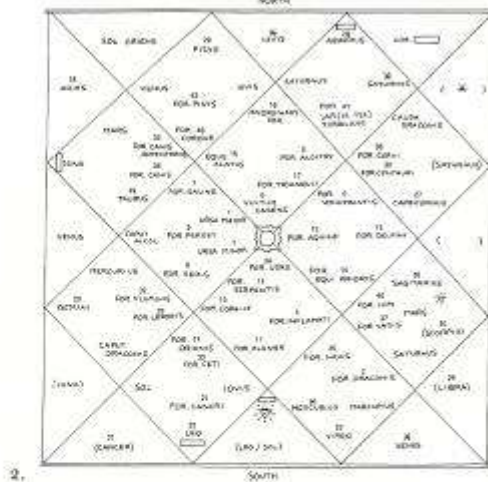


1.

FIG. 1: *Camera di Griselda* vault,
Lithograph by F. L. Campari,
1878



2.

FIG. 2: Schema of the *Camera di
Griselda*. Constellations and planet
gods

THE ASTROLOGICAL VAULT OF THE CAMERA DI GRISELDA FROM ROCCABIANCA

Kristen Lippincott

AMONG THE most delightful examples of fifteenth-century North Italian secular fresco decoration are the two cycles contained in the so-called *Camera di Griselda*, currently housed as part of the Civiche Raccolte in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Figs 1-2; Pls. 10-11).¹ Painted in a pale green *chiaroscuro a terretta* or *terra verde*, with contrasting accents of reddish-brown in the shadows and details, the frescoes, originally located on the first floor of the south-west tower of the Parmesan castello of Roccabianca, were detached and transferred to canvas in 1896-97.² Their whereabouts between then and 1940, when they were 'rediscovered' by Ragghianti in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin, remains unclear. All forty-one panels were purchased by the Museo d'Arte Antica, with funds allocated by the Comune di Milano, in 1945.³

The frescoes can be dated to between 1458 and 1464.⁴ They were commissioned by the wealthy *condottiere*, Pier Maria Rossi, Count of Berceto,⁵ and belong to the extensive

I should like to thank Sir Ernst Gombrich, Charles Burnett, Jean Michel Massing and Robert S. Miller for their helpful suggestions and criticisms, the Trustees of the Saxl Fund and the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte 'Roberto Longhi' for financial support, and Sergio Borghi of the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco, Milan for permission to photograph and publish the vault of the *Camera di Griselda*.

Abbreviations for frequently cited works:

Roberto Greci, Marilisa DiGiovanni Madruzzo, Germano Mulazzani, *Corti del Rinascimento nella provincia di Parma*, Turin 1981 = Mulazzani, *Corti*

L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über der Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des gestirnten Himmels*, Berlin 1809 = Ideler, *Sternnamen*

P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959 = Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen*

P. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnamenklatur der Araber*, Wiesbaden 1961 = Kunitzsch, *Sternnamenklatur*

P. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden 1974 = Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*

A. Pezzana, *Storia della Città di Parma*, 5 vols, Parma 1832-52 = Pezzana, *Storia*

C. Ragghianti, 'Studi sulla pittura lombarda del Quattrocento', *Critica d'arte*, viii, 1, 1949, pp. 31-46 and viii, 4, 1949, pp. 288-300 = Ragghianti, 'Studi'

The four volumes of Fritz Saxl's *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters* . . .

... in römischen Bibliotheken, Heidelberg 1915 = Saxl I

... Die Handschriften der National-Bibliothek in Wien, Heidelberg 1927 = Saxl II

... Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken, London 1933 = Saxl-Meier III, 1 and 2

... *Astrological Manuscripts in Italian Libraries (other than Rome)*, London 1966 = McGurk IV

¹ Pezzana, *Storia*. Especially important: 'Dissertazione intorno le Belle Arti Parmigiane', by Ireneo Affò, written c. 1795, and included by Pezzana in an Appendix to vol. 1. Cf. I. Affò, *Il parmigiano servitor di Piazza*, Parma 1796; F. L. Campari, *Un castello del Parmigiano attraverso i secoli. Pallavicini, Rossi, e Rangoni*, Parma 1910; Ragghianti, 'Studi'; Guglielmo Capacchi, *Castelli parmigiani*, Parma 1979; and Mulazzani, *Corti*.

² For information regarding the technique, original location and state of preservation of the frescoes, see Ragghianti, 'Studi', pp. 44-45, nn. 2 and 3. In n. 3 Ragghianti wrongly says the *Camera di Griselda* was located in the 'southeast' tower; this should read 'southwest'.

³ A. Lorenzi, 'La storia di Gualtieri e Griselda negli affreschi del Castello di Roccabianca', *Città di Milano*, LXXVI, 1959, pp. 533-49.

⁴ Affò noticed the sigil of Pope Pius II on the 'papal' letter read by Marchese Gualtieri in the compartment on the lower left side of the north wall of the room which helps to date the frescoes to Pius's pontificate. See Affò, 'Dissertazione', in Pezzana, *Storia*, I, p. 17 ff., cited by Ragghianti, 'Studi', pp. 43, and 46, n. 23.

⁵ For Rossi see: Gerardo Rustici, 'Cantilena pro Potenti D. Petro Maria Rubeo Berceti Comite Magnifico et Noceti Domino . . .', in Pezzana, *Storia*, IV, Appendix, pp. 60-65; J. Cavicco, *Vita Petrarum de Rubis Parmensis Descripta*, Parma 1895; Federico Rossi, 'Elogi della Famiglia Rossi', in Pezzana, *Storia*, IV, Appendix, pp. 39 ff.; V. Carrari, *Historia de' Rossi Parmigiani*, Ravenna 1583; F. Sansovino, *Delle origine e de' fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*, Venice 1582, pp. 76 ff.

building and redecoration campaign of three of his major feudal holdings — San Secondo, Torrechiara, and Roccabianca — which Rossi began in the late 1440s.⁶ Although there is certainly a stylistic affinity between the frescoes and several examples of contemporary Milanese-influenced, courtly painting, there is no scholarly consensus as to the name of the artist nor even the school to which the Roccabianca frescoes belong.⁷

The frescoes which cover the walls illustrate the final, one-hundredth novella of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the story of Marchese Gualtieri and his faithful wife, Griselda.⁸ The twenty-four compartments of the vault are covered by eighty-seven 'celestial figures' whose pretext is clearly astrological. Studies of this cycle, however, have not advanced beyond a partial identification of the figures or the vague suggestion that the programme might be horoscopically relevant either to the birth of its patron or to some unspecified event in his life.⁹

Taken as a whole, the Roccabianca vault displays a somewhat unconventional map of the heavens. The constellations of the northern sky are illustrated in the four quadrants nearest the centre of the ceiling,¹⁰ the constellations of the southern sky in the outer eight quadrants, and a band of zodiacal figures and planet divinities forms a border along the outside, or lowest edge of the ceiling.

The location of the zodiacal border outside both the northern and southern constellations is difficult to explain. There are many features of the vault which seem to suggest that its format was modelled on a planispheric stellar map, of the sort which appears in

⁶ N. Pelicelli, *Pier Maria Rossi e i suoi Castelli*, Parma 1911; A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *I castelli del Parmense*, Parma 1955; also the excellent summary of the architecture of the Rossi castelli in Madruzzo's contribution to Mulazzani, *Corti* (pp. 43–146).

⁷ Raghianti, 'Studi', pp. 286 ff., suggests the Milanese painter and designer of stained-glass windows, Nicolò da Varallo. Quintavalle (op. cit., p. 49) thinks the artist might be a Lombard who combined his International Gothic tastes with elements from Mantegna, Jacopo Bellini and the 'rough style' (*scabra pictura*) of the Ferrarese artists of the Schifanoia frescoes. M. L. Ferrari, *Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo*, Milan 1956, pp. 127–28, suggests it is an Emilian, possibly Ferrarese. G. C. Sciolla ('Ipotesi per Nicolò da Varallo', *Critica d'arte*, n.s. xii [misprinted xiv], fasc. 78, 1966, pp. 27–36 and n.s. xiii [misprinted xii], fasc. 79, 1966, pp. 29–39) stresses the Paduan-Ferrarese elements and believes, on stylistic grounds, that the same artist painted the scenes for the month of August in the Palazzo Schifanoia — the Cremonese Antonio Cicognara. Mulazzani, *Corti*, pp. 155–56, agrees with this attribution. Whereas there certainly seems to be a Cremonese flavour to the Roccabianca frescoes and Rossi's patronage of Benedetto Bembo, is evidence of an interest in Cremonese art, the invocation of the elusive artistic personality of Cicognara only complicates matters. Cicognara's authorship of the Morgan *Tarocchi* is problematic, his participation in the Palazzo Schifanoia is unlikely, and any relation between these diverse works and the Roccabianca frescoes is purely generic.

⁸ The subject was first recognised by Affò (n. 1 above, p. 179, cited by Raghianti, 'Studi', p. 46, n. 23). See also A. Colasanti, 'Due novelle nuziale del Boccaccio', *Emporium*, xix, 1904, pp. 200–15; M. Pellegrini, 'La camera picta con la favola di Griselda già nel Castello di Roccabianca', *Parma nell'arte*, 1, 1969, pp. 21–27. For other representations of the Griselda story, see: P. Schrubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig 1915; F. Barroni Salvadori, 'Incisioni al servizio del Boccaccio nei secoli XV e XVI', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di lettere e filos.*, viii, 1977, pp. 595–734; and the illustrated *Decameron* published by Sadea/Sansoni in Florence, 1966, esp. vol. iii, pp. 937–58.

⁹ This possibility was first proposed by Campari, *Un castello*, (n. 1 above) pp. 75–76. Raghianti added that the vault was the most complete of the contemporary astrological cycles and described it as representing only 'the planets, their houses or domiciles in accord with astrological science, their correspondence with the signs of the zodiac, and of the constellations'. ('Studi', pp. 34–35.) See also C. Mutti, 'La camera di Griselda', *Mystica Pannus*, Parma 1979, pp. 5–12, reprinted in part in Capacchi, *Castelli parmigiani*, pp. 143–46; Marichia Aresè Simicik, 'Il ciclo profano degli affreschi di Roccabianca: ipotesi per una interpretazione iconografica', *Arte Lombarda*, n.s. LXV, 1983, pp. 5–26.

¹⁰ With the exception of the interchanged labels of *draco* and *hydra*. See pp. 47, 56 below.

building and redecoration campaign of three of his major feudal holdings — San Secondo, Torrechiara, and Roccabianca — which Rossi began in the late 1440s.⁶ Although there is certainly a stylistic affinity between the frescoes and several examples of contemporary Milanese-influenced, courtly painting, there is no scholarly consensus as to the name of the artist nor even the school to which the Roccabianca frescoes belong.⁷

The frescoes which cover the walls illustrate the final, one-hundredth novella of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the story of Marchese Gualtieri and his faithful wife, Griselda.⁸ The twenty-four compartments of the vault are covered by eighty-seven 'celestial figures' whose pretext is clearly astrological. Studies of this cycle, however, have not advanced beyond a partial identification of the figures or the vague suggestion that the programme might be horoscopically relevant either to the birth of its patron or to some unspecified event in his life.⁹

Taken as a whole, the Roccabianca vault displays a somewhat unconventional map of the heavens. The constellations of the northern sky are illustrated in the four quadrants nearest the centre of the ceiling,¹⁰ the constellations of the southern sky in the outer eight quadrants, and a band of zodiacal figures and planet divinities forms a border along the outside, or lowest edge of the ceiling.

The location of the zodiacal border outside both the northern and southern constellations is difficult to explain. There are many features of the vault which seem to suggest that its format was modelled on a planispheric stellar map, of the sort which appears in

⁶ N. Pelicelli, *Pier Maria Rossi e i suoi Castelli*, Parma 1911; A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *I castelli del Parmense*, Parma 1955; also the excellent summary of the architecture of the Rossi castelli in Madruzzo's contribution to Mulazzani, *Corti* (pp. 43-146).

⁷ Raghianti, 'Studi', pp. 288 ff., suggests the Milanese painter and designer of stained-glass windows, Niccolò da Varallo, Quintavalle (op. cit., p. 49) thinks the artist might be a Lombard who combined his International Gothic tastes with elements from Mantegna, Jacopo Bellini and the 'rough style' (*scabro pittore*) of the Ferrarese artists of the Schifanoia frescoes. M. L. Ferrari, *Giovane Pietro da Cemmo*, Milan 1956, pp. 127-28, suggests it is an Emilian, possibly Ferrarese. G. C. Sciolla ('Ipotesi per Niccolò da Varallo', *Critica d'arte*, n.s. xii [misprinted xiv], fasc. 78, 1966, pp. 27-36 and n.s. xiii [misprinted xii], fasc. 79, 1966, pp. 29-39) stresses the Paduan-Ferrarese elements and believes, on stylistic grounds, that the same artist painted the scenes for the month of August in the Palazzo Schifanoia — the Cremonese Antonio Cicognara. Mulazzani, *Corti*, pp. 155-56, agrees with this attribution. Whereas there certainly seems to be a Cremonese flavour to the Roccabianca frescoes and Rossi's patronage of Benedetto Bembo, is evidence of an interest in Cremonese art, the invocation of the elusive artistic personality of Cicognara only complicates matters. Cicognara's authorship of the Morgan *Tenochi* is problematic, his participation in the Palazzo Schifanoia is unlikely, and any relation between these diverse works and the Roccabianca frescoes is purely generic.

⁸ The subject was first recognised by Affò (n. 1 above, p. 179, cited by Raghianti, 'Studi', p. 46, n. 23). See also A. Colasanti, 'Due novelle nuziale del Boccaccio', *Emporium*, xix, 1904, pp. 200-15; M. Pellegrini, 'La camera picta con la favola di Griselda già nel Castello di Roccabianca', *Parma nell'arte*, 1, 1969, pp. 21-27. For other representations of the Griselda story, see: P. Schrubring, *Cassioi*, Leipzig 1915; F. Barroni Salvadori, 'Incisioni al servizio del Boccaccio nei secoli XV e XVI', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di lettere e filol.*, viii, 1977, pp. 595-734; and the illustrated *Decameron* published by Sadea/Sansoni in Florence, 1966, esp. vol. iii, pp. 937-58.

