy Douce 151, f. 15r, cf. James, *Bestiary*, p. 14, Nos. 15, 16; Cambridge, Univ. Libr. II. 4. 26, f. 10v–11r, cf. James, p. 38 f. – 13th century: Oxford, St John's Coll. 61, f. 12v, cf. James, p. 18, No. 28. – 14th century: Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 53, f. 192r, cf. James, *A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary*, 1921, Nos. 15, 16.

205 Oxford, Bodl. 764, f. 17v and B. M. Harl. 4751, f. 11v, both late 12th century. James, *Bestiary*, p. 15, Nos. 18, 19, says that 'these two copies stand alone'.

206 Rome, Vat. Urb. lat. 276, f. 51r. Stornajolo, *Cod. Urbinates*, 1885, I: 'Petri Candidi de omnium animalium naturis . . . ad illustrissimum principem D. Ludovicum Gonzagam.' Luzio-Renier in *Giornale stor. d. lett. ital.* XVI, 1890, p. 147 f. identified the author as the humanist Pier Candido Decembrio. The MS is datable by means of a letter of 1460 in which Lodovico Gonzaga asked the author to have his work illustrated. Cf. also E. Ditt, 'Pier Candido Decembrio', *Memorie del R. Ist. Lombardo di science e lettere, Cl. di lettere*, etc. XXIV, ii, 1931, p. 24.

207 *Op. cit.*, pp. 140–92: 'De Satyris.'

208 Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 254 ff.

209 *Op. cit.* (note 180), introduction.

210 Quoted by Bulwer, p. 20. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana* (1595) (in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* X, 1904, p. 406 f.), states explicitly that he had not seen these people, 'but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethinke to make the report.'

211 St Augustine's apocryphal *Sermo* 37 *Ad Fratres in eremo* was often quoted as proof that he saw – travelling as Bishop of Hippo in Ethiopia – many men and women without heads and with eyes in their breasts.

212 *Op. cit.*, p. 24 ff.

213 Pantagruel (lib. V, caps. 30, 31) meets the most fantastic monsters, ethnographical, mythological and imaginary ones, in the 'pays de Satin, tant renommé entre les pages de cour'.

Benedetto Varchi, the Florentine humanist, declared in a lecture read in 1548 to the Florentine Academy that the monstrous races 'siano cose favolose'. (*Lezzione sopra la generazione de' Mostri*, in *La prima parte delle Lezzioni*, Florence, 1560, p. 92 ff.)

214 *A Discourse concerning Prodigies: wherein the Vanity of Presages by them is reprehended, and their true and proper Ends asserted and vindicated*, Cambridge, 1663, p. 104.

215 Shakespeare probably used the old encyclopaedia of Bartholomew the Englishman in the edition of 1582, reissued after the English translation by John of Trevisa (Westminster, 1495).

216 *Fasciculi admirandorum naturae accretio. Oder der Spielenden Natur Kunstwercke in verschidenen Missgeburthen*, Strasbourg, 1679–83.

217 'In Europe are very beautiful men; but they have a crane's head, and neck, and beak. These designate judges, who ought to have long necks and beaks, in order that what the heart thinks may be long before it reaches the mouth.' Translation by Charles Swan, revised ed. by Wynnard Hooper, London, 1877, p. 340. Here the *Turkish Tales* (II, p. 364) are quoted as the source of the *Gesta*.

218 First published by Eugen Holländer, *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt in Einblattdrucken des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 292.

219 *Ibid.*, p. 291.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

221 Pamphlet in 4 languages with Dutch in the first place. Copy British Museum, Print Room.

222 Copy British Museum. A poem about the monster at the foot of the print should be sung to the tune of 'The Gallant London Apprentice', or 'I am a Jovial Bachelor'.

223 Cf. C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Lore of Monsters*, London, 1930, p. 149.

224 The marvels remained a feature of the maps for a very long time. A few hints must suffice. The Borgia map (mid 15th century, Miller, *op. cit.*, III, p. 148 f.) shows the 'montes Yperborei' in the north with griffins and tigers, and horned people live in India, etc. Walsperger's map of 1448 (Miller III, p. 147 ff.) populates the north and Ethiopia with a long list of fabulous races. In Andrea Bianco's map of 1436 (Miller III, p. 143 ff.) Paradise and the realm of Prester John appear in Asia, together with the people without heads and the cynocephali in Africa. Still in Martin Behaim's famous globe of 1492 sciapodes are to be seen in central South Africa

and sirens, satyrs, cynocephali appear in the inscriptions while Prester John is the emperor of India. Behaim quotes as his sources mainly Ptolemy, Marco Polo and Mandeville, but Pliny, Pomponius Mela, the Romance of Alexander and others were also used, cf. E. G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, London, 1908, pp. 59, 62 f., 71. Finally Gio Matteo Contarini in his map of 1506 populates India with cynocephali and people without heads, cf. *A Map of the World* designed by G. M. Contarini. Engr. by Francesco Roselli 1506. Printed by order of the Trustees, British Museum, 1924, p. 9.

225 It is interesting to find this corroborated by the regulations made by William of Wykeham for the students of New College, Oxford: 'When in the winter, on the occasion of any holiday a fire is lighted for the fellows of the great hall, the fellows and scholars may, after their dinner or their supper, amuse themselves in a suitable manner with singing or reciting poetry, or with the chronicles of different kingdoms and the wonders of the world.' Cf. Cooley, *The History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, London, 1830, I, p. 229. Cf. also the chapter 'Portenti e meraviglie' in Olschki, *Storia lett. delle scop. geogr.*, 1937, p. 21 ff.

226 Yule, *The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus* (Hakluyt Soc.), 1863, p. 43. Friar Jordanus stayed in India from about 1320 onwards.

227 P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, Florence, 1926, I, p. 531 f.; Yule, *Cathay, op. cit.*, III, p. 169. Marignola's mission in the East lasted from 1338 to 1353. It may be noted that he was otherwise very critical with regard to the monstrous nations, cf. Wyngaert, p. 545 f.

228 Everyman's Library, Vol. 812, pp. 267, 270. Odoric's journey, full of marvellous events, lasted from about 1314–30.

229 Graf, *Il mito del Par. terr., op. cit.*, p. 3. The journey was supposed to have taken place about 1400.

230 A. P. Newton, *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, London, 1926, p. 165 f.; Olschki, *Stor. lett., op. cit.*, p. 17. Here and passim detailed analysis of Columbus' mythical geography.

231 A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, *Hakluyt Soc.* LXXI, ii, 1885, p. 9.

232 Wyngaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 74. Carpini was entrusted by Pope Innocent IV with a diplomatic mission to the Mongolean court.

233 Yule, *Marco Polo, op. cit.*, II, pp. 309–12 and Cordier, *Addenda*, 1920, p. 109.

234 Wyngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

235 Yule, *Jordanus, op. cit.*, p. 44.

236 Yule, *Cathay, op. cit.*, IV, p. 93; H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta. Travels in Asia and Africa. 1325–1354*, London, 1939, p. 272. The Mohammedan Ibn Battuta, one of the greatest travellers of all times, began his journeys through the then known part of the world in 1325.

237 Travelled 1245, cf. Wyngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

238 Olschki, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

239 German ed. Basle, 1563, p. 91 (1st ed. Latin 1549, German 1557). Cf. also G. Hennig, 'Die Reiseberichte über Sibirien', *Mitt. d. Vereins f. Erdkunde*, 1905, p. 261 ff. Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein (1486–1566) was a German diplomat in Moscow. His mention of fabulous races goes back to a report which had reached him.

240 Cf. the letter by B. Castiglione to the Marchioness of Mantua, 15 April 1524; cf. Boffito, 'La leggenda degli antipodi', *op. cit.*

241 Camillo Manfroni, *Relazione del primo viaggo intorno al mondo de Antonio Pigafetta*, Milan, 1928, pp. 248, 253, 258.

242 Paris, Bib Nat. fr. 2810. Publ. by Omont, *Le Livre des Merveilles*, Paris, 1907. Copy of the late 14th century made for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Pl 123, f. 29v, is one of the illustrations to Marco Polo showing monsters from the country of the 'Merkites'. Characteristically, Marco Polo only mentions this tribe as being very wild. It was located by Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1903, I, p. 271, south-east of the Baikal.

243 The original Mandeville, written in Liège in about 1355, has not been preserved, but more than 300 Mandeville MSS are known. His main source was the marvellous report of Friar Odoric. Cf. A. Bovenschen, 'Johann von Mandeville and die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung', *Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* XXIII, 1888, pp. 177–306.

244 Odoric, cap. 24.

245 The better knowledge of India and the East made itself felt already during the 13th century. In Genoa a society for the promotion of commerce with India was founded in 1224, cf. Pullé, *La cartogr. antica dell'India, op. cit.*, p. 63. For commercial interrelations at a somewhat later period cf. Friedrich Kunstmann, *Die Kenntnis Indiens im 15. Jahrh.*, München, 1863, p. 1 ff.

246 Mainly in the 14th and 15th centuries after the search in Asia had been unsuccessful, cf. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, Leiden, 1938, III, p. 69; Olschki, *Stor. lett., op. cit.*, p. 200 ff. *idem* in *Bibliofilia* 1938, p. 297 f. A valuable chapter, in which the Portuguese contribution of the 15th and 16th centuries is discussed, by E. Denison Ross, 'Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia', in Newton, *Travel and Travellers of the M. A.*, 1926, pp. 174–94.

247 Pullé, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ff.

248 Cf. note 224 and A. Rosenthal in *Journal of the Warburg Institute* I, p. 258 f.

249 Tailed men always stimulated the imagination of travellers. Marco Polo found them in Sumatra, others in Borneo, Formosa, Paraguay and New Guinea. Cf. C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Lore of Monsters*, 1930, p. 22 f., and S. Baring-Gould, 'Tailed Men', in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 1901, pp. 145–60, who also collected folklore material and the 19th-century reports.

250 S. Freud, 'Mythologische Parallele zu einer plastischen Zwangsvorstellung', *Internat. Zeitschr. f. ärztl. Psychoanalyse* IV, 1916–17, p. 110 f.; S. Ferenczi, 'Gulliver Phantasies', *The internat. Journal of Psycho-Analysis* IX, 1928, p. 283 ff.

IV Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition

1 Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, Florence, 1928, p. cxciv. For the following see also Giuseppe Tucci in *East and West*, vol. V, no. 1.

2 Published by Omont, *Le Livre des Merveilles*, Paris, 1907. The illustrations were created in the workshop of the so-called Boucicaut Master who has sometimes been identified with Jacques Coëne. See the discussion of this progressive Paris workshop in Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1954, pp. 54, 381 (with full bibliography).