⁹ This possibility was first proposed by Campari, *Un castello*, (n. 1 above) pp. 75-76. Raghianti added that the vault was the most complete of the contemporary astrological cycles and described it as representing only 'the planets, their houses or domiciles in accord with astrological science, their correspondence with the signs of the zodiac, and of the constellations'. ('Studi', pp. 34-35.) See also C. Mutti, 'La camera di Griselda', *Mystica Vannus*, Parma 1979, pp. 5-12, reprinted in part in Capacchi, *Castelli parmigiani*, pp. 143-46; Marichia Aresè Simičik, 'Il ciclo profano degli affreschi di Roccabianca: ipotesi per una interpretazione iconografica', *Arte Lombarda*, n.s. Lxv, 1983, pp. 5-26.

¹⁰ With the exception of the interchanged labels of *draco* and *hydra*. See pp. 47, 56 below.

several illuminated manuscripts¹¹ and was a particularly common feature of the family of fifteenth-century manuscripts descended from or related to Poggio's 'Sicilian' *Fragmentum Arati*,¹² but the peculiar location of the Roccabianca ecliptic argues against this hypothesis since, in all of the manuscript planispheres, the ecliptic is properly placed between the northern and southern constellations.

Compounding the difficulties, the majority of the figures in the vault which illustrate the different constellations fall outside the mainstream of astrological imagery. Identification is made easier by labels, in gothic script, but in several cases, these refer to names no longer, and perhaps never commonly used. This has prompted some scholars to manufacture elaborate 'possible identifications' or, failing that, to dismiss some figures as inconsistent with known constellations. However, as will be seen, the Roccabianca constellations, when placed in their proper context, are certainly as faithful to their pictorial and textual sources as the Griselda cycle which they accompany.

The aim of this paper is three-fold. First, to identify the pictorial and textual sources for each constellation figure. Second, to consider the significance of the vault's decoration in relation to the other artistic programmes commissioned by Pier Maria Rossi. Third, to offer evidence which argues against the hypothesis, usually maintained, that the Roccabianca vault illustrates a specific horoscope.

The iconographic context for the Roccabianca constellations is the large family of manuscripts related, albeit in some cases rather distantly, to the second-century star catalogue found in the *Syntaxis mathematica* or *Almagest* of Ptolemy.¹³ This catalogue, along with the emendations and additions of its Arabic translators and editors al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, Ishāq ibn Hunayn, Tābit ibn Qurra (Thabit), al-Fargānī (Alfraganus), Gābir ibn Aflah (Geber), al-Bīrūnī, al-Tūsī, al-Battānī and Abū l-Husayn aṣ-Ṣūfī was made available to the Western world largely through the translations of Gerard of Cremona and Alfonso X el Sabio.¹⁴ These 're-Westernized' versions of the Ptolemaic Stellar Tables developed and maintained a set of pictorial and textual conventions that are remarkably

¹¹ P. McGurk, 'Germanici Caesaris Arateæ cum scholiis. A New Illustrated Witness from Wales', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, xviii, 1973, pp. 197-216. In his analysis, McGurk lists fourteen manuscripts, dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, in which celestial planispheres are found. To this list, one should add the following:

Berne, Stadtbibl., Germ. 88 — fol. 11^v (German, before 1029)

Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 8282 — fol. 2^r (Italian, 15th c) (formerly Malvera, Dyson Perrins Coll., 84 — fol. 2^r (Neapolitan, 15th c)

New York, Morgan Lib., 389 — fol. 3^r (Italian, 1469)

Also, a variant form of the planisphere, in which the constellation pictures are replaced by stellar diagrams, appears in the illustrated *Liber Floridus* manuscripts: Paris, BN, lat. 8865, fol. 59^v; Leiden, Voss. lat. fol. 31, fol. 171^r; Wolfenbüttel, Gud. lat. 1. 2^r, fol. 61^r; The Hague, 7.A.23 (Y 392), fol. 76^v; The Hague, 128.C.4 (Y 407), fol. 159^v; and Chantilly 1596, fol. 45^r.

¹² McGurk iv, p. xvi and Jean Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*, Paris 1956, p. 39, state that the

'fragmentum Arati nuper in Sicilia repertum' had been discovered by Poggio himself, though R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Florence 1914, 1, p. 85, clearly states that in 1429 Poggio 'venne in possesso del Fragmentum Arati di Germanico scoperta in Sicilia'. A list of the 'Sicilian' manuscripts is provided in McGurk iv, p. xix, n. 19. Regarding the planispheres in these manuscripts, see note 11 above.

¹³ Franz Boll, 'Studien über Claudius Ptolemäus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Astrologie', *Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband xxi, 1894, pp. 51-243.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the long and varied history of the *Syntaxis mathematica* and its translations, see: O. Pedersen, *A Survey of the Almagest*, Odense 1974; Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological Sciences in Latin Translation. A Critical Bibliography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956; *Ptolemy's Almagest*, transl. and annotated by G. J. Toomer, London 1984.

(All phonetic transliterations of Arabic names in this paper follow Kunitzsch.)

distinct from the Aratus, *Aratea*, and Hyginus-based astrological manuscripts whose descriptions and illustrations of the constellations are more strongly tied to Greco-Roman mythological considerations than to astronomical ones.

Of the approximately two-hundred medieval and Renaissance astrological manuscripts which contain a full or partial series of extra-zodiacal constellation illustrations, nearly one-third manifest what could loosely be called 'Arabic elements' — in the illuminations, in isolated phrases or labels, or in certain mythological conceits.¹⁵ Of these, only thirty-nine manuscripts can be regarded as relating directly to the *Almagest* tradition in format and in adherence to the Ptolemaic canon of forty-eight constellations. And, of these *Almagest*-related manuscripts, only twenty-five contain the Latin text which can be related to the Roccabianca constellations. Each of these twenty-five manuscripts provides, or is closely related to the manuscripts which contain, a list of multiple names for each constellation.¹⁶ These names, which appear either in tabular headings, as labels or as part of explanatory paragraphs found in the text or margin near the relevant illustration, have been culled from Greek, Latin and Arabic sources. They reflect, perhaps with more immediacy than the images themselves, the multi-cultural heritage of this particular sub-set of the Ptolemaic Stellar Tables. This heritage is underlined by the fact that the lists tend to be made up solely of names that are descriptive of the postures or attributes of the constellations, rather than of those names derived from the exclusively Greco-Roman mythological catasterisms, which appear in non-Tabular manuscripts and in present-day astronomical nomenclature.

A typical format of such a list, if perhaps more complete than is found in some of the manuscripts, appears in the fourteenth-century Florentine Alfonsine Tables in a Vatican manuscript (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 8174) in which the constellation *Hercules* is described as:

... il genuflexu, il quale si chiama in latino incurvatus super genu ipsius, e ancora si chiama in latino saltator. E in castellano si dice el che tien el ynoio fincado, e in fiorentino colui che è inchinato sopra 'l ginocchio suo, e ancora si chiama ballatore. E in arabico si à due nomi, l'uno elgehci ale rocbetihî, che vuol dire 'genuflexu', e l'altro nome è raquic, che vuol dire 'ballatore'.¹⁷

Though this list often changes in length according to the format in which it is found, the names themselves vary very little from manuscript to manuscript and seem, in general, less subject to alteration than the illustrations which they accompany. The continuity of the tradition is particularly relevant to the Roccabianca vault, whose labels are drawn from these lists.

To illustrate the direct correlation between the Roccabianca figures and the Stellar Table manuscripts, I have treated the constellations in the order in which they are most often listed in these manuscripts, that is: northern constellations from *ursa minor* to *triangulus*, the zodiacal constellations, and then the southern constellations from *cetus* to *piscis meridionalis*.¹⁸ My headings reflect the spelling found in the Roccabianca vault with

¹⁵ The medieval Latin writings of Michael Scot and Guido Bonatti, for example, often contain constellation descriptions and illustrations that are dependent on material derived from the *Almagest* translations. These citations, however, are set within a fundamentally Western astrological-mythological tradition and therefore represent a different aspect of the integration of Arabic learning into European thought.

¹⁶ See Appendix for a description of these MSS. The Arabic-based illustrations of the *Primer lapidario* of

Alfonso el Sabio (Madrid, Escorial, MS h.1.15) have not been included because the text does not list the variant names for each constellation.

¹⁷ Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica, Vat. lat. 8174, fol. 17^r. For a transcription of the manuscript, see Pierre Knecht, *I libri astronomici di Alfonso X in una versione fiorentina del Trecento*, Saragossa 1965, p. 42.

¹⁸ This order is followed in twenty-two of the Stellar Table manuscripts.

FOR., used as the abbreviation of *forma*, followed by the genitive of the constellation name.¹⁹ Specific visual comparisons have been limited to examples from the manuscripts listed in the Appendix, unless certain details could be clarified by reference to an illustration not in this list. In such instances, I have consulted only texts whose popularity in the period suggests that they would have been available to a fifteenth-century Parmesan nobleman.

THE NORTHERN CONSTELLATIONS

1. URSA MINOR and URSA MAIOR

Pl. 12a

Both labels are found in all Stellar Table manuscripts. The depiction of both bears as tailless and with noses pointing upwards occurs in Vatican, Pal. lat. 1377, fol. 183^v.

2. FOR. DRACONIS

Pl. 11b

More often represented as *inter arctos*, the solitary *draco* is a feature derived from Arabic Tabular manuscript illustration that appears in all but seven of the Stellar Tables. There are three dragons illustrated in the Roccabianca vault: 'FOR. DRACONIS' (2) represents the southern constellation of *hydra*; 'FOR. UDRE' (36) is the northern constellation *draco*; and 'FOR. SERPENTIS' (11) refers to the *serpens* held by the constellation *Serpentarius*. Hesitancy in accepting the first two identifications stems from the position of the northern *draco*, among the southern constellations, close to *navis*, the ship. Since this location would be much more suitable for *hydra*, it seems likely that the two labels were inadvertently switched by the artist. The identification of 'FOR. DRACONIS' as *hydra*, despite its label, is further supported by the manuscript precedent of the figure of *hydra* as a dragon with folded wings, a knotted neck and curled tail found in Vatican, Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 39^v and Oxford, Can. misc. 554, fol. 158^r (Pl. 16e).

3. FOR. INFLAMATI

Pl. 13a

The name *inflamatus* appears in all the manuscripts in the Appendix. Unfortunately, there is also a major disagreement in these manuscripts as to which constellation is thus designated. Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117-26, and Königsberg 1735 chose *Boötes*, while Pal. lat. 1368, Vat. lat. 8174, Arundel 66, Riccardiana 3011, Rosenthal 100,2 and Getty, Ludwig XII.7 all give *inflamatus* as an alternative name for *Cepheus* (*zephheus*, *cayfeos*).²⁰

Etymologically, the term *inflamatus* is a Latin translation of the Arabic name for *Cepheus* of *al-multahib*, 'the one who burns'.²¹ This seems to have originated in a misunderstanding of the Arabic translators, who thought the cap worn by *Cepheus*, or the star which formed this cap (εCep = the Ptolemaic τῶρα), represented a flame coming from the constellation's head.²² Nevertheless, the basic confusion as to whether the *inflamatus* is *Cepheus* or *Boötes* is not only found in the labels and titles of the Stellar Table

¹⁹ The use of *forma et stellae* preceding the name of the constellation appears in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117-26, Berlin KK 78. D. 12, Prague D.A. II. 13, Paris Arsenal 1036 and Munich, cim 826.

²⁰ Madrid 9267, however, lists both *Cepheus* and *arctas* as alternate names for *Boötes* in its list for *inflamatus*.

²¹ The latinized version of this name appears in the Stellar Tables as *almultahib*, *amultahib* and *amathakab*.

²² Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 173-74, 226. Cf. O. J. Tallgren, 'Survivance arabo-romane du Catalogue d'étoiles de Ptolémée. Etudes philologiques sur différents manuscrits, I', *Studia Orientalia*, II, 1928, pp. 202-83, esp. pp. 216-17; also L. Ideler, *Sternnamen*, pp. 42-43, 296-98.

manuscripts, but is also reflected in their illustrations so that, for example, all the Group II representations of *inflamatus* are closer to a *Boötes*-type figure of a cloaked man raising a club in one hand than to the *Cepheus*-type, who usually has both hands raised.

In the Roccabianca vault, however, the *inflamatus* is shown in the latter, *Cepheus* pose. He is close to all the Group IV and IVA illustrations, particularly to Can. misc. 554, fol. 165^v (Pl. 13b).²³

4. FOR. VOCIFERANTIS

Pl. 14a

The uncertainty in the Tabular manuscripts about the identity of *inflamatus* is mirrored in the problems surrounding *vociferans*. Pal. lat. 1368, Vat. lat. 8174, Vienna 5415, Arundel 66, Riccardiana 3011, Madrid 9267 and Vat. lat. 3121 associate *vociferans* with the constellation *Boötes*; while in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117–26, Cues 207 and all the group IV and IVA manuscripts *Cepheus* is listed beside *vociferans*.²⁴

The relation between *Boötes* and the terms *vociferans*, *plorans*, *ululans* and *clamans*, all of which appear as names in the Stellar Table manuscripts, can be traced to an Arabic understanding of the proper name of *Boötes* (Βούτης) as being related to βοιτής 'the Shouter', from βοῦν, 'call' or 'shout'.²⁵ The Arabic equivalents *al-'awwā'* and *al-ṣayyāh* ('the shouter') are usually translated into the Latin *vociferans* etc. The Arabic name for the constellation *Boötes*, 'the Oxen-driver', *al-baqqār*, rarely appears in the Stellar Table Manuscripts, which generally list the Latin transliteration of the original Greek name of *Arctophylax*. One exception, in which both Arabic names can be found, is in Vat. lat. 8174: *e in arabico si à due nomi, l'uno si è alawe, e l'altro alçayah albacar* (fol. 7^v).

Despite this confusion in labelling, and by contrast with the case of *Cepheus/ inflamatus*, all the figures used to represent the constellation called *vociferans* in the Stellar Tables are of a common type, one closely connected to the *Boötes* illustrations found in the majority of other, non-Tabular astrological manuscripts. *Boötes* is almost invariably depicted walking with one arm raised above his head, the hand held palm open, the other hand down by his side, holding either a club, spear, sword or shepherd's crook. It is precisely this figure that appears in the Roccabianca vault.

The closest visual parallel appears in the IV and IVA manuscript group (Pl. 14b). In each of these manuscripts, however, this *Boötes*-type figure called *vociferans* is also labelled as *Cepheus* in either the text or in the margins. If the Roccabianca *vociferans* is derived from a manuscript related to those of Group IV and IVA, it might seem that we should conclude that it repeats their error in identification.

However, the noteworthy attribute of the two concentric rings held in its right hand helps to clarify the identity of the Roccabianca figure, since the two possible explanations of this attribute presuppose that this *vociferans* is *Boötes*. The first possibility is that the ring is actually the constellation *corona septentrionalis*, the Northern Crown, although it is not so labelled. It is quite common to find both the Northern and Southern *coronae* illustrated as a

²³ The depiction of *inflamatus* as literally flaming appears also in Rawl. c. 117 and Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 35^v (Pl. 13d).

²⁴ Königsberg 1735 has the totally confused list of *dyabolus*, *vicius*, *hercules*, *genaflexus*, *tegniar* and *ablanis* in connection with *vociferans*. Madrid 9267 lists *vociferans*

with *Boötes*, but also includes *nixus*, *dyabolus* and *gasinarius* (*Ergonasin*?), names properly associated with the constellation *Hercules*.

²⁵ See Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, p. 175; Ideler, *Sternnamen*, pp. 46–47, n. 1; and Tallgren, *op. cit.* n. 22 above, p. 217.

ring or wreath. Astronomically, the Northern Crown appears in the sky above and to the right of *Boötes*, its stars mingling with those of *Boötes*'s right arm.²⁶

In the fifteenth-century manuscript of Domenico Bandini d'Arezzo's *Fons Memorabilium Uniuersi*, now Florence, Laurenziana Edili 170, there is on fol. 84^v a peculiar illustration of *Boötes* holding a ball or sphere in his outstretched hand (Pl. 14c). This attribute does not appear in the five other illustrated *Fons Memorabilium* that I have been able to locate,²⁷ but it seems to illustrate a statement made in Bandino's description of *corona*: 'coronam septentrionalem sinistro humero prope arctophylax tangit hec ut scribit Yginus suo de yma[ginibus].'²⁸ It seems plausible that the sphere held by *Boötes* / *Arctophylax* in the Florence manuscript is *corona* and that an illustration based on this passage might have served as the precedent for the Roccabianca *vociferans*.

On the other hand, the passage cited by Bandini, from Book III of Hyginus's *Astronomica*, actually reads 'Coronam humero sinistro prope contingere Arctophylax videtur'.²⁹ In addition, the description of *Boötes* offered by Hyginus in the preceding passage describes him as 'Arctophylax. Huius manum sinistram circulus arcticus includit ita'.³⁰ Depictions of *Boötes* holding the Arctic Circle appear in two formats. In manuscript planispheres *Boötes* is often shown placing one hand on the Arctic Circle.³¹ Closer to the Roccabianca *Vociferans* is the *Boötes* that accompanies the Hyginus fragments in which he is shown standing with his club in one hand and the other hand raised, holding the polar sphere containing the constellation triad of *draco* and the two bears.³² A particularly interesting example of the relationship here between the Hyginus text and its illustrations can be found on fol. 5^v of Baltimore Walters 734, in which the illuminator has gone to imaginative lengths to underline the importance of both of Hyginus's descriptions (Pl. 14d). The Florentine *Boötes*, depending on whether he refers to the Bandini passage or to an illustration taken from a Hyginus manuscript, can be interpreted as holding either *corona* or the Arctic Circle. Similarly, the ring held by the Roccabianca *vociferans* might be either. Given the context of the rest of the vault, and supposing that there is here some uniform iconographic scheme, the fact that *ursa major*, *minor* and *draco* do not appear within

²⁶ In the planisphere on fol. 3^r of Barb. lat. 76, *Hercules* is shown resting one hand on a wreath-shaped *corona*. Though there is textual precedence for a description of *Hercules* holding *corona* (see A. Le Boeuffe, *Les Noms latins d'actes et de constellations*, Paris 1977, p. 100, n. 6), I have yet to find a second illustration of it. In the *Liber Floridus* family of manuscripts (see n. 11 above) *Boötes* is often depicted with four stars above his outstretched right hand, but these stars are not identified with *corona*, and *corona* is always illustrated as a separate constellation elsewhere in the manuscript.

²⁷ Vat. lat. 3121, Madrid 1983, Lambeth Palace 35, Balliol College 238, Fermo 4. See also A. T. Hankey, 'The successive Revisions and surviving codices of the *Fons Memorabilium Uniuersi* of Domenico di Bandino', *Rinascimento*, XI, 1960, pp. 3-49.

²⁸ Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 10^r.

²⁹ Hyginus, *Astronomica*, III, 4, ed. B. Bunte, Leipzig 1875, p. 82. There is further evidence for the diffusion of this description in the illustrations of the ninth-century

revised *Aratus latinus* MS, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12957, fol. 65^r, to which a second depiction of *Boötes* / *Arctophylax* touching the *corona* has been added by a later hand.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ In particular see: Aberystwyth 735 c, fol. 20^r; Vat. Reg. lat. 123, fol. 205^r; Munich, clm 210, fol. 133^r.

³² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 83, fol. 44^r and Bodl. 614, fol. 24^r (the latter illustrated in Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xxvi, fig. 6). There seems to be a confusion between *Boötes* and *Auriga* in the astronomical cupola of the Pazzi Chapel, Santa Croce, in Florence. A figure who is clearly *Auriga* (note the goat [*Capra*] on his right shoulder) seems to be embracing a large (polar?) sphere. For an illustration of the cupola, see F. Saxl, *La fede astrologica di Agostino Chigi. Interpretazione dei dipinti di Baldassarre Peruzzi nella Sala di Galatea della Farnesina* (Reale Accademia d'Italia. Collezione 'La Farnesina', 1), Rome 1934, p. 21, fig. 10.

the confines of *vociferans*'s ring suggests that this ring is more likely to be *corona*. Whatever the case, however, the identification of the *vociferans* as *Boötes* is unaffected.³³

5. FOR ALGITHY

Pl. 15b

This figure represents *Hercules*. The label *algithy*, which appears in the manuscripts as *algiechi*, *alghiechi*, *algeti* and *elgechi*, is the latinized version of the Arabic *al-gāfi*, which is, in turn, a translation of the Greek name 'Ὁ ἐν γόνασιν, or *Engonasin*, 'the Kneeler'.³⁴ The Roccabianca *algithy*, though quite far from Western 'classical' representations of the demi-god, is close to all of the illustrations found in the Group IV and IVA manuscripts, and especially close to the figures in Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 35^v and Oxford, Rawl. c. 117, fol. 146^r (Pl. 15d), in which the *Hercules* is shown in a slightly more upright and less crouching position.

6. VULTUR CADENS

Pl. 15b

The name of *vultur cadens* for the constellation *lyra* comes from the Arabic identification of this constellation with their name for the bright star αLyr as *an-nasr al-wāqī* (*Wega/Vega*), or 'the falling eagle'.³⁵ The name appears in Stellar Table manuscripts most often accompanied by the other terms for the constellation *lyra*, such as *allore* (*alore*, *aliore*, *allyore* — derived from a series of transliterations from the Greek Λύρα, to the Arabic *lūrā* or *al-lūrā* with the addition of the definite article, to the Latin *allore*)³⁶ and *testudo*, which refers to the mythical invention of the lyre by Mercury.³⁷ These names account for the most common illustrations of *lyra* as a lyre, a turtle, or a falling or swooping bird.

In the Roccabianca vault, *vultur cadens* is shown as a small, winged, rat-like mammal. This conforms to the depiction in all the IV and IVA manuscripts (Pl. 15a). Related illustrations appear in the Group IIb manuscripts, but the mammal is wingless,³⁸ and in Brussels 10117-26, fol. 57^v, where, again wingless, it has a peculiar shield-shaped body.³⁹

I have found nothing which explains this curious transformation of the *vultur cadens*. The illustration may reflect an accidental intrusion of the *Sphaera barbarica* into the Ptolemaic canon of constellations.⁴⁰ Equally, it is possible that the misunderstanding may have originated in the Latin translations when the Ptolemaic for αLyr was translated as *musculus* in the sense 'shell', (originally, the shell of the turtle and now a sea shell), and then *musculus* was later interpreted in terms of its second meaning, 'little mouse'.

³³ Ragghianti, 'Studi', p. 32, describes *vociferans* as dancing and holding a cymbal and a horn in his hands. Both of these objects could be considered proper attributes of *Boötes* — the *corona* certainly has a history of being identified as a dish (see al-Birūnī, for example) and in some less iconographically accurate manuscript illuminations, *Boötes*'s club is sometimes indistinguishable from the types of horns or torches that might be carried by other constellations or planet deities. However, Ragghianti's purpose in making these suggestions seems to be to support his identification of *vociferans* as *Hercules*, who, according to one tradition, is called 'the Dancer' (see p. 46 above). Since much more obvious identifications for the two attributes are more readily available, it hardly seems likely that *vociferans*'s posture identifies him as a dancer, particularly as eight of the other standing male figures in the vault are posed in the same manner.

³⁴ See Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 176-77; Ideler, *Sternnamen*, pp. 62-64; also Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star*

Names and Their Meanings, London 1899 (repr. as *Star Names, Their Lore and Meaning*, New York 1963), p. 242.

³⁵ See Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 177, 236; Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen*, p. 218; Kunitzsch, *Sternnamenlexikon*, p. 87, no. 1952.

³⁶ Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 177-78, 237.

³⁷ See Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 24; Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 7; Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 267; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, 14, 4; Vergil, *Georgics*, IV, 456; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 15; *Homeric Hymn to Mercury*, IV.

³⁸ The wingless *vultur cadens* of Vienna 5318 is illustrated in Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xlvi, fig. 20.

³⁹ An interesting depiction of *vultur cadens* as a sort of benevolent gila monster appears on fol. 38^r of Basle F. II. 33.

⁴⁰ For references to the *Sphaera barbarica* 'constellation' δ μύς, see Boll, *Sphaera* (n. 64 below), pp. 35, 258, 327, 451.

7. FOR. GALINE

Pl. 12a

Although the label *galina* is used in non-Tabular manuscripts in association with the stellar cluster of the *Pleiades*,⁴¹ the text and labels of the Stellar Tables follow the Arabic translators and become linked with the names *eresim* (*eyrisin*, *erisun*, *herisim*, *herisium*), *erisim quasi redolens* and *lilium ab yreo*, which are all connected with the constellation of *cygnus*, the swan. The origins of this seemingly bizarre list of terms is explained by Ideler as the result of a series of compounded mistakes made by over-ingenious translators.⁴² Despite the variation in names, however, the pictorial tradition found in the Tabular manuscripts is remarkably consistent in its representation of this constellation as a hen or rooster.⁴³

The Roccabianca *galina* is close to the heraldic type of cock found in most of the Stellar Tables, and is identical to the *galina* of Can. misc. 554, fol. 163^v and Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 36^r (Pl. 12b).

8. FOR. SEDIS

Pl. 12a

This figure represents the constellation *Cassiopeia*. The isolated name of *sedes*, as opposed to *Cassepia sedens* or *Cassiopeia sedens in sede* appears only in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117-26 and Rosenthal 100,2.

In form, the Roccabianca *sedes* is close to the common *Cassiopeia*-type of a seated female who raises both arms. The three-quarter profile categorizes her with the particular sub-set of this genre which is more closely allied to the Arabic illustrations than to the Western, more 'classicizing' attempts. In her nudity the Roccabianca *Cassiopeia* is similar to those in the rva manuscripts of Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 36^r (Pl. 12b) and Rawl. C. 117, fol. 147^r, although in these representations, as in all of the iv and rva manuscript figures, *Cassiopeia* is looking back over her throne.⁴⁴ In this particular combination of details, the Roccabianca *sedes* is without manuscript precedent.

9. FOR. PERSEY WITH CAPUT ALCOL

Pl. 12a

The history of the constellation *Perseus* and the transformations of Medusa's severed head into the *caput algol* or *caput diaboli*, then back again, are sufficiently well published that they need not be repeated,⁴⁵ but it should be mentioned that the identification of *Perseus* specifically as *deferens caput algol* appears in almost all the Stellar table manuscripts.⁴⁶

The Roccabianca *Perseus* is close to all the iv and rva manuscript illustrations (Pl. 12b).⁴⁷

⁴¹ Le Boeuffe, op. cit. n. 27 above, p. 124. Madrid 9267 is the only Stellar Table to add the *pleiades* and *sigillus* to its list of names for *cygnus*.

⁴² Ideler, *Sternnamen*, pp. 74-76.

⁴³ Most errors in the representation of *galina* are made between this constellation and the lyre-depiction of *altur cadens* (see p. 50, above), such as in Madrid 9267, fol. 88^r and Can. misc. 554, fol. 146^v. The reason for this stems from the Arabic manuscripts in which *galina-cygnus* is shown as an urn, following the translation of the Greek ὄρνις to the Arabic *arnis* or *arnis*, and to the Latin *urna*.

⁴⁴ In Cues 207, fol. 126^r, *Cassiopeia* is nude and looks forward, but she stands in front of her throne rather than sitting upon it. She also holds the back of her chair, unlike the Roccabianca *sedes*.

⁴⁵ E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv, 1932-33, pp. 228-80; also Saxl, *u*, pp. 36 ff.