3 Benedetto, p. 171.

4 B. M., MS Royal 12. F. XIII.

5 Richard Ettinghausen, *Studies in Muslim Iconography, The Unicorn*, Washington, 1950, p. 103.

6 *Benedetto, p.* 199.

7 Omont, pl. 76.

8 Benedetto, p. 206 f. For a more extended account of the Roc see pp. 93–96.

[9] It appears, e.g., in Kazwini's 13th-century standard work on geography. See p. 95.

[10] Tapestry in S. Gereon, Cologne, probably late 11th cent.; see Betty Kurth, *Deutsche Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1926, p. 22 ff.

[11] Omont, pl. 79.

[12] Omont, pl. 180; *Mandeville's Travels*, London, 1953, p. 186. Mandeville calls the centaurs 'ypotams', i.e. hippopotami.

[13] Benedetto, p. 116.

[14] Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1875, II, p. 62.

[15] Omont, pl. 51.

[16] E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, London, 1896, p. 167. In his mid-13th-century encyclopedia, in which he summarized current knowledge, Vincent of Beauvais mentions that the basilisk has a tail like a serpent (*Spec. nat.*, XXI, 24).

[17] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 292.

[18] Benedetto, p. 176.

[19] Omont, pl. 70.

[20] Benedetto, p. 191. I do not know whether there is any factual basis for this story.

[21] Cap. 24 in Everyman's Library edition (vol. 812).

[22] Omont, pl. 92.

[23] See, e.g., the Augsburg print of Mandeville's Travels, of 1482, fol. g .

[24] Benedetto, p. 47.

[25] *Hist. an.*, V, 552*b*.

[26] Omont, pl. 30.

[27] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[28] B. M. MS Royal 15. E. VI, fol. 18r.

[29] The people living there are called 'Mecri(t)', see Benedetto, p. 57.

[30] Omont, pl. 30.

[31] *Ibid.*, pl. 163.

[32] Benedetto, p. 174.

[33] H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, p. 332.

[34] Ktesias, 33.

[35] Oxford, Bodl. 764, f. 17v. For the tradition of this formula see p. 68 and pl. 99 and Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[36] Something similar survives in the popular illustrated press and also in the cinema. Hollywood, for instance, uses the same Wild West shots again and again in completely different contexts.

[37] Paris, Bib. Nat. MS Français 1386, f. 103v.

[38] Omont, pls. 38, 58.

[39] F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipr. Leo*, Heidelberg, 1913.

[40] Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886.

[41] F. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman*, 1910.

[42] Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 143.

[43] Fol. 103v.

[44] Milan, Ambrosiana, cod. C. 246 inf., fol. 57r.

[45] Benedetto, p. 32.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[47] B. M. MS Royal 20. A. V., f. 61r.

[48] Letts, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[49] Omont, pl. 190.

[50] *Itinerarius Guilielmi de Boldensele*, ed. Grotefend, in *Zeitschr. d. histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1852.

[51] See R. Lendertz, *La Soc. des Frères Pérégrinantes*, I, Rome, 1937, pp. 168 f., 184 f.

[52] *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, Documents arméniens, II, 1906.

[53] Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Il libro della peregrinazione nelle parti d'Oriente*, Rome, 1948.

[54] M. R. James, *The Romance of Alexander*, Oxford, 1933.

[55] *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in J. C. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Leipzig, 1864. Engl. translation by A. Stewart, 1896.

[56] Full analysis of the MS by D. J. A. Ross, 'Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany', *Scriptorium*, VI, i, 1952, p. 63 ff. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Ross for allowing me to draw on his unequalled knowledge of the Alexander material.

V 'Roc'

[1] The first sheet with the inscription: Ioannes Stradanus inven., Adrianus Collaert sculp., Joan Galle excudit, and with Stradanus' dedication to the brothers Lodovico and Luigi Alamanni. Notes on the Alamanni (a noble family of Florence) which we could not examine, in Florence, Bibl. Naz., Carte del Passerini, No. 44. One of the brothers seems to be a writer Luigi who lived from 1558–1603. The series cannot have been issued long before 1590. (Engraver Collaert: *c.* 1560–1618. The edition which we are using, arranged in the seventeenth century by Ioan Galle [1600–75]).

[2] Primo volume e seconda edizione, 1554, p. 407.

[3] Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, 1872, II, p. 94.

[4] An epithet of the Garuda is Gajakúrmásin, i.e., elephant-cum-tortoise-devourer. Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1903, II, p. 409.

[5] About the etymology: Garuda-Simurgh-Roc cf. Casartelli, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXVIII, 1891, p. 345–6.

[6] For the identity of Garuda and Roc cf. Kalipada Mitra, *The Bird and Serpent Myth*, *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) XVI, 1925–6, p. 189. Traces of the roc legend can be found in the griffin of the Greeks (cf. Philostr., *Vita Apoll.* III, 48) in the Christian allegorization of the Syrian *Physiologus* (cf. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 1889, p. 83), and even in the Edda (cf. Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, p. 191). On the other hand, another track leads to the East: in China the bird pheng can swallow camels (cf. Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, 1911, p. 149, and H. Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda*, 1920, p. 122.).

[7] Gildemeister, *Script. Arabum de Rebus Indicis*, 1838, p. 220.

[8] Cf. E. W. Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, 1883, iii, p. 85 ff.

[9] Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, IV, 1916, p. 146.

[10] Marco Polo explicitly opposes the view that this bird is identical with the griffin. So it is called under the spell of Greek mythology by most of the European travellers.

[11] Travelled 1160–73. According to him, ship-wrecked sailors in the Chinese Sea wrap themselves up in the skins of oxen

and are seized by griffins which take them for cattle. Cf. M. Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, 1928, p. 311–12.

[12] *Herzog Ernst*. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch, 1869, pp. 90 ff., verse 4124 ff. This text derives from the end of the twelfth century.

[13] *The Wonders of the East*. Ed. H. Yule, 1863 (Hakluyt Society).

[14] *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Ch. 85 (Everyman's Library 812, p. 194–5): The Griffin 'wyl beare to his nest flying, a horse and a man upon his back, or two Oxen yoked togither . . .'

[15] Major, *India in the 15th century*, 1857, p. 29–30 (Hakluyt Soc.).

[16] D. P. Zurla, *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, 1806, p. 62. About a map of the 16th century which locates the roc in the same part of the world, cf. Major, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix. A very good bibliography of the roc and other fabulous birds related to it in Chanoin, *Bibliogr. des Ouvrages Arabes*, 1892–1909, V. 225, VII, 10–14.

[17] A Persian miniature of this type in the Royal Asiatic Society in London, illustrated in Lane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 86.

[18] *Ornithologiae hoc est de Avibus Historiae Libri XII*. Bologna, 1599. Lib. X, p. 610. Aldrovandi reports that he got the picture of the roc 'ex tabulis geographicis Cornelii de Judaeis'. Only the *Speculum* of Cornelis de Jode from 1593 can be meant. But this work does not contain any such picture. Confusions are not rare in Aldrovandi's work (cf. *Encycl. Italiana, s.v.* Aldrovandi).

[19] *Dittamondo* VI, cap. 5.

VI Chance, Time and Virtue

[1] For a thorough investigation of the word καιρός and its change of meaning, cf. Doro Levy, *Il καιρός attraverso la letteratura Greca, Rendiconti della R. Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Cl. di Scienze Morali*. Serie V, vol. 32, 1923, p. 260 ff. Cf. also H. Fränkel, *Die Zeitauffassung in der archaischen griechischen Literatur, Vierter Kongress für Ästhetik* . . . 1931, pp. 97–111.

[2] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie des klass. Altertums, s.v. Kairos*.

[3] His *Kairos* chapter in the *Adagia* (*Opera* 1540, II, p. 252) bears the title: 'Nosce Tempus. γνῶθι καιρόν, id est, noveris tempus.'

[4] *De Inventione* I, 27. Shortly before that passage Cicero gives a definition of time (I, 26): 'Tempus autem est . . . pars quædam aeternitatis cum alicuius annui, menstrui, diurni, nocturnive spatii certa significatione.'

[5] Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, 1927, p. 115 ff., has collected some literary material illustrating the connection between Fortuna, Occasio and Tempus during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

A late Roman sarcophagus (G. de Nicola in *Boll. d'Arte* II, 1908, pp. 88–91) showing among other figures *Occasio* (with one foot on a wheel) and *Tempus* (with balance) under different arches is, as far as we know, quite unique in Antiquity. In the sarcophagus the two notions of Time seem to appear as symbols of transitoriness. Similar ancient representations were already known in the 15th century (cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Antikengärten*, 1917, p. 12, and Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, 1905, p. 149), but never show the two notions of Time together.

[6] *Occasio arrepta, neglecta. Huius commoda: illius incommoda*. Antwerp, 1605. Italian ed. 1606. In 1605 the same material appeared also in dramatic form. For Jean David of Courtrai (1545–1613) and his works cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1891, II, col. 1844 ff.

[7] Two years before the publication of the book the engravings were issued alone as a small volume with the title: *Typus Occasionis in quo receptae commoda, neglectae vero incommoda, personato schemate proponuntur.*

[8] Cf. the 'Praefatio ad lectorem'.

[9] E.g. the sphere strangely placed upon the head of Time: 'Sphaera enim in capite, motum caelestium corporum significat, quo tempora distingui supra declaravimus' (p. 8). The objects held by Chance are symbols of the gifts which she has to present, such as 'verum honorem et gloriam, divitias, victoriae palmam, pacis oliviferae bonum', etc.

[10] The heading runs: 'Dum Tempus labitur, Occasionem fronte capillatam remorantur.'

[11] The boys notice that Occasio is bald behind: 'Post est occasio calva.' This passage, together with the 'frons capillata' quoted above, forms part of a famous distich by Cato (II, 26):

Rem tibi quam nosces aptam dimittere noli:

Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva.

Cato's distichs were already very popular in the Middle Ages; they always served as a school book. Any fairly well educated man knew them, and J. David shows how they fit into his Christian scheme. For Cato's occasio-distichon cf. Kittredge in *Modern Language Notes*, VIII, 1893, p. 231, and Pietsch, *ibid.*, p. 235 ff.

[12] Of this composition there exist two oil sketches, one in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna, the other in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg, and three paintings (with variations in the arrangement of the allegories) in Sanssouci, Weimar, and the former Coll. Miethke. On the whole question, cf. Burchard in *Cat. of the Miethke Sale*, Dorotheum Vienna, 12/6, VI, 1933, No. 69.

[13] A possible source for Rubens' combination of Prudence and Chance may have been a medal of Henry IV of 1599 showing these two allegories united under the motto: 'Quamcumque Regam.' Cf. J. de Bie, *La France métallique*, 1636, pp. 263–4.

[14] Cf. F. Saxl, *Veritas Filia Temporis*, in *Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer*, p. 211.

[15] Cf. H. Bouchot in *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1901, 2, pp. 102, 229 ff. Reverdy was born in Lyons and worked there and in Italy between 1531 and 1564.

[16] This feature, originally a sign of power over the world, was transferred from Chance to Truth, and is best known through Bernini's famous figure of Truth, cf. also a corresponding illustration in Doni's *Filosofia Morale*.

[17] Cf. also Reverdy's French contemporary, the painter Jean Cousin, who remarks on Pl. 195 of his *Livre de Fortune* (1568), ed. Lalanne 1883, that 'the Fates are called the servants of *Fortuna*'.

[18] Cf. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, 1930, p. 8 ff. The encircling snake and the key are the usual symbols of Aion.

[19] Signature: D.L.M.SC.

[20] The legend runs that lions wipe out their tracks with their tails, in order not to be betrayed by them to the hunter. In the same way the penitent must wipe out all traces of his earlier life, so that Satan cannot take hold of him. The story appears in the *Physiologus* as a symbol of the secret of Christ's incarnation. The moral interpretation of penitence is medieval. A thorough examination of the subject can be found, e.g. in the encyclopaedic book of Filippo Picinelli, *Mondo Simbolico*, 1680, p. 279, libro V, No. 438, with references, among others, to Albertus Magnus and St Antony of Padua. Cf. also F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 1889, p. 168.

[21] Lami, *Diction. des Sculpteurs . . . sous . . . Louis XIV*, 1906, p. 434.

[22] *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae* (Introduction).

[23] Cf. mainly Doren, *Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance. Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg*, 1922–3, and Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, 1927.

[24] Cf. Warburg, *Ges. Schriften*, I, p. 147 ff.

[25] Cent. X, 47.

[26] *Epist. fam.* X, 3.

[27] On the obverse, a portrait of the surgeon Aurelio dall'Acqua. Cf. Habich, *Medaillen der Ital. Renaissance*, Pl. LXXIV, 3; Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals*, 1930, No. 550.

[28] 'Adunque l'uomo prudente ha potestà contro alla fortuna, ma con quella chiosa che gli dette quello sapiente . . .'

[29] Hill, *Corpus*, No. 456 bis.

[30] Cf. Paolo Giovio, *Raggionamento sopra i motti, et disegni d'arme, et d'amore*. Milan, 1569, p. 5v.

[31] Executed 1556–60. Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* IX, 7 (fig. 233).

[32] *Symbolicarum Quaestionum de Universo . . . Libri. Bologna*, 1555.

[33] The actual prototype of Bonasone was apparently the then famous woodcut of Adriaen Willaert, *Cinque Messe*, 1536. Cf. Saxl, *Veritas Filia Temporis*, *op. cit.*, fig. 2. Our Pl. 148 shows a drawing of Time and Truth by the German Gregor Sickinger (cf. Elfr. Bock, *Die Zeichnungen der Universitätsbibl. in Erlangen*, No. 1032, Pl. 242), with Truth emerging like *Occasio* in Bonasone's engraving.

[34] E.g. the emblems of Leo X and Ercole II d'Este (see pp. 111–112).

[35] Mantua, Museo No. 17. Kristeller, *Mantegna* (Engl. ed.), p. 457; Schubring, *Cassoni*, 1923, p. 79; Van Marle, *Iconogr. de l'Art profane*, II, p. 185 ('Fortune repoussant le Génie'!). Warburg, *Ges. Schr.*, I, p. 51, interprets this fresco as an exact illustration of Ausonius' epigram on Occasio.

[36] Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 136, had called this figure 'Sapientia?'.

[37] P. Valeriano, *Ieroglifici*, 1602, p. 915.

[38] Illustration in Doren, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI. Many more examples of the same idea could be quoted. In Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Quaestionum Libri* (*op. cit.*, p. 266) there appears an engraving of Virtus with the legend 'Virtuti merito sedes quadrata dicatur'.

[39] Cf. Doren, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII.

[40] As a counter-reformation version of the same idea, a passage from Gabriele Symeoni (*Dialogo Pio et Speculativo*, Lyons, 1560, p. 26) may be quoted: 'Non eseguire il peccato con l'occasione' is defined as the essence of *Constanza*.

[41] The forelock, the bald back of the head, and the balls under her feet are the attributes of Occasio; the rudder is that of Fortuna.

[42] H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1926, p. 108.

[43] Cf. Patch, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[44] Eug. Plon, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 1883, p. 202, Pl. XI, 11. Date about 1537. Leone Leoni makes use of the same design in a medal of Bernardo Spina with the motto: 'Superat Omnia Virtus.' (Plon, *Leone Leoni*, 1887, p. 273, Pl. 34.)

[45] Hill, *Corpus*, No. 549. Date probably about 1518.

[46] Patch, *Smith Coll. Studies*, III, p. 225.

[47] *Old Fortunatus*, published 1600 (*Dram. Works*, London, 1873, I, pp. 81–175).

[48] Vasari ed. Milanesi VII, p. 686; Frey, *Nachlass des G. Vasari*, II, 1930, p. 867, No. 181; *Ricordo* of Vasari of 30 July 1548 – the date of the beginning of the work.

[49] For B. van Zwolle and his sketchbook in the British Museum cf. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists*, V, 1932, p. 96 ff.

[50] Medal of Stefano Taverna, Secretary to the Duke of Milan, by Niccolò Fiorentino, about 1495 (made in Florence). Cf. Hill, *Corpus* No. 1019. On the reverse (Pl. 155) the motto: 'Virtuti Omnia Parent' from Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 2, 7.

[51] There must exist a literary source for Cupid's punishment by Mars which so far I have been unable to discover. The same subject is represented in the picture published a short time ago as by Caravaggio (H. Voss in *Apollo*, 1938, p. 31).

VII Patience and Chance

[1] The whole correspondence is published in Karl Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasari's*, 1923, I, pp. 307 ff.

[2] Minerbetti tells a very touching story of how he came to choose his *impresa* (*op. cit.*, p. 307), and in his letters he reiterates stereotyped phrases demonstrating how heavily the burden of patience weighs upon him.

[3] This letter (14.11.1551, cf. Frey, pp. 312, ff., already published in Vasari ed. Milanesi VIII, p. 298, wrongly dated 1553) contains an error by Vasari himself, who speaks of a *Carità*, but in the whole connection can only mean *Pazienza*.

[4] Painted according to Vasari's own *ricordi* in 1554 (K. Frey, *op. cit.*, II, 1930, p. 871, No. 219), but from the letters it is clear that the picture may have been executed as early as the middle of 1553. Published by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, IX, 6, p. 175, as Francesco Salviati, although the correct attribution is already in Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance*, 1920, I, p. 281. Cf. also Thieme-Becker, *s.v.* Salviati.

[5] Of the type used by ancient orators.

[6] Karl Frey (*op. cit.*) observes justly that Borghini's praise of Michelangelo always sounds like an obituary.

[7] All these facts in two letters from Minerbetti to Vasari of 7 January and 10 June 1553, cf. Frey, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 341 ff., 346.

[8] Reproduced only by Venturi, *La R. Galleria Estense in Modena*, 1883, p. 23, who attributes it to Giuseppe Porta called Salviati. According to Gardner, *Painters of the School of Ferrara*, 1911, p. 251, the painter is Sebastiano Filippi. This attribution was commonly accepted. Cf. Voss, *op. cit.*, I, 281. Signor Rodolfo Pallucchini, director of the R. Galleria Estense in Modena, was kind enough to send me in advance the relevant extracts from the catalogue he is preparing. He characterizes the painter as 'Pittore Ferrarese verso la metà del sec. XVI', and reports, among other items, that the painting 'fu inviata a Modena nel 1606, e proviene da una camera del Palazzo dei Diamanti detta della Pazienza'.

[9] Cf. Armand, *Les Med. Ital.*, I, p. 218, No. 14, p. 250, No. 5/6, II, p. 148, No. 6. About Leoni's medal cf. Plon, *Leone Leoni* . . . 1887, p. 323, and Thieme-Berker, *s.v.* P. Leoni.

[10] Cf. *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, X, 1927, p. 456, No. 16.

[11] *Gall. Estense*, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 3. I am indebted to the Director of the R. Archivio di Stato in Modena who kindly verified Venturi's quotation.

[12] It is of no use to quote them all from G. Gruyer (*L'Art Ferrarais à l'époque des Princes d'Este*, 1897, II, p. 344) and A. Serafini's thorough biography of the

painter (*Girolamo da Carpi*, 1915, p. 131 ff.), down to Posse's catalogue of the Dresden Gallery (ed. 1929, p. 71, No. 142).

[13] See for instance Woermann's (*Katalog der Kgl. Gemäldegalerie in Dresden*, 1892, p. 76) senseless interpretation: 'Dieser Jüngling stellt die Gelegenheit vor. Er ergreift die Gelegenheit, welche die Geduld verschmäht.'

[14] About this festival cf. A. Lorenzoni, *Carteggio artistico inedito di V. Borghini*, 1912, p. 154 ff. (about Cini as author of the description in Vasari's *Vite*); A. Warburg, *I costumi teatrali . . . Ges. Schriften*, I, p. 282; E. Mandowski, *Untersuchungen zur Iconologie des C. Ripa*, Dissertation Hamburg, 1934, p. 34 ff.; and the thorough paper by J. Seznec, *La Masquerade des Dieux à Florence en 1565*, Mél. d'Archéologie et d'Histoire LII, 1935, pp. 224 ff.

Baldini's description (*Discorso sopra la Mascherata della Genealogia degl'Iddei de'Gentili*) printed in 1565. Cini's description in Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, VIII, p. 603, contains the following passage: 'Ma l'Occasione, che poco dopo a se la Penitenza aveva, e che da lei essere continuamente percossa sembrava.'

There are in existence three series of drawings illustrating the *Mascherata*, the most comprehensive one in the Uffizi copied from Vasari's originals apparently by Alessandro Allori. The sheet reproduced here for the first time bears the signature: Uffizi, Vasari dal 1266 al 2829, No. 2813.

[15] This interpretation is supported by the inventory of the pictures in the possession of Cardinal Alessandro d'Este (1624), which refers to a copy of Girolamo da Carpi's picture (probably by Scarsellino, cf. Serafini, *op. cit.*, p. 135) which is now in the Gallery in Modena: 'La Fortuna con la Penitenza con cornice d'oro copia di Girolamo da Carpi.' Cf. G. Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi ed Inventarii inediti*. Modena, 1870, p. 70.