⁴⁶ Madrid 9267 alone has a variation, listing *Perseus* as 'Perseus tenens caput algol vel gorgonis'.

⁴⁷ *Perseus* and *Hercules* are confused in the group 1b manuscripts, Vienna 5318 and Catania 87. *Hercules* is described thus: 'Nomen in latino est Hercules. Et est deferens caput algol sive gorgonis' (Catania 87, fol. 9^r), and illustrated with two figures. The first is of *Hercules* as a *Perseus*-type, complete with the square grid of stars on his upraised arm often found in Arabic illustrations of *Perseus* (see Paris, Arsenal 1036, fol. 10^r). The second shows *Hercules* as a *Hercules-goniflexus*, who carries the flayed skin of a man (labelled 'pellis leonis' in the Vienna MS!) instead of a proper lion-skin.

10. FOR. CORALIJ

Pl. 13a

The label of *coralium* appears, apparently interchangeably with *collarium*, in the manuscripts as a variant name for the constellation of *Auriga*. Pal. lat. 1368, Cues 207, Königsberg 1735, Vienna 5415, Arundel 66, Madrid 9267 and all the Group IV and IVA manuscripts list *coralium*. *Collarium* is used in the Group I manuscripts, Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117–26, Riccardiana 3011 and Rosenthal 100,2.

According to Kunitzsch, the term *collarium* seems to be related to a phrase added by aṣ-Ṣūfī to the more common terms for *Auriga*: *retinens habenas* and al-'ayyūq, a name derived from the identification of the constellation with the Arabic name for αAur,⁴⁸ which is latinized in the Stellar Table manuscripts to *alaioc*, *aliace*, *aiath*, *archaiath*, *alkayoth*, *alaiot*, *alayot*, *alcaoth* and *allaiock*. aṣ-Ṣūfī's added phrase, *wa-yusammā l-'anāq ayḡan* or 'and is also known as al-'anāq', is latinized in the Stellar Table manuscripts into *alianac*, *alaana*, *muncic alayna* and *alamac*. The name seems to refer to *Auriga*'s role as goatherd, but how this term is then translated to either *collarium* or *coralium* remains to be explained.⁴⁹ For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the term *coralium* / *collarium* appears in more than eighty per cent of the name lists found in the Stellar Tables.

The Roccabianca *coralium* seems to be, like the Roccabianca *sedes*, an unprecedented amalgamation of a number of different manuscript illustrations of *Auriga*. He carries pincers as in some of the IV and IVA manuscripts (Pl. 12b). The other object which he holds resembles the remnants of reins held by the *retinens habenas* figure of the Group II and Group III manuscripts and its tripartite end is perhaps influenced by the three-thonged flail in most representations of *Auriga*.

11. FOR. ALANGE AND FOR. SERPENTIS

Pl. 13a

Alange (*alanguē*),⁵⁰ along with *ophiuchus* (*offiuchus*, *alfiechus*, *alfricris*, *alphucus*), *effeminatus* and *lator serpentis*, is one of the alternate names for *Serpentarius* found in the Stellar Table manuscripts. The serpent-holder himself is usually represented either nude and walking with a snake wrapped around his waist, or dressed in a simple, calf-length tunic and standing in front of a horizontally placed, fat-bellied serpent. No manuscript illustration that I know exactly matches the twist of the *serpens* around the body and then through the legs of the Roccabianca *alanguē*. The nearest parallel is in Rosenthal 100,2 fol. 154^v and in the constellation illustrations in the fourteenth-century Senecan *Tragedies*, Vat. lat. 1650, fol. 179^v.

⁴⁸ Ideler, *Sternnamen*, pp. 91–93, believes al-'ayyūq to be an Arabic translation of the Ptolemaic name for αAur, κολούμενος; Alē 'the star known as the Goat' (= Capella). See also, P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen*, pp. 119–23; Kunitzsch, *Sternnamenklatur*, p. 46, no. 47; Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, p. 246.

⁴⁹ The meaning of the term al-'anāq is unclear. It is used to describe the middle star of the triple star αUMa as 'the goat', but it is also used in connection with αAnd to mean 'the desert lynx'. Regarding the constellation *Auriga*, the meaning associated with αUMa would certainly be more appropriate. Another name for αAur, al-'annāz, 'the Goatherd', also seems to have been used to refer to the constellation as a whole. See Kunitzsch,

Der Almagest, pp. 182–83; *Sternnamenklatur*, p. 43, nos 33, 35, 36; *Arabische Sternnamen*, pp. 105–06. Neither Kunitzsch, Ideler, nor Allen discuss the alternate spelling of *coralium* found in the Stellar Table manuscripts and in the Roccabianca frescoes. Raggianti's suggestion, 'Studi', p. 32, that the Roccabianca figure is trying to bend a piece of coral or that *coralium* is found in medieval Latin as slang for the word 'oak' offers little to clarify the origins of this label. Rosenthal 100,2 lists the interesting variant of 'alianat id est gallarium collarium' on fol. 154^v.

⁵⁰ The name *alanguē* is a variant of *alanguē* which is the Latin attempt at transliterating the Arabic al-'āwāq, 'the snake'. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, p. 183.

In eleven of the Stellar Table manuscripts, the description and illustration of *Serpentarius* is followed by a separate description and illustration of the *serpens*. The FOR. SERPENTIS placed above and to the left of the Roccabianca *alangua* reflects this feature, and its configuration as a two-legged dragon, with a curled tail and spread bat's wings is identical to those found in the Iva manuscript group (Pl. 13c).

12. FOR. AQUILE

Pl. 14a

Aquila and *vultur volans*⁵¹ are the two most usual names for this constellation. The Roccabianca *aquila* is close to the illustrations found in the Group 1, 1a and 1b manuscripts and identical to the *aquila* which appears on fol. 164^r of Can. misc. 554.

13. FOR. DELPINI

Pl. 14a

Delpinus (*delphinus*, *delfinus*, *delphynus*) and *ex piscibus maris* appear as names for this constellation in all Stellar Table manuscripts. The posture of the Roccabianca *delphinus*, standing on his tail, and with sailfish fin is paralleled in Can. misc. 554, fol. 164^r and Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 36^v. His porpoise-like body is similar to the Riccardiana 3011 *delfinus* on fol. 6^r, but in general, the Roccabianca dolphin is much less ferocious than his counterparts in most of the manuscript illustrations.

14. FOR. EQUI PRIORIS

Pl. 14a

The name *equus prior* is derived from the Arabic adaptation of the Ptolemaic ἵππου προτομή, 'the forepart of the horse', into *al-faras al-awwal*, or 'the first horse'. The Arabic term which more closely approximates to the Greek name for this constellation, *qit'at al-faras*, 'the part of the horse', which is given by Tābit, aṣ-Ṣūfī and al-Bīrūnī,⁵² appears only in Vat. lat. 8174 (*qit'at al-faraq*) and in Getty, Ludwig xii.7 (*qit'at al-faraq*), despite the fact that the most common illustration for this constellation is a disembodied horse's head and neck. The name *equus prior* appears in all the Stellar Table manuscripts.

Precedents for the illustration of *equus prior* as a full horse can be found in all of the IV and Iva manuscripts, and in Pal. lat. 1368. In Can. misc. 554, fol. 160^v (Pl. 13c) and Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 37^r, *equus prior* is shown in full gallop exactly as in the Roccabianca constellation.

15. EQUUS ALATUS

Pl. 15b

The alternate name of *equus alatus* for the constellation of *Pegasus* is relatively rare and appears only in Brussels 10117-26, Vienna 5415 and Arundel 66. Among the Arabic translators, only al-Bīrūnī mentions the horse's wings with the phrase *al-faras al-muḡannah*, 'the winged horse'.⁵³ This phrase is not found among the Stellar Table Latin transliterations. Equally rare is the depiction of *Pegasus* as a full horse, since both Arabic and Western descriptions of the constellation refer only to the front half of the horse. The only Stellar Tables to illustrate a full *Pegasus* are the three Group Iva manuscripts (Pl. 13c).

⁵¹ *Vultur solans* is derived from the Arabic name for the star α Aql of *an-nair at-tā'ir* (= Altair), as 'the flying eagle'. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 185-86, 254; *Sternnamen*, p. 86, no. 1942; *Arabische Sternnamen*, pp. 138-39.

⁵² Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 186-87.

⁵³ *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology by Abu'l-Rayhān Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī*, ed. and transl. R. Ramsay Wright, London, 1934, pp. 72-73.

16. ANDROMADY FOR.

Pl. 15b

The misspelling of *Andromady* is hardly surprising since *Andromeda* can be found in the Tabular manuscripts variously rendered as *andromade*, *andromadei*, *andromede*, *andromathe*, *andromaca* and *andromadais*. The Roccabianca representation of *Andromeda*, however, is quite unusual. As *mulier catenata*, her chains are appropriate, but not found in the illustrations that are closest to her figural type. In these illustrations, in the *rb*, *rv* and *rva* manuscripts, *Andromeda* is shown holding a knotted rope (Pl. 15c). Also, the column to which the Roccabianca *Andromeda* is chained is not present in any of these illustrations, though columns appear in one of the four alternate illustrations for *Andromeda* in the *rb* manuscripts of Vienna 5318 and Catania 87, fol. 11^r.⁵⁴ As with the *Cassiopeia* and the *coralium*, the Roccabianca *Andromeda* seems to represent an unprecedented combination of existing motifs and attributes.⁵⁵

17. FOR. TRIANGULI

Pl. 15b

A simple equilateral triangle is everywhere the most common representation for *triangulus* or *deltoton*.

THE ZODIACAL CONSTELLATIONS

The configurations of the zodiacal constellations of the Roccabianca vault seem to be derived largely from sources outside of the Stellar Table manuscripts. Since the tradition of zodiacal imagery was much more widely diffused than that of the extra-zodiacal constellations, artists were generally more free to choose from among a greater number of astrological, mythological and calendrical illustrations, both large and small scale.

The depiction of both *Aries* and *Taurus* (18 and 19) running in the same celestial direction is found in only one Tabular manuscript.⁵⁶ Astronomically, as usually shown in the Arabic-based Stellar Table manuscripts, *Aries* has his head turned backwards over his shoulder and *Taurus* is only half a bull, placed either vertically or in a direction opposite to *Aries*. The running *Aries* and *Taurus* are derived from non-astronomical calendrical imagery such as one finds, for example, in clocks, manuscript calendars, and the frescoes of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. The Roccabianca *Gemini*, on the other hand, depicted as nude male-female couple, is a relatively common feature of the Stellar Table manuscripts. The particular way in which one of the *Gemini* (20) holds the other's wrist is similar to the Milanese calendar manuscript, New York, Morgan Library, MS 355, fol. 5^r (Pl. 16a). I have not been able to locate a precedent for the Roccabianca *Virgo*, (23) a nude, winged praying female. *Capricorn* (27) as a whole goat, his form in the vault, appears in Vatican, Pal. lat. 1368 and in all of the *rv* and *rva* manuscripts. *Aquarius*, (28) who holds a fish in one hand while he pours water from an urn onto the snout of a larger fish upon which he is standing, can be found in the Morgan 355 manuscript, fol. 3^r and in the Group *rva* manuscripts. As can be seen, therefore, there are isolated examples of coincidence between the vault and the Stellar Table manuscripts, but the Roccabianca zodiacal constellations are less consistently dependent on such manuscripts than are their extra-zodiacal counterparts.

⁵⁴ For a reproduction of the Vienna 5318 *Andromeda*, see Saxl II, pl. viii, fig. 15.

⁵⁵ The columns found in the Vienna and Catania manuscripts are without precedent or parallel in either

Tabular or non-Tabular manuscripts. They appear to be the artist's approximation of the trees or rocks to which *Andromeda* is usually tied.

⁵⁶ Oxford, Can. misc. 554, fol. 168^r.

30. FOR. CETI

Pl. 13a

Cetus, the *animal marinum*, is usually represented in the Stellar Tables as a monstrous, lion-faced fish⁵⁷ or as a fish with boar's tusks and a long, curly beard. The Roccabianca *cetus*, however, in his diagonal placement and slightly milder disposition, is closer to the type of *cetus* illustrated in Urb. lat. 1399 and Rawl. c. 117, fol. 153.⁵⁸

31. FOR. ORIONIS

Pl. 11a

The Roccabianca *Orion* is identical to all of the illustrations in the Group iv and iva manuscripts, in which a nude crouching male figure points to his hat with his right hand and raises his left arm behind him (Pl. 16b).

32. FOR. FLUMINIS

Pl. 11a

Flumen, *fluvius*, *curus*, *nilus*, *cyon* and *padus* are all names for the constellation *Eridanus*. Closely allied to the Arabic pictorial tradition, the Roccabianca *flumen* is illustrated as a stylized segment of river water. It appears in this form in all but three of the Stellar Table manuscripts.

33. FOR. LEPORIS

Pl. 11a

The Roccabianca *lepus* running with his ears back also appears in the iva manuscripts, Getty, Ludwig XII.7, and Pal. lat. 1377.

34. FOR. CANIS and FOR. CANIS ANTECEDENS

Pl. 10a

Canis is listed in the Stellar Table manuscripts with the variant names of *canis maior*, *Sirius* and a series of Latin transliterations from the Arabic *al-šī'ra al-'abūr al-yamāniya*, which conflates the Arabic name for the star αCMa, 'the Southern Sirius,' with its legendary feat of having passed over the Milky Way (the phrase roughly translates: 'Sirius, the crosser-over, the Southern one'),⁵⁹ and from the Arabic *al-kalb al-akbar*, 'the larger hound,' used by both aš-Šūfī and al-Bīrūnī.⁶⁰

Canis antecedens is listed in the Stellar Tables as *canis minor*, *Procyon* and as Latinized forms of the Arabic *al-šī'ra rā al-ḡumayyā' al-ša'āmiya*, the name for αCMi as 'the Northern Sirius' who is blind, or bleary-eyed from crying because she was too weak to cross over the Milky Way (the phrase translates: 'Sirius, the bleary-eyed, the Northern one'),⁶¹ and as the transliteration of the Arabic *al-kalb al-ašgar*, 'the smaller hound'.⁶²

There seems to be no fixed tradition regarding the relative depictions of *canis* and *canis antecedens* beyond the general fact that, regardless of breed, *canis antecedens* is usually smaller. In the Group I and II manuscripts there is a parallel with the Roccabianca dogs,

⁵⁷ Madrid 9267 describes *cetus* as 'leo marinis'.

⁵⁸ For an illustration of the Oxford, Rawl. c. 117 *Orion* and *cetus*, see Saxl-Meier III, 2, pl. LXXX, fig. 177.

⁵⁹ For further information on the Northern and Southern *Sirius*, see al-Bīrūnī (n. 53 above), 163, Wright edn., pp. 8a-8r. The story is given in more detail by Bar-Hebraeus, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit sur la forme du ciel et de la terre, cours d'astronomie rédigé en 1279 par Gêgoire Aboulsfarag, dit Bar-Hebraeus*, ed. and French transl. F. Nau, Paris 1899, II, pp. 103-04. The Latin transliterations for the Arabic appear in the Stellar Tables as: *aschere alahabor allemania*, *canis alahabor*, *alschere*

i. aloro alahabor alremem, *aschere alahabor abeme* and *aschere alahabor allemam*. See also Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen*, pp. 117-19; *Sternnamenklatur*, p. 111, no. 289a, 289b; *Der Almagest*, pp. 197, 320.

⁶⁰ *Alqub alachar*. See Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, p. 197.

⁶¹ *Aschere algoniata*, *aschere algoniata ascemia*, *alschere algoniata alremem*, *aschere algoniata ascemia*, *algoniata*, *aschere algoniata*. See also Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen*, pp. 160-61; *Sternnamenklatur*, p. 112, nos 290a, 290b; *Der Almagest*, pp. 197-98, 224-25.

⁶² *Quelb alazgar* and *alqub alazgar*. See also, Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*, pp. 197-98.

since *canis* is a sleeker, running dog and *canis antecedens* a beagle-like hound. *Canis antecedens* with his nose pointing down, as if he were rooting, is also found in Pal. lat. 1368, fol. 55^v.

35. FOR. NAVIS

Pls. 11b, 13a

The depiction of *navis* as a full ship with a furled sail and a tower on its poop deck also appears in Can. misc. 554, fol. 158^r (Pl. 16e) and Urb. lat. 1399.

36. FOR. UDRE

As mentioned (see p. 47 above), FOR. UDRE represents the mislabelled constellation of *draco*. The configuration of the Roccabianca *draco* with knotted neck, facing back over his shoulder and with his tail pointing down also appears in Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 35^r and Rawl. C. 117, fol. 145^v.

37. FOR. VASIS

Pl. 11b

A two-handled vase in which both handles take the form of a dragon-headed serpent can be found in the Group 1b manuscripts (Pl. 16c) and in Can. misc. 554.

38. FOR. CORVI

Pl. 10b

The Roccabianca *corvus* is similar to that in Rawl. c. 117.

39. FOR. CENTAURI

Pl. 10b

Centaurus is shown holding a book or square in his hand in all the 10a manuscripts,⁶³ in which, however, *centaurus* is hooded and points to the book or square with his left hand. The nude head and torso of the Roccabianca *centaurus*, as well as his posture with both arms outstretched, suggest that there has been some confusion here between the *centaurus* and the centaur, *austronotus*.

The *austronotus*, usually represented as a female centaur or as a sphinx-like half-human/half-lion, who holds three flowers in each of her outstretched hands and has a number of large teats, is not one of the forty-eight Ptolemaic constellations. The description of *austronotus* as a constellation seems to appear first in the scholia accompanying the Germanicus Caesar translation of Aratus's *Phaenomena*. In the so-called 'Scholia Stroziana' to the Germanicus translation, the anonymous commentator adds to the descriptions of the north and south poles (*incipit*: 'Vertices extremos, circa quos sphaera . . .') that the south pole 'austronothus dicitur, quem quidam dicebant esse Thetim. Thetis enim Oceani uxor, nutrix Iunonis et eam fingitur in oceano prohibere occidere'.⁶⁴ The association between the south pole, which can also be referred to as

⁶³ The *centaurus* of Oxford, Can. misc. 554, fol. 157^r is reproduced in Saxl-Meier III, 2, pl. LXXXVI, fig. 193.

⁶⁴ A. Breysig, *Germanici Caesaris Arata cum scholis*, Berlin 1867, p. 1120. See also, Antonio dell'Era, 'Una miscellanea astronomica medievale: gli Scholia Stroziana 2 Germanico', *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VIII, xxiii, 1979, esp. p. 252. Dell'Era (p. 148) describes this mythological *austronotus* as originating from sources outside the *Aratus latinus* tradition, perhaps in an autonomous intervention by the compiler. J. Martin, *Histoire des textes des Phénomènes d'Aratos*, Paris 1956, pp. 39-40, points out that the 'Scholia Stroziana' are not scholia at all, but rather a compilation of extracts

from the *Aratus latinus*, Book xviii of Pliny's *Natural History* and the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, etc., which issued from a contamination between the Basiliensis Scholia and the so-called 'Sangermanensis Scholia' (itself a collection of *Aratus Latinus* fragments). Nevertheless, the description of the *austronotus* as a constellation found in the 'Scholia Stroziana' does not appear in the *Aratus latinus*, the other scholia, Pliny or in the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, thereby supporting dell'Era's thesis that this material originates outside of the *Aratus latinus* / Germanicus scholia tradition. See also, F. Boll, *Sphaera. Neue griechischen Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder . . .*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 445-46.

austronotus,⁶⁵ and 'Thetis' might reflect the influence of Hyginus, who, in offering an explanation for why *ursa maior* never sets beneath the ocean, says that it is because Tethys, the wife of Ocean and nurse of Juno, refuses to receive her.⁶⁶ In turn, the pictorial tradition of *austronotus* as a centaur might arise from the identification of Tethys with Thetis, daughter of the centaur, Chiron.⁶⁷ The earliest depiction of the *austronotus* appears on fol. 74^v of the earliest extant manuscript containing the 'Scholia Stroziana', Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 19, which dates from the twelfth century but seems to be closely based on a much earlier model.⁶⁸ Confusion between the constellation of *centaurus* and the centaur, *austronotus*, might thus seem understandable, particularly if the Roccabianca source had illustrated a male *austronotus*, like the one on fol. 154^v of the contaminated Stellar Table manuscript, Can. misc. 554 (Pl. 16f).

40. FOR. LUPI

Pl. 11b

Generally, *lupus* is depicted as a part of the constellation of *centaurus*, held or having been speared by the centaur. However, a second, separate *lupus* is added in thirteen of the Stellar Table manuscripts. The Roccabianca *lupus*, standing with a front paw raised, resembles that in Can. misc. 554, fol. 156^v (Pl. 16d).

⁶⁵ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, 33, 37 and XII, 5 and *de natura rerum*, XII, 3. The identification of the south pole as *austronotus* does occur in the 'Scholia Sangermanensia': '... reliqua autem a polis squalent... et ab australi, qui appellatur austronotus et numquam videtur', ed. Breysig, p. 231. See Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 445-46. It also seems possible that the flowers held by *austronotus* might reflect further confusion between the constellation and the south wind, *austrinatus*. See Papius *Elementarium*, III, ed. V. de Angelis, Milan 1980, p. 434: 'austrinatus macer id est vento Austro corruptus'.

⁶⁶ Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 1: 'Hoc signum, ut complures dixerunt, non occidit. Et qui volunt aliqua de causa esse institutum, negant Tethyn Oceani uxorem id recipere, cum reliqua sidera eo perveniant in occasum, quod Tethys Iunonis sit nutrix, cui Callisto succubuerit ut paelix'. Ed. B. Bunte, Leipzig 1875, p. 31. See also Hyginus *Fabulae*, 177, 1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 508 ff. and *Fasti*, II, 191.

⁶⁷ See the list of sources in W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1916-24, vol. V, cols 785-86.

⁶⁸ Dell'Era, *op. cit.* above n. 64, pp. 148-49. The illustrations of the Madrid manuscript were very influential on the development of the star catalogue given by Michael Scot in his *Liber Introductorius*. See Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 445 ff. and Saxl-Meier, III, 1, pp. xxxv-xliii. It should be noted that Boll's transcription of the passage in the *Liber Introductorius* which describes the *austronotus* preserves a variant reading that incorrectly identifies Thetis as 'nutrix Iovis'. (The variant reading occurs in Bodl. 266 and Munich, clm 10268.) Compare Boll's transcription with the passage found in the Michael Scot manuscript in the Biblioteca del Semi-

nario in Padua (fol. 23^v; p. 46): 'Austronothus dicitur esse Oceani maris, alio nomine Thetis [MS: chetis] et uxor Oceani; alii dicunt quod est nutrix [MS: nutrix] Iunonis, cuius forma talis est: media mulier, habens mammas plenas, et pugilos strictos et levatos; infra umbilicum [MS: umbilicum] est quadrupes [MS: quadruplex] animal habens 4 mammas sub ventre plenas; et locatur inter Coronam et Herculem.' I thank Michael Evans for his help in transcribing this passage.

The problem of placing the *austronotus* in the heavens is well demonstrated by Scot's listing the fictitious constellation both as the twenty-seventh constellation and, therefore, among the stars of the southern celestial hemisphere ('vicesima septima est austronothus in forma medie nude et animalis quadrupedis ut equi'). Cited from Hans Meier's incomplete transcript of Munich, clm 10268 made during the 1920s, IV, p. 932), and as located between the two northern constellations of *Hercules* and *corona*. The *austronotus* also appears in the illustrated manuscripts of the *De figura seu imagine mundi* of Ludovico d'Angulo, the *Astrolabium Planum* of Johannes Angeles, and in the *Dittamondo* of Fazio degli Uberti. It is worth noting that among the illustrated manuscripts of Germanicus's *Aratea*, the *austronotus* appears only in Madrid 19 and in the eleven illustrated 'Sicilian' manuscripts. It does not appear in Vat. lat. 3110, despite this manuscript's derivation from μ , since it is the Hyginus and not the Germanicus section of this manuscript that is illustrated. For a discussion of the recension of the Germanicus manuscripts, see M. D. Reeve, 'Some Astronomical Manuscripts', *Classical Quarterly*, xxx, 1980, pp. 511-18 and in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, pp. 20-22.

41. FOR. LAR (IS VE) L TIRBILIUM

Pl. 10b

The paint loss in the first half of this label is not vital since the depiction of *lar* (*ara*, *altare*, *sacrarium*) as a lighthouse is quite common, though it is found more often in non-Tabular than in Tabular manuscripts. The alternate name of 'tirbilium' seems to be a corruption of *turibilium*, which appears in Vienna 5415 and Pal. lat. 1368.

42. FOR. CORONE

Pl. 10a

Corona meridionalis is most often represented in the Stellar Tables as either a shield, derived from Arabic sources, or as a jewelled ring behind which a single or triple face appears. The depiction of *corona* as a marchional crown can be found in Brussels 10117-26, fol. 77^v and Vienna 5415.

43. FOR. PISYS

Pl. 10a

The Roccabianca *piscis meridionalis* is close to the fish depicted in Bergamo Σ. II. 2, fol. 112^v.

* * *

Both labels and figures of the Roccabianca constellations, therefore, depend heavily, if not almost exclusively, on texts and illustrations provided by the Stellar Table manuscripts. There are particularly insistent parallels with the illustrations found in the Group IV and IVA manuscripts, which suggest that if there were a single manuscript which would account for all the variations and peculiarities of the Roccabianca constellations, this manuscript would be closely related to that particular sub-set of Stellar Table manuscripts. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Rawl. c. 117, all such manuscripts are North Italian in origin and roughly contemporary with the Roccabianca frescoes. Further, they all share a certain *all'antica* flavour in the nudity and proportions of the figures which distinguishes them from the majority of the other Stellar Table illustrations. It seems clear that they reflect a Tabular pictorial tradition current in this region during the mid-fifteenth century. The fact that this tradition can be seen in non-Tabular manuscripts, such as those of the Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi illustrations of Can. misc. 554, as well as the Roccabianca frescoes, underlines its strength and localized pervasion.

Three constellations which appear in the Roccabianca vault are not however found in any of the Stellar table manuscripts — the *caput* and *cauda draconis* and the peculiar cloudlike image in the northeast corner.

Caput and *cauda draconis* do not represent the two halves of the *serpens* held by *Serpentarius* as suggested by Allen, but are actually related to the Arabic mythicization of the lunar nodes. The northern or ascending node, that point at which the north-moving moon crosses the ecliptic, was known as the *caput draconis*. The *cauda draconis* was the southern lunar node, or that point at which the south-moving moon recrosses the ecliptic.⁶⁹ Astronomically, the positions of these two nodes are directly opposite each other in the heavens. This fact is illustrated in the Roccabianca vault by their positioning respectively in *Gemini* and *Capricorn* (Pls 10b, 11a).

⁶⁹ N. Devore, *Encyclopedia of Astrology*, New York 1947, Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic pp. 266-68; Willy Hartner, 'The pseudoplanetary Iconographies', *Ann Islamica*, V, 1938, pp. 113-54.

Only the FOR. of the label for the cloudlike image (Pl. 17a) has survived, making the identification of this figure somewhat difficult. In his lithograph of 1878 (Fig. 1, p. 42) Campari offers a reading of FOR. ICCORA (?) for this label, but his lettering is tentative and oddly spaced, suggesting that even before the frescoes were detached this label was illegible. Raghianti suggests FOR. IGNS and interprets the picture as representing stylized flames.⁷⁰ I have found no constellation name or illustration which in any way illuminates the meaning of this figure. One possibility, that these 'clouds' could illustrate *galaxia* or the *via lactea*, a 'constellation' often represented in the non-Tabular manuscripts, must be dismissed since neither the pictorial tradition of *galaxia* nor the context of the rest of the vault supports this hypothesis.⁷¹ A visual parallel can be found in certain Arabic-based illustrations of the constellation *fluvius* as a banderole, such as on fol. 21^v of Vat. lat. 3121,⁷² but this constellation appears elsewhere on the ceiling (no. 32).