Vasari, in the life of Girolamo da Carpi (VI, p. 476) omits the figure of Penitence: 'Dipinse . . . nel Palazzo del Duca un quadro grande con una figura quanto il vivo, finta per una Occasione.'

Girolamo represents the figure of Penitence in accordance with North Italian iconography. In Mantegna's school, too, she appears as a woman with clasped hands and heavily veiled, without further symbols. Cf. drawing in the British Museum, Print Room, 1860–6–16–85 (Vasari Soc. 1931, XII) and the corresponding engraving by Girolamo Mocetto (Hind 464, 9 I).

[16] In his description of the *Mascherata*, Baldini refers to this epigram, which was a favourite source of Italian humanists for describing 'Chance and Penitence' (first edition of Ausonius' epigrams: Venice, 1472 – cf. Bibl. Teubneriana, ed. R. Peiper, p. 323, 33 [12]). According to Ausonius, Chance stands on a *wheel*, because she cannot stand still. (The upper part of a wheel is visible in Vasari's drawing.) She wears *winged sandals*, because she is always flying. (These again appear in the drawing.) Her face is *covered by her hair*, so that she cannot be recognized (see the forelock in the drawing). The back of her head is *bald*, so that she cannot be caught when she has passed, and it would, indeed, be impossible to catch Vasari's figure by the back of her head. Penitence is not explicitly described by Ausonius. (He uses the Greek word *'Metanoia'* instead of the Latin *'poenitentia'*. This makes it almost certain that Ausonius availed himself of a Greek source which is not traceable nowadays.) *Occasio* only says of her: 'When I have flown away, she remains; she is retained by those I have passed.'

[17] Girolamo da Carpi had very close relations to the humanists of the court. Giglio Gregorio Giraldi himself refers to him as *nostro pittore* (*Dialogi duo de Poetis. Opera*, 1580, II, p. 378) and praises highly Carpi's portrait of Ercole II, a copy of which only is preserved (*Commentario delle cose di Ferrara tratto dall'Epitome di M. Gregorio Giraldi* 1556). The painter designed the scenery of Giovanni Battista Giraldi's tragedy *Orbecchi* (1541) and of his pastoral play *L'Egle* (1545). This younger Giraldi, a relation of G. Gr. Giraldi, in his turn was a pupil of Calcagnini and from 1547 was secretary to the Duke. Carpi also made the designs for G. B. Canani's anatomical book: *Musculorum humani corporis picturata dissectio*, 1543, and portrayed his friend, the humanist Girolamo Falletti (for the picture in the Gall. Corsini in Rome cf. Serafini, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff). For Carpi's relations to the humanist circle cf. G. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 344 ff.

[18] They appeared in his monumental mythographical work: *De Deis Gentium Libri sive Syntagmata XVII* (first ed. 1548, second ed. 1565, *Synt.* I, p. 37) which was written after Giraldi's return to his native town Ferrara after 1533.

Besides Ausonius two other ancient sources were extensively used in this context by humanists: an epigram of Poseidippos (3rd century BC, cf. Dübner, *Epigr. Anth. Palatina*, 1872, II, Caput XVI, 275. Editio princeps: *Anthologia Graeca Planudea*, Florence, 1494, f. A IIII) and an Ekphrasis by the late Hellenist writer Callistratus (4th century AD, Bibl. Teubneriana, Schenkel & Reisch, *Philostrati minores Imagines et Callistrati Descriptiones*, 1902, p. 56, 6. Editio princeps: Venice, Aldus, 1503, cf. the collection of sources in Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1868, p. 276, No. 1463–67. Also Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Kairos*). Politianus was the first to confront the Greek and Latin texts, and to note the differences (Angeli Politiani *Miscellaneorum Centuriae Primae*, Florence, 1489, Caput 49). Machiavelli wrote an Italian paraphrase of Ausonius alone. ('Capitolo dell'Occasione a Filippo de'Nerli.' *Opere minori* di Niccolò Machiavelli, ed. F.-L. Polidori, Firenze, 1852, p. 488. The historian Nerli was a close friend of Machiavelli's from the time of the discussions in the *Orti Oricellari*. It is probable that there was an occasion in Nerli's life to which this refers.) Erasmus (*Adagia, Centuria*, VII, LXX. *Opera*, 1540, Vol. II, pp. 252 ff.) published the texts of Poseidippos and Ausonius; both he and Thomas More (*Opera*, 1565, p. 30v., 'De Occasione Deo e Græco') translated Poseidippos' text into Latin. Alciati based his emblem of *Occasio* on it (first ed. printed in Augsburg, 1531, with a Latin paraphrase of Poseidippos). But it was Giglio Gregorio Giraldi who united all these sources. The texts of Ausonius and Poseidippos he quoted in full, and gave extracts from that of Callistratus and some other sources.

[19] All these points correspond literally to Poseidippos' description.

[20] Cf. Callistratus' Ekphrasis.

[21] Callistratus, translation from *Loeb Classical Library*, ed. A. Fairbanks, 1931, p. 395. Poseidippos, as later Ausonius, mentions the forelock and the bald back of the head, but 'Penitence' is not described by him. By introducing her into his picture, *Girolamo combined Poseidippos' Kairos with Ausonius' Metanoia, but he added the androgynous features of Occasio from Callistratus' description.*

[22] We have in mind chiefly the famous relief in Torcello. It is doubtful whether Muñoz' generally accepted interpretation of the relief as an allegory of Life is really the right one (in Arte, 1904, p. 130 ff.).

[23] Poseidippos and Ausonius.

[24] In Gille Corrozet's *Hecatongraphie* (Paris, 1543, M IIv woodcut, M III text) the two allegories appear alone as if engaged in a dialogue, and there is no relation to a spectator. Moreover, *Occasio* is represented in the composite shape of *Occasio-Fortuna;* she holds the *Fortuna* sail in a ship.

[25] Consequently, we ought to ask ourselves what the lost picture of the document looked like. It can only be imagined as a victory of Patience over Fortune as represented in Jean Cousin's *Livre de Fortune* (edited by Lalanne, 1883, Pl. 93), under the heading: 'Fortunæ Patientia Victrix.' Fortune lies on

the floor with covered eyes, broken wheel, etc., above her Patience with the wreath of Victory. See also 'Patientiæ Triumphus', engraving by Joan Galle after Heemskerck. Published by R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane*, 1932, II, p. 149, fig. 172: Patience as victor on a triumphal car drawn by *Spes* and *Desiderium*, behind the car *Fortuna-Occasio* with veiled eyes, broken wheel, and razor.

[26] A formal analysis of Carpi's œuvre – which cannot be attempted here – would, we think, show that this date is in keeping with the artistic style of the picture.

[27] *Gall. Estense, loc. cit.*

[28] *Ibidem*, cf. also note 8. The two pictures in Dresden (Nos. 126, 127) also came from Modena in 1746. Posse (*Katalog* 1927) attributes them, in accordance with other authors, to Dosso Dossi. Mendelssohn (*Das Werk der Dossi*, p. 144) supposes a payment made in 1544 for a 'Justice' by Battista Dossi to refer to the Dresden picture. Serafini (*op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.) attributes both paintings to G. da Carpi. From the stylistic side the whole question is still unsettled. For the 'Chance' in Dresden alone Carpi's authorship is proved by Vasari (*loc. cit.*), who was on very friendly terms with the artist. That the three paintings in Dresden, 'Chance', 'Justice', and 'Peace', and the 'Patience' in Modena, belong together is proved by their identity in size (about 2 × 1 m.). Possibly Carpi's picture has been cut, which suggests that originally its size was not the same as the other pictures.

Posse suggests that, together with these paintings, a number of allegorical and mythological pictures in Dresden may have formed the decoration of one and the same room in the castle at Ferrara. But there is no historical, iconographical, or æsthetic reason whatever for this suggestion. The pictures differ considerably in size and belong to different periods (for instance, Mars and Venus, No. 135, can only date from the twenties).

A document of 1584 (*Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, III, 1880, p. 13. Inventory of 1584 of the statues in the possession of Alfonso II of Ferrara) mentions a statue of Ercole II in the Ducal palace, standing on a socle which was decorated with a representation of Patience. It is not impossible that this statue also formed part of the decoration of the same room.

[29] Virgil, *Æneid* V, 710; 'Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.'

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

[31] From a very wide literature some lines by Ruscelli (*Le Imprese Illustri*, Venice, 1580, p. 156, 1st ed., 1566) may be quoted. Ruscelli was well acquainted with the leading ideas of the court at Ferrara. In speaking of Ercole's II Patience emblem, the author interprets: 'La Patienza, e la Fortezza sono veramente più tosto due formi di voci, che due cose, essendo in effetto il medesimo la Patienza, che la Fortezza, e la Fortezza, che la Patienza.' By *Fortezza* he understands the 'Fortezza dell'animo: comprendendo in se la *Giustitia* et essendo veramente la prima, e la principale di tutte l'altre.'

The merging of *Fortitudo* and *Patientia* as the two sides of one and the same virtue is represented in an engraving of Battista Franco (Bartsch, XVI, 138, 57), the origin of which in the circle of Ercole II is proved by the use of the Duke's emblem: the earthly *Fortitudo* with the column bending her knees and looking down, the highly raised *Patientia* pointing to the stars.

[32] Pro Hercule secundo Duce . . . ad Paulum tertium . . . Oratio. In: C. Calcagnini, *Opera aliquot*, 1544, p. 523.

[33] This quotation from Epictetus is characteristic of the spread of Stoic ideas.

[34] In the words of Ruscelli (*op. cit.*): 'Così facendo, tu vincerai, ò condurrai à fine tutte le cose . . . con la Patientia si governano, e si guidano ad ottimo fine, nè è cosa tanto travagliosa, ò difficile, e impossibile, che con la Patientia non si vinca. . . .'

In the last paragraphs the notions *Fortuna* and *Occasio* have been used as synonyms on purpose. Both notions – kept quite separate in antiquity – are often fused in the Renaissance, with the result that in the field of art composite figures with the symbols of both *Occasio* and *Fortuna* appear. Cf. Warburg, *Ges. Schriften*, I, pp. 358–9.

[35] Cf. note 31. See also Ægidius Sadeler, *Symbola Divina et Humana*, 1601, III, p. 63, and Ferro, *Teatro d'Imprese*, 1623, II, p. 285, who place the Justice of Ercole II into a religious context: 'Qui iudicatis terram diligite Justitiam.'

[36] The fact is stressed by contemporary writers. Cf. Gabriele Simeoni, *Epitome de l'origine et successione de la Duche de Ferrare*. Paris, 1553, p. 9: 'Cestuy Hercules a esté toujours fort saige e bon prince: car quelques guerres qu'on ait fait en Italie e ailleurs entre les autre Princes Chrestiens, il s'est gouverné si prudement, qu'il n'a souffert en aucune maniere.' – Bartolomeo Ferrino in a speech before the *Accademia d'Elevati* in Ferrara (*In lode della Virtù*, in: *Orationi volgarmente scritte da molti huomini illustri*, ed. by Fr. Sansovino, Venice, 1569, pp. 138 ff.) repeats the old *topos* of the overcoming of fortune by virtue explaining that endeavour (*fatica*) is the better part of virtue, and accordingly quotes Ercole as *exemplum virtutis:* 'Vedete che sotto il suo prudentissimo governo noi, e tant' altri sudditi suoi, in mezzo i tumulti delle guerre meniamo in pace tranquilla vita. . . .'

[37] Only by thus reconstructing the cycle as a whole can we understand two particular features of the painting of 'Chance' in Dresden. Chance commands the picture completely. *Poenitentia* has a subordinate position: she will not have to fulfil her function, for *Kairos* does not even show, as he invariably did (and the omission is the more surprising in view of the philological precision of the picture) the bald back of his head. The reason is obvious – it is a flattering picture. The chance of a lifetime is not missed by this duke – as a patient man he takes it by the forelock.

[38] Cf. Pierio Valeriano, *Gli Ieroglifici*, Venice, 1602, p. 747 (1st ed. 1556). The emblem consists simply of a yoke and the motto 'Suave', but Valeriano adds that the Pope from his early days used to quote the verse of Vergil.

[39] Cf. Machiavelli's 'impetus' in the famous 25th chapter of the *Principe*, dealing with the ways of resisting Fortune.

It is noticeable that Ercole II had also two *Fortitudo* emblems, the rhinoceros – the sign of courage in the language of the Renaissance hieroglyphics (because 'a pugna nunquam nisi victor recedat') – and St George, thus showing that for Ercole *Fortitudo* is a Christian virtue: 'Virtus enim est fortitudo, ac virtus omnis a Deo.' Cf. Ægidius Sadeler, *op. cit.*, III, 64 and G. Ferro, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50.

[40] Fundamentally this is the old conception of Boethius, whose *homo contemplativus* is removed from the caprices of chance. Cf. A. Doren, *Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg 1922–3, pp. 79 ff.

[41] P. Valeriano, *loc. cit.:* 'Ma poiche a lui venne l'Imperio del mondo a quella impresa s'accomodò questa interpretatione, la quale della istessa cosa hebbe occasione. . . .'

VIII Hieroglyphics in the Early Renaissance

[1] E.g. Denys Hay's *The Italian Renaissance*, 1961; Peter Laven's *Renaissance Italy*, 1966; *The Renaissance Image of Man and the World*, edited by Bernard O'Kelly, 1966; *Aspects of the Renaissance*, edited by Archibald R. Lewis, 1967; *The Age of the Renaissance*, edited by D. Hay, 1967; Chastel's *Italian Art*, 1963; Peter and Linda Murray's *The Art of the Renais-*

sance, of the same year; and, above all, Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences*, 1960.

[2] The most important bibliographical references may be given here. Karl Giehlow, 'Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1915, XXXII, 1–218, the masterpiece *hors concours*, remains the basis for all later studies of hieroglyphics in the Renaissance. Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance: Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen*, Leipzig, 1923, is a brilliant summary of Giehlow's work. George Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, New York, 1950, is a translation of Horapollo's text with an excellent introduction. Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphics in European Tradition*, Copenhagen, 1961, written by an Egyptologist, lucidly covers a vast panorama and has been very helpful to me. A recent book on Egypt in Europe, Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *La Quête d'Isis: Introduction à l'Egyptomanie*, Paris, 1967, contains much interesting material, but yielded little for the purpose of this paper.

[3] [Some of the material at this point is repeated in 'Piranesi and Eighteenth-Century Egyptomania', included as Chapter XV of the previous volume of this series, *Studies in the Italian Baroque*. It has been left intact, however, since it is essential to the present argument; but one of the original illustrations, the Tomb of Rolandino de' Passeggeri at Bologna is omitted, as it has already appeared in that volume. – Ed.]

[4] See Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, New York, 1956.

[5] E. Nash, 'Obelisk und Circus', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Institutes, Römische Abteilung*, LXIV, 1957, pp. 232–59, contains a reliable account of all the obelisks standing in Rome today. Neither Cesare D'Onofrio's *Gli obelischi di Roma*, Rome, 1965, nor Erik Iversen's *Obelisks in Exile*, Copenhagen, 1968 was available to me when the manuscript was completed.

[6] Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*, pp. 59, 153, cites also other sources.

[7] The free-standing tombs showing the sarcophagus on a platform carried by columns and protected by a pyramid roof were erected to professors of the university and high-ranking citizens; early examples near San Francesco are Accursio (d. 1260), Odofredo (d. 1265), Rolandino de'Romanzi (d. 1284); the more famous later ones near San Domenico are Egidio Foscherari (d. 1289) and Rolandino de'Passeggeri (d. 1296).

[8] So far as I can see, the Egyptian revival of the 13th century has never been given the attention it would deserve. To a considerable extent it is connected with the Cosmati Vasselletto, father and son, who left works of Egyptian inspiration in the cloisters of San Giovanni in Laterano, at San Paolo fuori le Mura, in the cathedral at Anagni and elsewhere. For Fra Pasquale's remarkable sphinx at Viterbo, see Italo Faldi's entry, 'Pasquale Romano', in Museo Civico di Viterbo, *Dipinti e sculture dal medioevo al XVIII secolo*, Viterbo, 1955, pp. 54–55, with bibliography.

[9] The classic edition is still that by Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889.

[10] E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, London, 1896, p. 62.

[11] Jean Paul Richter, ed., *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2nd ed., rev. by Jean Paul and Irma A. Richter, London and New York, 1939, II, p. 259, has surveyed the sources for Leonardo's observations on animals.

[12] For those unfamiliar with the hermetic tradition, I cannot do better than recommend the first chapter ('Hermes Trismegistus') in Frances A. Yates's brilliant book *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, Chicago, 1964.

[13] Quoted from Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, p. 22.

[14] For this and the following citation I am indebted to E. H. Gombrich, *'Icones Symbolicae:* The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, p. 172. Cf. Boas, p. 28. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed., London, 1968, pp. 206–8, turns against what he regards as unsupported speculations concerning 'a positive theory of optical intuition' in Neoplatonic thought.

[15] For a full discussion of the material presented in this and the following paragraph, see the first two chapters of Iversen's book, cited above.

[16] Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance*, p. 9.

[17] Boas, p. 78.

[18] Bk. VIII, chap. IV. I have changed a few words where the translation did not seem adequate.

[19] Filarete's *Treatise on Architecture*, trans. John R. Spencer, New Haven and London, 1965, 1, p. 152. The passage clearly shows that Filarete's knowledge of hieroglyphics was scanty, one is inclined to think, because he moved at the fringe of the intellectual elite.

[20] See Volkmann, pp. 16 f.; Iversen, pp. 66 f.

[21] I am following Iversen's translation, p. 68. An influence of the San Lorenzo frieze on Francesco Colonna has always been maintained since first propounded by Christian Huelsen, 'Le illustrazioni della *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* e la antichità di Roma', *La Bibliofilia*, XII, 1910–11, p. 165, but more recently Italian scholars have declined to accept it; see M. T. Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna: Biografia e opere*, Padua, 1959, II, p. 54 f., and Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Edizione critica e commento a cura di Giovanni Pozzi e Lucia A. Ciapponi, Padua, 1964, II, p. 68 f., with a valuable analysis of each 'hieroglyph' used by Colonna in our example.

[22] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, p. 208, n. 58.

[23] See Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947, pp. 131 f.

[24] On these medals, see G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930, Nos. 16–18, 161.

[25] R. Watkins, 'L. B. Alberti's Emblem, The Winged Eye, and his Name, Leo', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IX, 1959–60, pp. 256–58.

[26] Hill, *Italian Medals before Cellini*, No. 41.

[27] O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, 'Tierdarstellungen der *Fiori di Virtù*', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VI, 1940–41, pp. 5 ff., 11.

[28] Richter, *Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, II, p. 262, No. 1225. For Leonardo's quotations from the *Fiori di Virtù*, see Richter, pp. 260–65, 276, II, p. 366, Nos. 1220–34, 1263, 1264, 1469.

[29] Hill, No. 39.

[30] The picture was in the collection of Prince Czartoryski and is now in the museum of the same name. The often debated question of the authenticity of this picture was left undecided in the authoritative monograph on Leonardo: L. H. Heydenreich, *Leonardo da Vinci*, London and New York, 1954, p. 35. In the most thorough investigation of the picture, E. Möller, 'Leonardo da Vinci's

Bildnis der Cecilia Gallerani in der Gallerie des Fürsten Czartoryski in Krakau', *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, IX, 1916, 313–36, came out very strongly on the side of authenticity without even knowing the Greek reference which, to my mind, clinches the issue. This important discovery is hidden in an out-of-place footnote by the Editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, X, 1906–7, p. 310, but was known and used by Lord Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, rev. ed., Baltimore, Md., 1959, p. 54.

[31] *Hist. an.*, V, 552 b.

[32] See p. 84 of the present volume. For further material on the salamander's qualities, see Robert A. Koch, 'The Salamander in Van der Goes' Garden of Eden', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 323–26.

[33] Hill, No. 314.

[34] Hill, No. 728.

[35] Giehlow, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 44 ff.; F. Saxl, *Lectures*, London, 1957, I, p. 186 f. For Nanni da Viterbo see also Volkmann, p. 12, and passim, and Iversen, pp. 62 f.

[36] Maximilian was immensely interested in the genealogy of his house. The rich surviving material was assembled in Vienna on the occasion of the Maximilian exhibition; see Vienna Nationalbibliothek, *Maximilian I, 1459–1519: Ausstellung*, Vienna, 1959, pp. 51–62, esp. Nos. 183–202, with additional bibliography.

[37] Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, N.J., 1943, p. 177.

[38] For Bramante's active involvement in hieroglyphics, see E. H. Gombrich, 'Hypnerotomochiana', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV, 1951, pp. 119–22, and Peter Murray, ' "Bramante Milanese": the Printings and Engravings', *Arte Lombarda*, VII, 1962, p. 31 f. To quote some later examples: Sebastiano del Piombo's Portrait of Andrea Doria in the collection of Prince Doria Pamphili, Rome, dated 1526, has a parapet on which six 'hieroglyphs' selected from the San Lorenzo fuori le mura frieze are assembled. Similar hieroglyphs appear in Giulio Romano's apse fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Cathedral at Verona (1534), in the frieze under the painted balustrade; see Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, II, fig. 429.