Whatever they might be it is interesting to note the similarity between the 'clouds' and a device which appears below the portrait bust of Bianca Pellegrini d'Arluno on the obverse of two medals made by Gianfrancesco Enzola da Parma.⁷³ Described as 'flames' by Friedlaender and as 'a kind of flaming torse' and 'radiant torse' by Hill,⁷⁴ this device is certainly added to the portrait as an *impresa*. It seems probable that the image on the Roccabianca vault should likewise be recognized as an *impresa*, though precisely what this *impresa* might represent or how it relates to the personal or familial iconography of Bianca Pellegrini is difficult to determine. In the dated medal (Pl. 17b), the 'torse' seems to be made up of deep nebuly lines with three tassels or tongues of flame at each end. The whole figure is surrounded by rays. In the undated medal the 'torse' is much more diffused and cloudlike. The second medal helps to identify this image as somehow related to clouds with the flames indicating either thunder or lightning, or perhaps the sun breaking through from behind the clouds.

Judging from the numerous testimonies which survive, Pier Maria Rossi's love for the Comasca gentlewoman, Bianca Pellegrini, seems to have been the prime determining factor, if not indeed the impetus, for the majority of his artistic commissions.⁷⁵ This devotion is documented not only in Enzola's medals but also in the lengthy poem, *Cantilena pro Potenti D. Petro Maria Rubeo Berceti Comite Magnifico et Noceti Domino*, by the Parmesan humanist poet Gerardo Rustici,⁷⁶ in the decorative complex of the so-called

⁷⁰ Raghianti, 'Studi', p. 34.

⁷¹ *Galaxia* is usually represented as a mandorla held either by two angels, or by two women, or by one woman accompanied by an older, melancholic man.

⁷² Illustrated in Saxl I, pl. x, fig. 21.

⁷³ George Francis Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London 1930, Text, pp. 70-71, no. 282 and pl. xlv. One medal is signed 'IO. FRANCISCA PARMENSIS OPUS' on the reverse and dated 1457 on the obverse. The portrait of Bianca Pellegrini is identified by the label 'DIVAE BLANCHINAE CUMANAE SIMULACRUM MDCCLVII'. See also J. Friedlaender, *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1430-1530*, Berlin 1882, p. 120, and pl. XXI, no. 10. The second medal is published in Hill, p. 73, no. 297 and pl. XLVII. It bears the inscription of 'D. BLANCHINE. R. SIMULACRUM' on the obverse.

⁷⁴ Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 120; Hill, *Corpus*, pp. 71, 73.

⁷⁵ The two seem to have met at the Visconti court in Milan. Despite the fact that they were both married — Rossi to Antonia Torelli, the daughter of the wealthy Guido Torelli, Count of Montechiarugolo, and Bianca to the Milanese *condottiere*, Melchiorre d'Arluno — Bianca bore Pier Maria one son, Ottaviano. Rossi, bypassing his legitimate wife and children, left all his property to Bianca and her son in his will of 15 January 1464, which was reaffirmed in a ceremony held at Torrechiara on 15 October 1467.

⁷⁶ The poem is dated 30 December 1463. It is published as an Appendix to Pezzana, *Storia*, IV.

Camera d'Oro in the Rossi castello of Torrechiara,⁷⁷ and in the name of the very castle from which our frescoes were detached, the Roccabianca.⁷⁸ The Griselda cycle certainly illustrates some facet of their relationship, as the representations of the protagonists (as has often been noted) resemble the portraits of Pier Maria and Bianca on the medals and in the *Camera D'Oro*.⁷⁹

There seem therefore to be two possible interpretations of the Bianca impresa. If it is a purely personal device, it might be related to the version of Alciati's emblem of *vis amoris* which first appears in the Paris 1534 edition of the *Emblematum Libellus*, which has a cupid standing below rainclouds that 'rain' lightning and flames down upon his head.⁸⁰ Perhaps the Bianca impresa also symbolizes the 'force of love'.

On the other hand, there is a striking similarity between the Bianca impresa and one of the personal devices used by Gian Galeazzo Visconti. This latter, which is perhaps an early version of or variant on the more familiar Visconti/Sforza flaming turtle dove seated on a cloud with the motto 'A bon droyt', can be seen among among other imprese in the decorative borders of the Visconti Hours, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 397 and Landau Finaly 22 (see, in particular, fol. LF 74^r and the cloudlike aureole surrounding the portrait of Gian Galeazzo on fol. BR 115^r).⁸¹ Although hardly an important impresa for the Visconti/Sforza dynasty, it appears occasionally, for example on one of the sculpted heraldic capitals on the southwest side of the Rocchetta of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan,⁸² among the imprese of Massimiliano

⁷⁷ The literature on the Camera d'Oro is extensive. Good summaries and bibliographies can be found in: C. Ricci, 'Il castello di Torrechiara', *Eroi, Santi ed Artisti*, Milan 1930, pp. 67-81; Capacchi, *Castelli*, (n. 1 above) pp. 58-88; L. Summer, 'Considerazioni topografiche sugli affreschi della Camera d'Oro a Torrechiara', *Parma nell'arte*, xi, 1979, pp. 51-64; Mulazzani, *Corti*, pp. 140-52.

⁷⁸ The name of this area, which as late as 1417 was still called by the earlier name of Rezenoldo, Rezenoldo, Rezinoldo or Rezevoldo—see Pezzana, *Storia*, II, pp. 32, 169, 173, 286, 587), had been changed to Roccabianca at least by 1463 since it is so labelled in the depiction of the Rocca in the frescoes at Torrechiara. That the name was chosen by Rossi in honour of Bianca Pellegrini is first recorded by Caviceo. See Pezzana, *Storia*, IV, p. 59 and Ragghianti, 'Studi', p. 44, n. 1.

⁷⁹ Ragghianti, 'Studi', pp. 42-43. Given their respective marital infidelity, the idea that Rossi chose to illustrate the story of Griselda, the faithful wife, with portraits of himself and his mistress has been the source of much concern to historians and even prompted one scholar to suggest that this room in some way documents a reconciliation between Pier Maria and his legitimate wife Antonia Torelli — an issue which becomes relative in the light of the fact that she bore him ten legitimate children. Evidence seems to suggest that Rossi's marriage to Antonia had been agreed upon as a result of political and financial manoeuvring between Pier Maria's father, Pietro Rossi, and Guido Torelli after the latter had been given new domain over a sizeable portion of lands by Filippo Maria Visconti in 1428 (see Pezzana, *Storia*, II, p. 297.) One might conjecture that the political necessity of maintaining a marriage to the wealthy, landed Antonia, despite the

fact that he was in love with another woman, may have prompted Pier Maria to agree with the sentiments expressed by Dionco, narrator of the Griselda tale, when he asks, 'Che si potrà dir qui, se non anche nelle povere case piovano dal cielo de' divini spiriti, come nelle reali di quegli che sarien più degni di guardar porci, che d'aver sopra uomini signoria?' Such a hypothesis would account both for the choice of the Griselda story and for the astrological vault which accompanies it.

⁸⁰ Andreae Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus*, Paris 1534, p. 77.

⁸¹ Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch, *The Visconti Hours*, London 1972. See also the drawing of Gian Galeazzo Visconti formerly attributed to Pisanello (Paris, Louvre, no. 2323), in which a nebuly line is used as a base for the bust in a manner very similar to that found in the Enzola medals of Bianca Pellegrini. The drawing is reproduced in Maria Fossi Todorow, *I disegni del Pisanello e della sua cerchia*, Florence 1966, pl. cxxxii, fig. 378 and discussed pp. 180-81.

⁸² Reproduced in Luca Beltrami, *Il castello di Milano sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli Sforza MCCCLXVIII — MDXXXV*, Milan 1894, p. 718. (I thank Evelyn Welch for this reference.) Beltrami identifies it as a *capitulum episcopale*, evidently deriving this name from Mongeri's hypothesis that the impresa was a 'cuffia arricciata' and appeared among the Sforza imprese as an allusion to Gabriele Sforza, Archbishop of Milan (1452-57). See G. Mongeri, 'Il castello di Milano', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. 2, I, anno II, 1884, pp. 457-60. Since the use of the impresa predates Gabriele Sforza's bishopric, and since the image looks like neither the curly fringe of a bonnet nor the more readily identifiable liturgical veil used for the Visconti/Sforza *capitulum cum gassa* impresa, it seems not to represent a *capitulum episcopale*.

Sforza,⁸³ and, in a slightly altered format, as the rainbow impresa used by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Francesco Maria Sforza and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.⁸⁴ This impresa might have been adopted by Bianca's family and might have been included in the Roccabianca decoration as a reference to both her family's and Pier Maria Rossi's allegiance to the Milanese Visconti/Sforza rule. What the impresa itself is intended to mean remains, however, unclear.

In any case, the fact that Bianca's impresa appears in the vault suggests that this extra 'constellation' has been placed here as a sort of catasteristic homage to Bianca in the tradition of Hadrian's introduction of the constellation of *Antinoüs* into the heavens in commemoration of his undying love, or in the appearance of the *Coma Berenices* in consolation for the theft of Berenice's tresses from the Temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite at Zephyrium.

The resemblance of the cloudlike 'constellation' to the impresa found on the Bianca medals would not be the only example of this sort of visual punning on the Roccabianca vault. Several pictorial peculiarities suggest the insertion of personal imagery. For example, the astronomically unnecessary second *Leo* in the triangular panel at the centre of the southern wall might be included as a reference to the Rossi family impresa of the rampant lion (Pl. 17d).⁸⁵ The radiant sun in front of this lion, though perhaps an allusion to the Sun's astrological dominion in the zodiacal sign of *Leo*, can also be interpreted within the context of Rossi/Pellegrini iconography. In addition to the gilt stucco sun over the central crossing point of the two main groins in the *Camera di Griselda* vault, there are five suns in the *Camera d'Oro*, which are showering beneficent rays over all the Rossi lands,⁸⁶ and radiant suns appear on four of the five Rossi/Bianca medals, here again apparently playing a role in the Pellegrini family arms.⁸⁷ If the suns in fact relate specifically to Bianca, the Roccabianca *Sol/Leo* becomes quite a significant image. Again, the depiction of *corona meridionalis* as a marchional crown is not unique, but it is sufficiently rare that one could perhaps connect the image on the vault with the lovers's impresa of

⁸³ Massimiliano's heraldic banner is reproduced in Giacomo Bascapè and Marcello Del Piazzo, *Insegne e simboli. Araldica pubblica e privata medievale e moderna*, Rome 1983, p. 80.

⁸⁴ Galeazzo Maria is associated with it on the dedication frontispiece of a MS of Franciscus Lucanus Parmensis's *De matrimoniis* dated 1468 which remained in the Pavia library of the Sforzas until 1500 (Vienna, Österr. Nat. bibl., MS 2482). See H. J. Hermann, *Beschreibender Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, n.f. vi, 1, Leipzig 1930, pp. 74-76 and pl. XXI. The ducal *scudo* of Francesco Maria is reproduced in Bascapè and Del Piazzo, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The rainbow impresa of Cardinal Ascanio appears on the front of the Cardinal's tomb in Sta. Maria del Popolo (see E. Bentivoglio and S. Valtieri, *Santa Maria del Popolo*, Rome 1976, pl. xvi, fig. 47 and pl. xvii, fig. 48), and also on the frontispiece to the *Liber musicus* of Florentius de' Fasolis, now Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana, 2146 (see *Milano e gli Sforza. Gian Galeazzo Maria e Ludovico il Moro (1476-1499)*, ed. Giulia Bologna, Milan 1983, pp. 22-23).

⁸⁵ P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, Milan 1819, see 'Rossi, no. 3'; Capacchi, *Castelli*, *op. cit.* n. 1 above, p. 67. The Rossi impresa also appears in the terracotta

tiles of the Camera d'Oro and in the San Nicomede tribanetta. See n. 88 below. Hill (*Corpus*, n. 73 above, p. 72, no. 289) notes the rampant lion on the armour and horse trappings on the reverse of this Enzoia medal.

⁸⁶ The image of the Sun 'raining' its beneficent solar power also appears in the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini. M. L. Shapiro (*Studies in the Iconology of the Sculptures of the Tempio Malatestiano*, NYU, unpub. Ph.D. dissertation 1958) cites Acts 2. 3 and the promise of Malachi 4. 2 in interpreting the image as an emblem of justice. C. Mitchell ('The Imagery of the Tempio Malatestiano', *Studi Romagnoli*, n. 1951, pp. 79-90), sees the recurrent motif as Neo-Platonic in the connection of sun-worship with the immortality of the soul. Though one could hardly sustain such specific claims for the *Camera d'Oro*, there is evidence of a synthesizing mentality, perhaps similar to that behind the Tempio Malatestiano, shown in the combination of astrological, religious and philosophical imagery in the 'programme'.

⁸⁷ Pezzana, *Storia*, iv, p. 306; Capacchi, *Castelli*, n. 1 above, p. 71. Hill, *Corpus*, n. 73, above, notes the following Suns: p. 70, no. 280 (pl. XLV), reverse; pp. 70-71, no. 281 (pl. XLV), reverse; p. 73, no. 296 (pl. XLVI), reverse; p. 73, no. 297 (pl. XLVI), obverse.

three marchional crowns arranged in a circle surrounding two intertwined hearts with the motto *Digne et in eternum* (Pl. 17c).⁸⁸ Moreover the depiction of *lars* (FOR. LARIS) as a two-storeyed tower is reminiscent of the Pellegrini emblem of a tower on the reverse of two of the Enzola medals.⁸⁹ Finally, although paint loss here makes certainty difficult, the male and female *Gemini* seem to be similar in facial type to the Gualtieri and Griselda depicted on the walls of the *Camera di Griselda*, and therefore might even be idealized versions of the portraits of Pier Maria and Bianca that appear in the *Camera d'Oro* and the Enzola medals.⁹⁰ There seems therefore to be evidence of a subtle manipulation of the constellations on the vault to accommodate the iconography of Pier Maria and Bianca in a way that recalls the personal content in the Griselda cycle.