[39] See J. Schulz, 'Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV, 1962, p. 47 á., with additional bibliography.

[40] For more detailed information about these frescoes, see Léon Dorez, 'Des origines et de la diffusion du "Songe de Poliphile" ', *Revue des Bibliothèques*, VI, 1896, pp. 243–66; Giehlow, pp. 70–73, and Volkmann, pp. 23–26.

[41] *Elucidario o sia copiosa spiegazione delle figure istoriche e geroglifici del Chiostro dipinto;* see Volkmann, p. 23.

[42] Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600*, Geneva, 1958, cols. 307, 347.

[43] Erwin Panofsky, *The Iconography of Correggio's Camera di San Paolo*, London, 1961.

[44] For this and the following, see Giehlow, pp. 83–88, and Volkmann, p. 28.

[45] See Iversen, p. 73.

[46] In the edition of the *Hieroglyphica* at my disposal: Lyons, 1626, f. 3r.

[47] Wolfgang Kallab, *Vasaristudien, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, n.s. XV, Vienna and Leipzig, 1908, pp. 13, 21–24.

[48] Valeriano, *ed. cit.*, f. 3r: ' "Aperiam in parabolis os meum, & in aenigmate antiqua loquar", quid aliud sibi voluit, quam hieroglyphice, sermonem faciam & allegorice vetusta rerum proferam monumenta?' Both Volkmann, p. 36, and Wind, p. 13, n. 43, have referred to this important passage.

IX Transformations of Minerva

[1] Cf. Le Comte de Quatrebarbas, *Œuvres complètes du Roi René*, 1844, II, p. 97 ff.; A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Roi René*, 1875, II, p. 169 ff.

[2] The original MS was brought to Leningrad in 1792. Quatrebarbas (p. 151) reproduces an illustration from a copy (Paris, Bib. Nat., cod. Fr. 12178). Cf. also A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance. Francesco Laurana*. 1882, p. 24.

[3] For the text of the poem cf. Quatrebarbas, *op. cit.*, p. 124 ff.

[4] Cf. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals*, 1930, nos. 57, 59 with further references. About René's emblems cf. particularly *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1853, p. 207 f. and Willemin, *Monuments Français inédits*, Paris, 1839, II, Pl. 209.

[5] 'Divi heroes Francis liliis cruceque illustris incedunt iugiter parantes ad superos iter.' Cf. Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff. The epithet of ancient emperors, 'divus', used for German emperors during the Middle Ages (Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 1929, I, pp. 52, 264, etc.) became quite common in Laurana's circle, also with minor sovereigns. Cf. Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 18[3] and W. Rolfs, *F. Laurana*, 1907, p. 246.

[6] E. Bernheim, *Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen*, 1918, pp. 29, 100 ff. The official cult of the goddess Pax was inaugurated by Augustus after the pacification of his empire in 13 BC. But the 'Pax Augusti', should not be confused with 'Pax Augusta'; while the latter signifies a state of peace established by an Emperor, the former suggests the virtue of peacefulness in the ruler. (Roscher's *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie, s.v.* 'Pax'; Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, IV, p. 362 f.; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, 1930, p. XLVI f.) This fact confirms the view that the medal is not to be connected with a particular event, as has been unsuccessfully tried by some authors, e.g. *Mag. Pitt.*, 1853, p. 206 ff., Heiss, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[7] The figure has always been interpreted as such.

[8] Symbols of peace, happiness and wealth.

[9] Cf. Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, XII, 1925, pp. 1907 ff., 1916.

[10] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, 1900, Pl. 34, no. 42, 43 (the latter perhaps a fake).

[11] Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Pl. 471, no. 899. Reinach, *Rép. de la Stat.* I, p. 236. As I have not been able to trace the actual location of the statue, the only guarantee for its existence in the 15th century is supplied by Laurana's medal.

[12] It will be noticed that it is also much too big to fit her.

[13] *Musei Florentini antiqua Numismata*, 1740, I, Pl. 3 D. Another copy of this medal more than a hundred years earlier published in *Gemmae Ant. sculptae a Petro Stephanonio Vicentino collectae et Declarationibus Illustratae*, 1627. The Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum possesses a lead copy.

[14] Cf. H. Dressel, 'Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir,' *Abhdl. d. kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1906 (Philos.-histor. Cl. II). I am very much indebted to Mr E. Stanley G. Robinson of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum for directing my attention to the Abukir medals. Because of slight stylistic divergences Mr Robinson does not exclude altogether the possibility that the Florentine piece is a fake.

[15] ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΠΗΛΕΙΔΟΥ, i.e. Thetis.

[16] Cf. Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1575, p. 317.

[17] Florence, Uffizi, frame 52, no. 201. H. P. Horne, *Botticelli*, 1908, p. 162 dates the drawing after 1490. Other authors have tried to date it for stylistic reasons about 10 years earlier, but Botticelli's last biographer J. Mesnil (*Botticelli*, 1938, p. 197) returns to Horne's opinion.

[18] This has been partially cut off.

[19] Cf. Ph. des Forts, 'Les Tapisseries de Gui de Baudreuil', *Congrès Archéologique de France*, LXXII, 1905, pp. 555–60, *Exposition de l'Art Italien. Catalogue*. Paris (Petit Palais) 1935, p. 437, no. 1752, and Mesnil, *op. cit., loc. cit.* The tapestry, about 9 feet in height, is still in the possession of the family (Vicomte de Baudreuil, Favelles, Loir-et-Cher). Two sides of the border are lost.

[20] His coat-of-arms appears mainly in the sacristy, between the 'plus délicieux ornements de la renaissance'. Cf. Barraud, 'Notice sur l'Église de Saint-Martin-aux-Bois', *Mém. de la Soc. Acad. du Départ. de l'Oise*, I, 1847, p. 408.

[21] I am indebted to Professor Snell for an analysis of the verse.

[22] About Deguilleville and the wide dissemination of his poem cf. G. Ludwig in *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstslg.*, p. 164 ff. The illustration Pl. 185 from Paris, Bib. Nat., cod. fr. 377, f. 184v, after Ludwig.

[23] Colvin, *Drawings of the Old Masters in the Univ. Gall. Oxford*, 1907, I, Pl. 5. B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 1903, II, p. 30, believes this drawing to be an elaborated version derived from Botticelli.

[24] Cf. e.g. the folds between the legs, etc.

[25] If it was a copy after the tapestry it would presumably show some of the accessories.

[26] This motto seems to have been taken over from Jean I of Bourbon (d. 1434); holly and motto appear later with the Scottish family Irwine. Cf. Chassant and Tausin, *Dict. des Devises*, 1878, II, p. 675.

[27] They should not simply be taken as personal emblems, for they are meant to point in the same way to the Divine as the holly tree in the picture. In a MS Baudreuil's coat-of-arms appears with the motto: 'Le cœur à Dieu.' Cf. Ph. des Forts, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

[28] Cristoforo Landino, *In P. Virgilii Allegorias*, ed. 1566, col. 3035.

[29] Cf. e.g. the passage in Petrarch's much read epic *Africa*, III, 204 ff.:

Proxima terrificae species armata Minervae
Virginis, ut perhibent; dextrae cui longior hasta
Et cristam galea alta movens . . .

or the mythographers of the Middle Ages.

[30] Thus mentioned by Vasari (ed. Milanesi, V, p. 413), who interprets the subject as: 'una Pace, alla quale porge Amore un ramo d'ulivo.' There exists a copy after Marc Antonio's engraving with the signature: RA. UR. INVEN. Cf. Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, 1888, No. 157.

[31] The names of the two deities are inscribed on one of the copies after the engraving. Cf. Delaborde, *op. cit.*

[32] A copy of Marc Antonio's engraving by Lorenzo de Musis of about 1550 (Bartsch, XIV, p. 297, no. 393 G) carries the following verses: 'Da Pallade pudica / Ha d'oliva il fanciul la bella rama / Per mostrar che chi bram / Haver Minerva amica / Ed in effetto è di virtu seguace / Gode un' interna pace.' (The child holds the beautiful olive branch of chaste Minerva, to show that those who pride themselves on having Minerva as friend and really follow the path of virtue enjoy internal peace.)

[33] E.g. on a seal of the chapter of Notre Dame at Noyon of 1296 with the head of Minerva and the legend: 'Ave Maria gratia plena.' Cf. F. v. Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus*, 1922, p. 41. Cf. also Politian's 'Vergine santa', quoted below.

[34] Cf. the current mythographical tradition as it appears in *De Deorum Imaginibus Libellus* (ed. Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius Metaforalis*, 'Studien d. Bibl. Warburg' IV, 1926, p. 124): 'Centauri enim, qui dicuntur esse semihomines et semiequi, denotant homines carnali concupiscentia facti ut bestie.'

[35] Commonly so interpreted by early as well as later mythographers. Cf. e.g. Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini dei Dei* (ed. 1603, p. 346): 'E l'hasta vuol dire . . . che la forza della prudenza è tanta, che penetra ogni durezza di tutte le più difficile cose.' Cf. also Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1575, p. 310: 'De Hasta. Sapientiae vis.'

[36] Cf. e.g. an apocryphal poem ascribed to Politian (*Le Stanze, L'Orfeo e le Rime*, ed. Carducci, 1863, I, p. 381):

Dalla più alta stella
Discende a celebrar la tua letizia,
Gloriosa Fiorenza,
La dea Minerva agl' ingegni propizia:
Con lei ogni scienza
V'è, che di sua presenza
Vuole onorarti a ciò che sia più bella . . .

Since its rediscovery in 1895 Botticelli's picture has often been interpreted on similar lines, though the emphasis has been laid too much on its topical political significance. But the paramount fact, that the reconciliation of opposites is a peaceful one, has never been understood.

[37] Cf. Foerster in *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstslg.* 1901, p. 160 ff.

[38] As far as we see there exists as yet no satisfactory interpretation of Politian's poem. As the implications of the second book have never been understood, critics have not realized that the whole work forms a unity with a logical and definite solution. The traditional opinion that the poem was left unfinished appears entirely unfounded.

[39] *Moralium Libri*, V, 82 (Migne, *P. L.*, 75, p. 726).

[40] In his widespread mythological moralization (14th century). Cf. Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius Metaforalis, op. cit.*, p. 110.

[41] The so-called Simonetta by Botticelli in the Cook Collection (Richmond) makes exactly the same gesture, which therefore probably characterizes the sitter as *pudica*. It is significant that she is looking up.

[42] Formerly Donaldson collection, London. Cf. H. Mendelsohn, *Das Werk der Dossi*, 1914, p. 142.