This 'personalization' of the Roccabianca imagery raises the question of whether the vault might illustrate the horoscope of some event in the lives of the lovers. The fact that the vault does not present an accurate stellar map casts doubt on the 'reliability' of any chart that could be depicted on or deciphered from the vault.⁹¹ But given the possibility that the subject of the vault might be the location of the planets in specific zodiacal signs and that the rest of the constellations are provided merely to lend a superficial credibility to an otherwise totally astrological premise, the cartographic irrationalities and misplaced constellations become less vital.

Are the Roccabianca planets in a horoscopic pattern? Twenty-one planet gods are depicted.⁹² If their arrangement is purely horoscopic, the fact that there are four representations of Saturn demands that the programme be composed of at least four separate, superimposed horoscopes, since any planet can appear only once in each horoscopic chart. Though possible, the likelihood of such a complex plan seems as remote as any chance of being able to decipher it correctly.

⁸⁸ This impresa can be found on the terracotta tiles which make up the socle of the *Camera d'Oro* and on the carved wooden *tribanetta* used by the lovers in their private chapel, which was located directly beneath the *Camera d'Oro* in the northern tower of the rocca at Torrechiara. For the *tribanetta*, currently in the Castello Sforzesco, see C. Alberici, *Grandi collezioni di arte decorativa nel Castello Sforzesco*, Milan 1976, p. 37; Mulazzani, *Corti*, p. 219, n. 13; Capacchi, *Castelli*, n. 1 above, pp. 71 ff.

⁸⁹ Hill, *Corpus*, n. 73 above, p. 70, no. 280 (pl. XLV), reverse; p. 71, no. 282 (pl. XLV), reverse.

⁹⁰ Pier Maria is depicted four times and Bianca five times in the *Camera d'Oro*. For these portraits see W. Terni de Gregory, *Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento*, Milan 1981, figs. 53, 55. Ricci believed that the Madonna in Bembo's signed and dated polyptych painted for the Capella di San Nicomede of Torrechiara was intended to resemble Bianca Pellegrini. (C. Ricci, op. cit. n. 77 above, p. 121; also P. Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del Quattrocento*, Turin 1966, pl. 515.) For the Enzola medals which contain portraits of Pier Maria or Bianca not listed above see Hill, *Corpus*, p. 70, no. 280 (pl. XLV), obverse bust left with 'PETRUS MARIA DE RUBENS B'CEI COMES AC TURISCLARE FONDATOR', dated 'M·CCCC·LV'; p. 72, no. 289 (pl. XLV), obverse bust right with 'PETRUS MARIA·RUBENS·B'CEI·CO·AC·TURISCLARE·FON·(R)';

p. 73, no. 296 (pl. XLVII), obverse bust right with 'PETRUS·MARIA·RUBENS·B'CEI·CO·AC·TURISCLARE·FONDATOR' and reverse bust right with 'DIVE·BLANCHINE·R·SIMULACRUM·C·B·'; p. 73, no. 297 (pl. XLVII), reverse with Bianca dressed as a pilgrim with 'LIZADRA·ET·PELEGRINA·SOPRA·TUTO'.

Another portrait of Pier Maria has recently been identified by Kay Sutton in the *Ecce Homo* on fol. 283^v of MS Paris, BN Fonds Smith-Lesouëff 22. The female donor in this miniature, in facial features and in dress, strongly resembles the portraits of Bianca in the *Camera d'Oro*. For the history of the patronage of this manuscript, see Kay Sutton, 'The original Patron of the Lombard Manuscript Latin 757 in the Bibliothèque National, Paris', *The Burlington Magazine*, cccxiv, 1982, pp. 88-94.

⁹¹ See pp. 44-45 above. In addition to the problem of the misplaced ecliptic, several of the constellations are not properly situated. For example: components of constellation groupings such as the loosely connected *Cepheus-Cassiopeia-Andromeda-Perseus* cluster, are scattered throughout three quadrants of the vault, while *canis* and *canis antecedens* are very close to *corona meridionalis* and *piscis meridionalis*, though these two groups are nearly opposite each other in the heavens.

⁹² There are four Saturns, three depictions each of Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury and the Sun, and two representations of Luna.

By far more plausible is the suggestion first proposed by Campari, that the majority of the planet gods can be understood as illustrated in their zodiacal houses.⁹³ In particular, Saturn is to the right of his diurnal house of *Capricorn* and to the left of his nocturnal house of *Aquarius*. Jupiter appears in the triangular compartment to the left of his nocturnal house of *Pisces* and must have also appeared in the damaged triangular compartment on the east wall near his diurnal house of *Sagittarius*. Mars is to the right of his diurnal *Aries* and to the left of his nocturnal *Scorpio*, Venus in the triangular compartment next to her nocturnal house of *Libra* and to the right of her diurnal *Taurus*, Mercury to the left of his nocturnal *Virgo* and his diurnal *Gemini*, while the Sun appears to the left of his solar domain of *Leo* and Luna in the triangular compartment adjacent to *Cancer*.⁹⁴ The differentiation between day and night houses is clearly marked; a six-pointed star appears behind all but one of the gods when they are placed in the latter.

This leaves nine remaining planet gods who are placed roughly as follows: (with the hyphenated zodiacal signs used to indicate a planet's placement between two adjacent signs): Saturn in *Libra-Scorpio* and in *Aquarius*; Jupiter in *Pisces* and *Leo*; Mars in *Capricorn-Aquarius*; Venus in *Pisces*; Mercury in *Virgo-Libra*; Sol in *Pisces-Aries* or as a part of the Rossi impresa in *Leo*; Luna in *Aries-Taurus*.

The major problem in interpreting the Roccabianca planets as horoscopically placed, as any Renaissance astrologer would have immediately noticed, is the respective positioning of the Sun, Mercury and Venus. In the heavens Mercury's orbit is so close to the Sun that, from a geocentric point of view, it always appears within one sign of the Sun's position.⁹⁵ This being the case, the *sol oriens* located in the opposite corner of the vault from Mercury could not possibly be the Sun of any horoscopic programme. Similarly, Venus is never further than an apparent 48° from the Sun, so that the Rossi impresa cannot indicate the Sun's location in a horoscopic chart since it is a full five zodiacal signs from the Venus in *Pisces*.⁹⁶ This astrological rule of thumb is borne out by astronomical fact. There were three times during Pier Maria Rossi's lifetime when the positions of at least

⁹³ See n. 9 above.

⁹⁴ The division of the zodiacal signs into diurnal and nocturnal domiciles of the planet gods is far from constant. Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos*, 1, 17) assigns the planets to houses without making any differentiation between day and night houses. The same is found in Julius Firmicus Maternus (*Matheseos Libri VIII*, 11, 5), Macrobius (*Commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis Libri II*, 1, XXI, 24-27), Porphyry (*De astro nyspharum*, 22) and in the pseudo-Bede's *Mundi constitutio* (Migne, *PL* xc, 892-3). Macrobius, however, says that the Sun was in *Leo*, Luna in *Cancer*, Mercury in *Virgo*, Venus in *Libra*, Mars in *Scorpio*, Jupiter in *Sagittarius* and Saturn in *Capricorn* on the day the Earth began, which could be interpreted as referring to diurnal houses. The inconsistency about diurnal and nocturnal houses is reflected in modern summaries of these theories. F. Boll and C. Bezold (*Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, Leipzig and Berlin 1926, p. 59), offer:

	diurnal	nocturnal
Mercury	Virgo	Gemini
Venus	Libra	Taurus
Mars	Scorpio	Aries
Jupiter	Sagittarius	Pisces
Saturn	Capricorn	Aquarius

Devore (*Encyclopedia of Astrology*, op. cit. n. 69 above, pp. 117, 119) lists:

	diurnal	nocturnal
Mercury	Gemini	Virgo
Venus	Libra	Taurus
Mars	Aries	Scorpio
Jupiter	Sagittarius	Pisces
Saturn	Aquarius	Capricorn

The Roccabianca planets seem to follow Macrobius, were one to infer that the planets were in their nocturnal domiciles at the beginning of the world.

⁹⁵ Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 1, 17.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

four planets matched their positions in the Roccabianca vault, but not once, from 1412 to 1482, was there a date when all the planets were so aligned.⁹⁷

Another aspect of the tradition of planetary domiciles was that each planet also had a sign in which it was said to be 'exalted'. Sol was exalted in *Aries*, Luna in *Taurus*, Mercury in *Virgo*, Venus in *Pisces*, Mars in *Capricorn*, Jupiter in *Cancer* and Saturn in *Libra*.⁹⁸ This notion of planet exaltation accounts for the positioning of seven of the remaining planet gods on the Roccabianca vault. It should also be mentioned that *caput draconis*, who were astrologically accorded the same respect as if they were two additional planets, also had houses of exaltation — *caput draconis* in *Gemini* and *cauda draconis* in *Capricorn*, exactly where they are depicted on the vault.⁹⁹

Though this is not the horoscope of either Pier Maria Rossi or Bianca Pellegrini, it seems that there might be some allusion to their birthdates in the imagery of the vault. Above the Rossi lion impresa is a small star upon which there is a heart and above which there is a marchional crown (Pl. 17d). A similar star and heart, but without the crown, is located close to *Sagittarius* on the eastern side of the vault (Pl. 11b). As mentioned above, both the heart and the marchional crown were emblems used by the lovers. It seems quite plausible that these images appear as reminders of the location of the lovers' natal stars, that spot in the heavens from which the essence of their souls descended at the moment of their birth.

Various dates have been proposed for Pier Maria's birth. Pezzana, citing a baptismal notation in the Rossi family missal, quotes the following passage:

ccccxij die xxv mensis marcij. nomina et prenomina dominorum peregrinorum Venientium a Beato Antonio Viennensi qui levaverunt de sacro fonte baptismatis Petrum Mariam natum magnifici petri de Rubcis qui natus fuit eodem millesimo [sic., i.e.: anno] et die xxv ejusdem mensis marcii hora secunda noctis vel circa. . . .

to support his choice of 25 March 1413 as Pier Maria's birthdate.¹⁰⁰ Jacopo Caviceo, Rossi's friend and biographer, states that Rossi died at the age of sixty-nine years and twelve days.¹⁰¹ According to the *Diario*, Rossi died 1 September 1482,¹⁰² which would have made his birthdate 20 August 1413. Given the relative reliability of the sources one might mistrust Caviceo's memory were it not for the fact that the stellar emblem in the Roccabianca vault, placed between the two zodiacal signs of *Leo* and *Virgo*, coincides with

⁹⁷ 1: 11 February — 28 February:

Saturn	11° ♄ to 10° ♄ retrograde
Jupiter	9° ♃ to 7° ♃ retrograde
Mars	15° ♂ to 27° ♂
Venus	2° ♀ to 19° ♀

but Mercury was located 15° ♁ retrograde to 21° ♁ during these dates.

2: 9 April–5 May 1452

Saturn	14° ♄ to 13° ♄ retrograde
Jupiter	5° ♃ to 6° ♃
Mars	12° ♂ to 29° ♂

but by 9 April Venus was nearly 18° ♀, by 11 April the Sun was a full degree into ♄ and Mercury was 8° ♀.

3: 1 September–30 November 1434

Saturn was in ♁, Jupiter in ♃ and Mars between ♂ and ♁, but on 1 September, Venus was 13° ♀, Mercury 18° ♀, and the Sun 17° ♀.

(Planetary longitudes calculated in accordance with Bryant Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar Positions AD 2 to AD 1600 at Five-day and Ten-day Intervals*, Philadelphia 1964, pp. 724–59; zodiacal positions calculated from the Table on p. xiii of William D. Stahlman and Owen Gingerich, *Solar and Planetary Longitudes for Years –2500 to +2500 by 10-day Intervals*, Madison 1963.)

⁹⁸ Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 1, 19; Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos Libri VIII*, iii, 5; Boll and Bezold, *Sternglaube* (n. 94 above), p. 59.

⁹⁹ Devore, *Encyclopedia* (n. 69 above), p. 117.

¹⁰⁰ Pezzana, *Storia*, iv, p. 301, n. 4.

¹⁰¹ Caviceo cited in Pezzana, *Storia*, iv, p. 301.

¹⁰² Pezzana, *Storia*, iv, p. 300.

the position of the Sun at 5° *Virgo*, its location on 20 August 1413.¹⁰³ Although this coincidence cannot prove either Caviceo's date or my hypothesis, it seems sufficiently compelling to warrant consideration. And if the crowned heart was meant to represent Rossi's birthdate, then perhaps the smaller, uncrowned heart located between *Scorpio* and *Sagittarius* illustrates the natal star of Bianca Pellegrini.¹⁰⁴

The Roccabianca vault illustrates a highly personalized astrological vision of the cosmos. In this aspect, it is very close to two other monuments of Renaissance cosmological decoration, the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini and the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. The Roccabianca vault, however, perhaps only because of its remarkable state of preservation, is the only one whose iconography can be shown to have been defined by a specific manuscript tradition.

SAMUEL H. KRESS PROGRAM IN ART HISTORY

¹⁰³ Tuckerman, *Planetary Positions* ... (n. 97 above), p. 724.

20 August 1413:		25 March 1413:	
Saturn	22° ♀	Saturn	5° ♀
Jupiter	8° ♀	Jupiter	11° ♀
Mars	25° ☉	Mars	12° ♀
Sun	5° ♀	Sun	13° ♀
Venus	2° ♀	Venus	3° ♀
Mercury	21° ♀	Mercury	29° ♀
Moon	10° ♀	Moon	17° ♀

The fact that Saturn was in Gemini during both of Rossi's proposed birthdates supplies further evidence against the hypothesis that the programming of Roccabianca planet gods is related to Rossi's birthdate.