[43] Cf. Pierio Valeriano, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

[44] 'Poesis a divino furore.' Marsilio Ficino, *Epist.* I (*Opera*, 1576, I, p. 614).

[45] Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, IX, p. 735. This type often occurs on coins, cf. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. 14 (16), II, Pls. 7 (20), 44 (2, 6, 14, 15), 68 (5), III, Pls. 23 (17), 65 (5), etc. Mattingly (II, p. XLII) characterizes the goddess thus: 'Venus Victrix, goddess successful in love and in war, has borrowed spear and helmet, of her lover Mars. As the ancestress of the Julian house, she had figured largely in the coinage of Julius Caesar and Augustus . . .'

[46] Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur*, XIV, p. 282, no. 370.

[47] Campbell Dodgson, *A Book of Drawings formerly ascribed to Mantegna*, 1923, Pl. 25. A new convincing attribution to Marco Zoppo by Fiocco in: *Miscellanea di Storia dell' Arte in onore di I. G. Supino*, 1933.

[48] Cf. L. Curtius in *Archiv f. Kulturgesch*, 1938, p. 236.

[49] Curtius, *loc. cit.* Jacopo Pesaro was

bishop of Paphos in Cyprus, where the memory of one of the most famous ancient cults of Aphrodite was preserved.

[50] Cupid seems to stand in a little ship (also interpreted thus by Curtius). As a hypothetical explanation we may refer to ancient mystical conceptions of Cupid's journey across the heavenly ocean to the realm of light (cf. Reitzenstein in *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1930, p. 54 ff.).

[51] Arrow and bow are not visible, but the gesture is that of shooting, cf. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[52] Above the cuirass, between the Cupid and the Venus-Minerva we see the figure of an old woman, who may be interpreted as the fury of war, thrust into the background by the coalition of virtue and divine love.

[53] In Posse's catalogue (*Die Staatl. Gemäldegal. zu Dresden*, 1929, no. 132) the picture is ascribed to Garofalo. Not only, however, is the attribution to Francia confirmed by a tradition going back to the 18th century and possibly earlier, but the picture also fits stylistically into Francia's œuvre.

[54] E. E. Coulson James, 'A lost Francia Picture in the Dresden Gallery', *Connoisseur*, 1926, pp. 157–63 gives a full account of the history of the picture.

[55] *Recueil d'Estampes d'après les plus célèbres tabl. de la Gal. R. de Dresde*, II, 1757, no. 17. Engr. by J. Folkema.

[56] Cf. C. Sigonio, *Della Vita et Fatti di Andrea Doria*. Ed. 1598, p. 33; Ed. Petit, *André Doria*, 1887, p. 36 f.

[57] Therefore the landscape of the background does not show Athens, as the old Dresden catalogue by Woermann (1892, pp. 73–4) asserts, but possibly Genoa, the town of Andrea Doria.

X Titian's Allegory of 'Religion Succoured by Spain'

[1] *Jahrbuch d. kunsthist. Sammlg.* 1928, p. 233 ff.

[2] Vasari ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 458.

[3] Cf. N. MacLaren's account of the condition of the picture in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, III, 1939–40, p. 140.

[4] The relevant material is collected in the previous essay, p. 129 ff.

[5] The figure of Neptune in his chariot must still be explained. Though appearing in the background it occupies an important position in the centre of the picture. It is a constant thesis of Renaissance philosophy that the element of water unites opposites, because water joins heaven and earth. And it is worth noticing that in other representations of the peaceful union of Minerva and Venus water and ships regularly appear in the background.

[6] The picture seems to have been cut on the left. The army of women – heavenly champions of the Church – is added in the second stage.

[7] This detail is to be seen more clearly in the copy of the painting in the Palazzo Doria in Rome.

[8] Something of the meaning of Titian's picture was still alive in the 17th century though not without curious misunderstandings. Cf. Fray Francisco de los Santos, *Descripcion de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, Madrid, 1698 (not in the 1657 edition), published by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, II, pp. 305–6. The reference was given to me by Miss Enriqueta Harris to whom I also owe the following translation:

Titian paints the Catholic Faith in the figure of a naked nude maiden, very chaste and beautiful, her knee placed on a stone, leaning against a tree which rises up with great pomp, and sad and afflicted because behind her, at a short distance, are seen several serpents that pursue her; some are coiled round a dry and sapless trunk which grows very little out of the earth, and others making their way along the ground itself as if to attack and harm her. This signifies that the stone on which Faith steadies herself . . . is the Foundation of the Roman Catholic Church; and the tree against which she leans, and which shades her, is Our Lord Christ, which was planted next to the current of the waters of the Passion and tribulations to give it the fruit of security in due time, with the invincibility of its patience. The dry trunk is the origin of heresies; which cannot have sap being so without roots and not admitting the watering of wise doctrine. The serpents that twist themselves round it and come out to attack are the heretics born of the serpent of Paradise, which whetting their venomous tongues seek, with the poison of their false dogma, to corrupt and poison Faith; and so the Chalice and Cross are seen here near the serpents on the ground, denoting the effects of their errors and impieties. For this reason Faith is indicated as afflicted and sad; and as if uttering clamorously those words with which David in the person of the Church and of Faith – seeing with prophetic eyes, so many years before, these persecutions, as St Jerome explains – sought help and succour against his persecutors and enemies: 'Apprende Arma, & Scutum, & exurge in auditorium mihi.' And without doubt the arteficer of this painting founded his idea on these words, for on the opposite side to Faith is seen Spain, as if awaiting her call, represented by a valiant woman in military costume, placed in her defence against the enemies that combat her, like another Pallas, set up with every perfection; in her left hand a lance with a red banner, which she turns (?) towards the sea which is seen near by; and in her right hand a shield, which is secured to the ground, with arms and crests of the most catholic Spanish kings. She is accompanied by Justice with naked sword in her hand, for she is always on the side of the defenders of Faith; and in her train is seen a multitude of warriors, with arms and great preparations for fighting. It is as though presenting to Faith and placing at her feet multiple spoils of battles won against those who persecute her – coats of armours, bucklers, helmets and every sort of arms; and offering itself with great valour for her retinue and defense. On the sea, which is here with most appropriate significance, the Turk is revealed, in a boat drawn by two seahorses, who in the distance comes breaking the turbulent waves; and he is followed by some sails, which appear to set their prow to encourage help to the heretics against Faith.

[9] After Orange's flight before Alba in 1568 discussions about the granting of a general amnesty were started between Pius V and Philip II (cf. L. Serrano, *Corr. diplomatica entre España y la Santa Sede*, 1914, III, p. 72 ff.). The King signed the document on 16 November 1569, but neither his decree nor the papal bull was published by Alba till 16 July 1570. Cf. Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II*, 1851, II, p. 680 ff. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, XVIII, p. 101. Cf. also J. H. Mariéjol, *Master of the Armada. The Life and Reign of Philip II of Spain*, 1933, p. 159 f.

[10] The same parallel between the two victories over false belief, Muslim and Protestant, but in a less conciliatory form, occurs on the tomb of Pius V in the Cappella Sistina in S. Maria Maggiore. Cf. D. Fontana, *Della Transportatione dell'Obelisco Vaticano*, Rome, 1590, p. 48 v. f.

XI El Greco's Language of Gesture

[1] Franciscus Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 1649, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956.

[2] See Francisco de Borja de San Roman y Fernandez, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910.

[3] Frank Rutter, *El Greco*, New York, 1930.

[4] Guglielmus Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, c. 1286.

[5] Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius), *Dionysij Coelestis hierarchia*, 1515.

[6] Hubert Schrade, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 1932.

[7] Heinrich Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1891; Dionysios of Fourna (c. 1670–1745), *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, tr. from the Greek and annotated by G. Schäfer, Trier-Linz, 1855, English tr. from the Greek by P. Hetherington, London, 1974.

XII Death and Resurrection in a Picture by Marten de Vos

[1] Sale 31 July 1939, lot 181, catalogued as Abraham Bosschaert; size $23\frac{1}{2}'' \times 33''$. [The present location of the picture is unknown. Professor J. S. Held expressed doubts about its authenticity and suggests that it may be a workshop repetition after a lost original or a painting after the print (Pl. 213). However, the 'invention' is clearly stated to be by Marten de Vos and can therefore be included in his *oeuvre*. The original photograph of the picture is lost. Our illustration had to be taken from the one published in the *Miscellanea*. – Ed.]

[2] G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance*, 1930, No. 421; H. W. Janson, 'The putto with the Death's Head' *Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, p. 429; J. Seznec, 'Youth, Innocence and Death' *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937–38, p. 298 ff.

[3] See below, note 9.

[4] In a medallion at the Certosa di Pavia, dependent on Boldù's medal, the putto has actually been turned into a symbol of innocence as the motto 'innocentia e memoria mortis' proves; cf. Seznec, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[5] Cf. Janson, *op. cit.*, figs. 10, 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 435 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 437, 439.

[8] *Ibid.*, fig. 3.

[9] *Ibid.*, fig. 19. About associating the Christ child with the passion, cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, 1932, p. 329 ff., and for the tradition of the Child sleeping on the Cross, p. 331 f.

[10] The rectangular stone on which the hour-glass stands and against which the head of the child rests, seems to symbolize the end of life. Cf. Erasmus' interpretation of the block of stone with the inscription 'Terminus' on his medal of 1519 (E. Wind in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937–38, p. 68).

[11] For the history of 'homo bulla' see W. Stechow in *Art Bulletin*, XX, 1938, p. 227 f. Also F. Parkes Weber, *Aspects of Death in Art and Epigram*, 4th ed., 1922, p. 577 f. and B. Knipping, *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformation in de Nederlanden*, 1939, I, p. 117 ff.

[12] Cf. Max J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, IX, p. 132, pl. 28; Janson, *op. cit.*, notes 33 and 92; Stechow, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 1943, I, p. 212.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

[14] For later examples, mainly of the 17th century, cf. Stechow, *loc. cit.*, Knipping, *loc. cit.*

[15] O. Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis der graphischen Werke von H. Goltzius*, 1921, p. 44. No. 110. On one of the copies of the original engraving the inscription is: 'Homo Bulla'.

[16] Actually two skulls were painted; the one which exposes the hole of the vertebra is difficult to distinguish.

[17] *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom* (Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church), Oxford, 1842, part II, pp. 582–95.

[18] St Ambrosius, *Commentaria in XIII Epistolas Beati Pauli*, Migne, *P. L.* Vol. 17, col. 267 on I Cor. 37, 38: 'Si ergo nudum granum seminatur, et Dei nutu quodammodo elementorum ministerio vestitum resurgit, multa secum habens incrementa utilitatis humanae; cur non credibile sit Dei virtute mortuum posse resurgere, meliorata tantum substantia, non numero multiplicatum?'

[19] Loeb Classical Library, translation by T. R. Glover, 1931, chap. 48, p. 217.

[20] *De universo* IX, ii (*P. L.* vol. 111, col. 504).

[21] P. 258.

[22] P. 110, N° C.

[23] *Weber, op. cit.*, illustrates a Danish medal of 1644 showing a skull and ears of corn growing out of it. The inscription, a typical *memento mori* (in translation: 'Wherever you wend, Death is your end'), is complemented by the reference to the resurrection in the representation which, it must be surmised, was generally understood.

[24] Jan Davidsz de Heem's picture at Pommersfelden with a skull and ears of corn loosely arranged round it and the inscription from Horace: 'Non omnis moriar' is a much more subtle solution of the same problem. Illustrated in Knipping, *op. cit.* I, fig. 81.

[25] It is difficult to recognize the figure of Christ in our reproduction.

[26] *De univ.* XIX, vi; *P. L.* vol. 111, col. 512.

[27] It is worth mentioning the caterpillar and butterfly under the bubble-blowing putto and the fly sitting on the vase in the foreground. They are common symbols of the transitoriness of life. See: Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, 1939, p. 85. Caterpillar and butterfly contain also allusions to death and re-birth.

[28] The motto appears already in the 15th-century medal of Galeotto Marzi, tutor to the son of King Corvinus, see Hill, *op. cit.*, no. 1131. The first manuscripts of Manilius' *Astronomica* were discovered by Poggio (see Sabadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci*, 1905, p. 80) but the popularity of the work grew immensely after the editions of Joseph Justus Scaliger, Paris, 1579 and 1600. For the popularity of the motto see the material collected by Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 587 ff. and *passim*.

[29] A. Nanck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1926, p. 596, frag. 757.

[30] *Tusc.* 3.25.59. Loeb Classical Libr., 1927, p. 297.

[31] See the Eleusian mysteries in honour of Demeter and Persephone, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part V, i, 1912, p. 90 f., also 'Osiris as Corn-God', Part V, ii, p. 96 ff.; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, 1935, p. 33.

[32] Meditations VII, 40. Loeb Classical Libr. transl. by L. R. Haines, 1916, p. 181.

[33] Transl. by George Long, 1887, p. 113 (II, vi, 11–13).

[34] See, amongst others, E. Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 1911, p. 414 ff., particularly p. 421 f. Paul Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, 1912, p. 356 f.

[35] See Hirschmann, *op. cit.*, nos. 5, 10, 11, 13, 18, 110, 132, 148–56, 158, 161–70, 313, 319, 320. – Franco van Est (Francus Estius) was born in Gorinchen about 1545.

[36] Translation after Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

[37] First ed. 1614, latest ed. in three vols. 1858.

[38] *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera*, Antwerp, 1605, p. XXV.

XIII 'Grammatica'

[1] John Ireland, *A Supplement to Hogarth Illustrated*, 1804, III, pp. 93–7.

[2] All the reprints enumerated in: E. Hawkins, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, IV, 1883, no. 3808, 3809.

[3] Cf. John Ireland, *op cit.*, where a more detailed analysis of the prints can be found. In the same year, 1761, Hogarth challenged the connoisseurs by painting his *Sigismunda*, for which the engraving 'Time blackening a picture' served as a subscription ticket. Cf. J. B. Nichols, *Anecdotes of W. Hogarth*, 1872, p. 299.

[4] Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur* XIV, p. 292, no. 383. Giovan Antonio da Brescia copied Marc Antonio's engraving. (B. XIII, p. 329, no. 21.) Cf. also Pordenone's fresco in the cloister of S. Stefano, Venice (before 1532).

[5] Cf. G. M. Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco*, 1937, p. 259, no. 108.

[6] Cf. Gabriel Meier, 'Die sieben freien Künste im Mittelalter.' *Jahresber. über die Lehr- und Erziehungs-Anstalt des Benediktiner-Stiftes Maria-Einsiedeln*, 1885–6, p. 3 ff.; Appuhn, *Das Trivium*, 1900; on the scholastic movement against the traditional system of the liberal arts, cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, II, p. 712 ff.

[7] Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 199, col. 840. In astrological systems we sometimes find Grammar associated with Sol and with gold, the most precious metal (e.g. in a German MS of the 15th century in Tübingen, cod. M.d. 2, f. 320v. Cf. A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, 1916, p. 223). In other cases she appears as a sower (e.g. in a 15th-century woodcut from Nuremberg), or as the charioteer of the liberal arts. Cf. MS Salzburg no. 53, f. 242r. Cf. *Beschr. Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschr. in Oesterreich*, II. H. Tietze, 'Die Handschr. in Salzburg', 1905, p. 60; and a corresponding woodcut of the 15th century from Nuremberg. In Alanus de Insulis *Anticlaudianus* (12th century) 'Grammatica' constructs the shaft of the carriage of 'Prudentia' (Migne, *P.L.* 210, col. 206).

[8] In *De liberis educandis*, e.g. chap. 9 (transl. Loeb Class. Libr.): 'Just as plants are nourished by moderate applications of water, but are drowned by many in succession, in the same fashion the mind is made to grow by properly adapted tasks, but is submerged by those which are excessive.'

[9] *Satyricon*, 4.

[10] Migne, *P. L.* 105, col. 333.

[11] 'Oratio sive encomion Artium Liberalium.' In *Opera aliquot*, 1544, p. 553.

[12] A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engravings. A critical Catalogue*, 1938, Pl. 340, no. E. 21, b.

[13] Liber III, 221 ff. Cf. also Corpet, *Annales Archéologiques* XVII, 1857, pp. 92–3.

[14] As an example may be quoted the famous late *Iconologie* by Gravelot and Cochin (1796?), II, no. 85.

[15] The engraving was made after a lost grisaille, which belonged to a series painted for M. de Bretonvilliers in 1663. Cf. *Mém. inédits des membres de l'Académie Royale*, 1887, I, p. 98.

[16] J. Baudoin, *Iconologie, ou explication nouvelle des plusieurs images, tirée de C. Ripa*, I, no. 72.

[17] Cf. *Mém. inédits, op. cit.*, p. 107, and Catalogue of the *Chefs d'Œuvre de l'Art Français*, Paris, 1937, no. 80. A piece of a series for M. Tallemant, (formerly Seligmann Paris).

[18] This division can be traced back to the Stoa. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII, col. 1802 ff.

[19] *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, II, p. 5.

XIV Interpretation of Visual Symbols

[1] See also E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939.

[2] Prinzhorn, *Die Kunst der Geisteskranken*.

[3] Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna, 1678.

[4] Panofsky, *op. cit.*

[5] H. M. Kallen, *Art and Freedom*, New York, 1943.

[6] *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. VIII, 1945, pp. 7–60.

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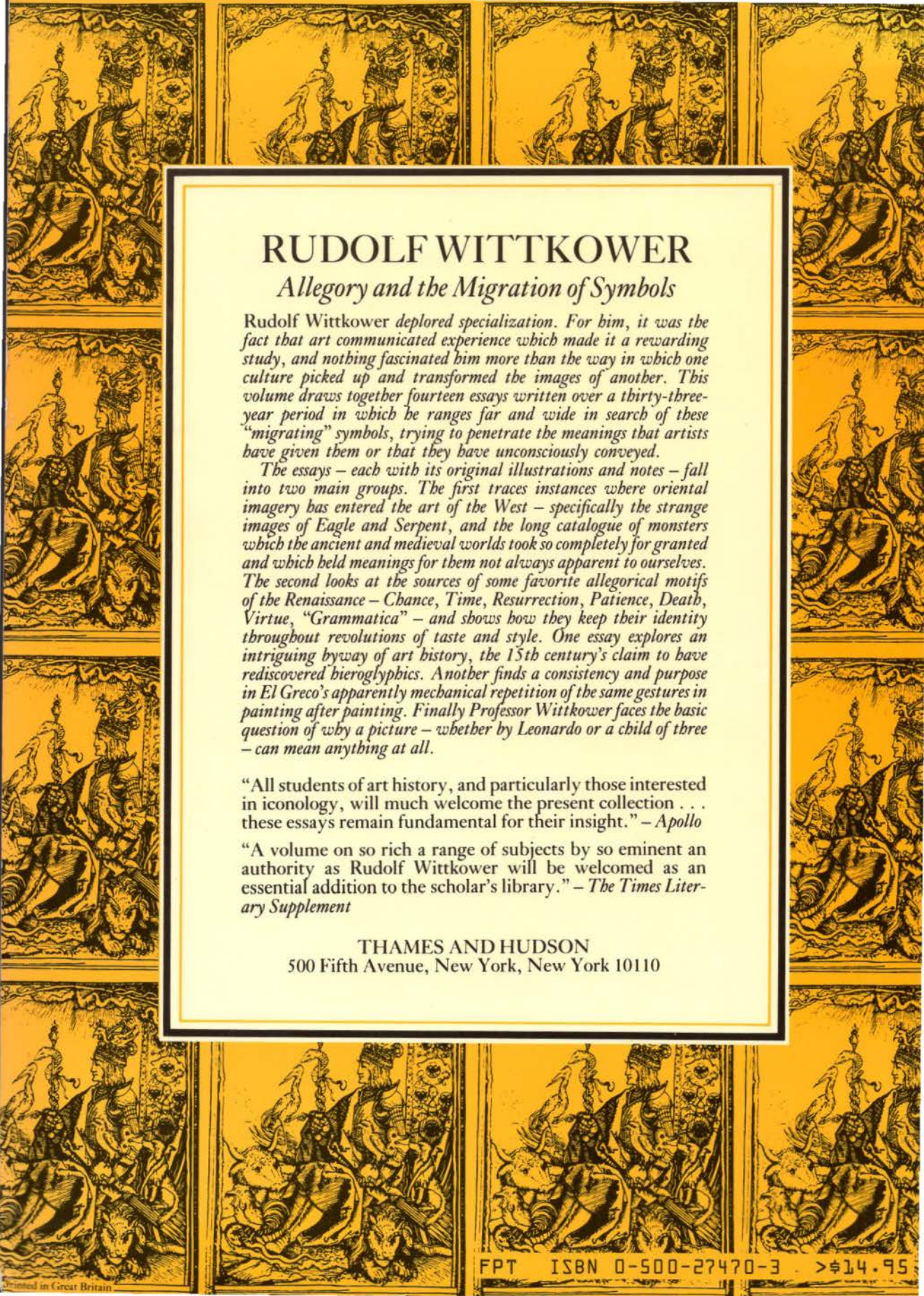

RUDOLF WITTKOWER

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