¹⁰⁴ It should be noted that there are remains of several inscriptions along the lowest edges of the vault. Below the seated Luna in the northwest corner, there are letters which Campari transcribed as 'FOR. MARTIS ENACOLO' of which only the final 'NACOLO' survives. Below the Leo there is '[]'. MERCURY I(N) LEONE V. OC (?). Above the Rossi lion-sun, Campari has recorded 'PLANA STELLARUM' of which there are no traces. There is also a series of letters below the feet of Aquarius, too badly effaced to be legible. It seems possible that these inscriptions might have recorded some sort of horoscopic notation.

The intriguing 'Mercury in Leone' would coincide with Rossi's own chart if his birthdate was 20 August 1413.

APPENDIX¹⁰⁵

Since all the following manuscripts reflect aspects of the same textual tradition (see pp. 45, 47 above), the arrangement into groups has been made according to pictorial similarities. Some of the groups are closely related in format and illustration — such as Groups I, II, III and IV. In these cases it is obvious that one or more manuscripts have been copied from another in the group or from a

¹⁰⁵ Select bibliography for the manuscripts listed in the Appendix:

- Basle F. II. 33
 K. Escher, *Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven* ... Basle 1917, pp. 127–28.
 F. Boll, *Sphaera. Neue griechischen Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder* ... Leipzig 1903, p. 445.
 G. Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder. Mit Forschungen zu Hipparchos, Aratos und seinen Fortsetzern und Beiträgen zur Kunstgeschichte des Sternhimmels*, Berlin 1898, p. 151.
 Bergamo Σ. II. 2
 McGurk IV, pp. xiv, xxii, 3ff.
 Berlin, KK. 78. D. 12
 Saxl-Meier III, I, p. lii, n. 1.
 P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen, Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts*

- der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Leipzig 1931, pp. 80–83.
 Brussels 10117–26
 Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xlix, n. 19.
 H. Michel, 'Les manuscrits astronomiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique,' *Ciel et Terre*, LXV, 1949, pp. 199–204.
 H. Silvestre, 'Incipits des traités médiévaux de sciences expérimentales dans les manuscrits latins de Bruxelles,' *Scriptorium*, V, 1951, pp. 145–60.
 R. Calcoen, *Inventory des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}*, III, Brussels 1975, pp. 20–22.
 Catania 87
 McGurk IV, pp. xiv, 10ff.
 M. Fava, 'Codices latini catinenses,' *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, V, 1897, pp. 432–35.
 A. Hauber, 'Zur Verbreitung es Astronomen Süßl,' *Islam*, VIII, 1918, pp. 50–51.

common prototype. Groups II, IVa and the manuscript Ia show the continuity of a particular pictorial tradition into a different format or manuscript type. The manuscripts listed in Group V all represent what could be considered the final stage of the development of the Latin *Almagest*. In this last group, the lists of alternate constellation names are often confused or corrupt and both the texts and illustrations regularly show the infiltration of Western elements.

- Cues 207
Saxl II, p. 39.
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. lii, n. 1.
J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Berncastel a/Mosel*, Trier 1905, pp. 193 ff.
K. Beyerle, 'Astronomische Handschriften von böhmischen Königshöfen,' *Mitteilungen der Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXIX, 1922, pp. 116-22.
J. Hartmann, 'Die astronomischen Instrumente des Kardinals Nikolaus Cusanus,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen mathematisch-physikalische Klasse*, N.F. X, 1919, pp. 11 ff.
K. Fischer, 'Some Unpublished Astrological Illustrations from Central and Eastern Europe,' this *Journal*, XXVI, 1964, pp. 311-12.
Hauber, 'Süff', pp. 50-51.
Florence, BN, Angeli 1147 A.6
McGurk IV, pp. xiv, 28, 33 ff.
Florence, Ricc. 3011
McGurk IV, pp. xiv, 36 ff.
M. L. Scuticini Greco, *Miniature Riccardiana*, Florence 1958, pp. 291-92.
Exh. *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura. Palazzo di Venezia — Roma. Catalogo*, Rome 1953, p. 331.
Königsberg 1735
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xlviii ff.
E. Zinner, *Verzeichnis der astronomischen Handschriften der deutschen Kulturgebietes*, Munich 1925, p. 484, no. 8679.
London, BL, Arundel 66
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. xlix, 89 ff.
Los Angeles, Getty, Ludwig XII.7
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. 30, 275 ff.
J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, XII, 1984 (Acquisitions 1983), pp. 299-300.
A. von Eaw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die HSS der Sammlung Ludwig*, Cologne 1979-82, III, pp. 176-82.
Madrid 9287
J. Domínguez-Borboña, *Manuscritos con pinturas. Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, I, Madrid 1933, p. 283, no. 648.
McGurk IV, p. 36.
Munich, cgm 826
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. lii, n. 1.
Exh. *400 Jahre Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich 1958, p. 25.
Oxford, Can. misc. 554
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. li, 341 ff.
O. Pächt and J. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, II, Oxford 1970, p. 60, no. 598, and pl. LVII.
A. Favaro, 'Intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Prodocimo de' Beldomandi matematico padovano del secolo XV,' *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze, matematiche, e fisiche*, XII, 1879, pp. 1-74, 115-251.
Oxford, Rawl. C. 117
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. xxxi, li, 398 ff.
Pächt and Alexander, *Illum. MSS of the Bodleian*, III, p. 47, no. 517 and pl. XLIX.
Carmody, *Arabic Sciences*... (n. 14 above), p. 82.
Paris, Arsenal 1036
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. xxxii, xlv, xlix, lii and figs 17 and 35.
McGurk IV, pp. xx, xxvi, 11.
Hauber, 'Süff', p. 50.
E. Wellesz 'An Early Al-Süfi Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Arabic Constellation Images,' *Art orientalis*, III, 1959, p. 22.
Prague, D.A. II. 13
Fischer, this *Journal*, XXVI, p. 311-12.
Vatican, Pal. lat. 1368
Saxl I, pp. 11-15.
Saxl II, pp. 29 ff., 25.
Vatican, Pal. lat. 1377
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xlix, n. 19.
McGurk IV, p. xxiv.
Vatican, Urb. lat. 1399
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. li (listed incorrectly as 1399).
Vatican, Vat. lat. 3099
Saxl I, pp. 80-82.
Saxl II, p. 152.
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. li.
McGurk IV, pp. xiv, xxvii, 6.
Vatican, Vat. lat. 8174
Saxl I, p. 95.
Saxl-Meier III, I, pp. xlix, 276.
Pierre Knecht, *I libri astronomici di Alfonso X in una versione fiorentina del Trecento* (Tesi di laurea presentata alla facoltà di lettere dell'Università di Zurigo, 1954) Saragossa 1965.
Vienna 5318
Saxl II, pp. 20, 132 ff.
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. xlviii.
McGurk IV, pp. xxvi, 11.
Hauber, 'Süff', p. 51.
Vienna 5415
Saxl II, pp. 24, 25, 34 ff., 89 ff.
Saxl-Meier III, I, p. li.
McGurk IV, p. xxxi, 33.

GROUP I

All of these Tabular manuscripts are identical in format, text and illustration. The table for each constellation is headed with a list of the multiple names for that constellation. Illustrations are closely related to Arabic models.

- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, lat. 1036 Sicilian 13th c.
 illustrations from 1^r-50^r
 inc.: 'Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymaginibus suis. Verificatis ab Ebbenesophy philosopho Annis arabum 272 . . . ' (fol. 1^r)
- Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78. D. 12 Italian (Murano?) late-14th c.
 illustrations from 1^r-47^v
 inc.: 'Imagines piholomei cum stellis suis verificatis tempore Alfonsi regis' (fol. 1^r)
- Prague, Památník Národního Pisemnictví, Strahoviensis D.A. II. 13 Bohemian mid-14th c.
 illustrations from 1^r-48^v
- Munich, Staatsbibliothek, clm 826 Bohemian late-14th c.
 illustrations 34^r-41^v
 The section containing the illustrations is incomplete and ends after the table for *epus secundus*.

GROUP Ia

Close in several of its details to the Group I manuscripts, but illustrations are arranged in a different format of two to four illustrations per page with multiple name labels and the number of stars in each constellation listed. No text or table.

- Cues, Hospitalbibliothek, 207 Bohemian 14th c.
 illustrations from 124^v-135^r
 inc.: 'Tabulae stellarum fixarum secundum philosophum cuius nomen Ebennesophus que equate sunt anno arabum 325' (fol. 116^v)

GROUP Ib

Two manuscripts identical in format, text and illustration. Very close to Group I MSS, but with multiple illustrations for *vultur cadens*, *gallina/Pleiades*, *Hercules*, *Serpentarius*, and *Andromeda*. Labels contain multiple names for each constellation and astrological information regarding the types of people born under each constellation.

- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 5318 Salzburg 15th c.
 illustrations from 17^v-36^v
 inc.: 'Assit [sic = Adsit] in principio sancta Maria. Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymaginibus suis verificatis ab Jeber Mosphim philosopho annis Arabum 325.' (fol. 2^r)
- Catania, Biblioteca Comunale, 87 (int. 87) Italian 15th c.
 illustrations from 7^r-19^v
 inc.: 'Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymaginibus suis verificatis ab Ilber mosophim philosopho annis arabum 325.' (fol. 21^r)

GROUP II

Though all these manuscripts are different in format, they have similar multi-labelled illustrations. Pal. lat. 1368 also contains short paragraphs of mythological information for each constellation.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1377 14th c.
 illustrations from 183^r-194^v
 inc.: 'Forme et ymagines celi et stelle ipsarum secundum citus et magnitudines tabulate almagesti ptolomeo. . . . (fol. 183^r)

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1368 German 1426
 illustrations from 51^r-56^r
 inc.: 'Tabule stellarum fixarum in 48. celi ymaginibus verificatarum per magistrum Johannem decanum Nubensem ad annum Christi 1420.' (fol. 51^r)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10117-26 Italian? 15th c.
 illustrations from 54^r-78^r
 inc.: 'Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi *Tabulae* — inc.: 'Forma et ymagines celi et stelle ipsarum secundum citus et magnitudines almagesti. Tholomei.' (fol. 54^r)

GROUP III

Two manuscripts which are different in format, but similar in text and illustration. The text of the Getty MS seems to be derived from the list of constellation names on fols 3^v-4^r of the Vatican MS.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 8174 Florentine 1379
 illustrations from 1^r-93^r
 inc.: 'Questo e il libro delle figure delle stelle fisse le quali sono nel ottavo cielo. Il quale libro fece traslatate di caldeo e de arabicho in volgare castellano lo Re don Alfonso figlio . . . e traslatollo per suo chomandamento Guida il Choenso al Haquin e Guillienarremon da Spaso cherico'. (fol. 1^r)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XII.7 English c. 1400
 (formerly Kew, Cockerell Collection)
 illustrations from 1^r-6^r
 expl.: 'Explicunt ymagines celi' (fol. 6^r)

GROUP IV

Two Tabular manuscripts identical in text, format and marginal illustrations. Minor errors have been made in the transcription of numbers and letters in the Bergamo MS.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 3099 Ferrarese 1472
 illustrations from 11^v-24^v
 inc.: 'Tabule iste verificate fuerunt tempore Alfonsi regis quod fuit anno domini 1251 . . .' (fol. 11^v)

Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, S. it. 2 N. Italian 2nd half 15th c.
 illustrations from 91^r-112^v

الناريس



NARES LEONIS.
uocatur in aethra
est nubes in medio du-
arum stellaz paruu-
larum. ymago gressu
cuius facies sit hinc et

الناريس هي انف الأسد

هي من نجابتين كوكبين صغيرا
صورت عقاب ووجه وجه

GROUP IV_a

Three manuscripts arranged in different formats: Rawl. C. 117 is tabular with multiple marginal illustrations for each constellation; Can. misc. 554 has multiple illustrations for each constellation without text, tables or labels; Urb. lat. 1399 has illustrations that are labelled with multiple names and the number of stars found in each constellation. All three are related to the group IV MSS, but contain common pictorial idiosyncrasies that are not found in the other tabular manuscripts.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 117 English c. 1300
illustrations from 145^r-156^r

inc.: 'Sequitur tabula stellarum fixarum secundum quod sunt semper in ymaginibus signorum celi et etiam de quibusdam que sunt extra ymagines. . . .' (fol. 145^r)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. misc. 554 Paduan 1435
illustrations from 154^r-170^r

Proscodimo de' Beldomandi *Opere*, inc.: 'Stelle fixe verificate completis annis Christi 1256 mensibus 5' (fol. 174^r)

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat. 1399 Italian 15th c.
illustrations from 35^r-40^r

GROUP V: MISCELLANEOUS MSS

a. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 3011 Italian late 15th c.
illustrations from 2^r-17^r

Ludovico de Angulo *De figura seu imagine mundi*, inc.: 'Sequitur tertia pars quae est de superiori sphaera coeli et stellis fixis' (fol. 1^r)

Intertextual drawings, some of which are from the Stellar Table tradition. Notes in margins list the different names for each constellation.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9267 Florentine 1456
illustrations from 85^r-104^r

Ludovico de Angulo *De imagine mundi*, inc.: 'Cap. primum istius tercie partis de deivisione firmamenti coeli' (fol. 83^r)

Similar in several details to Riccardiana 3011 with multiple constellation names added as labels to each illustration.

b. Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, F. n. 33 German 1st half 15th c.
illustrations from 38^r-41^r

Several illustrations per page which are very close to the Arabic/Şūfī tradition. Labelled with Latin labels. No text or tables.

c. Munich, J. Rosenthal Collection, Catalogue 100, 2 German? 15th c.
illustrations from 153^r-170^r

In format very much like Group Ib MSS, having several illustrations per page accompanied by multi-name labels and passages regarding the horoscopes of individuals born under each constellation.

- d. Königsberg, Universitäts-bibliothek, 1735 German 14th c.
 illustrations from 153^r-181^r
 inc.: 'Tabule stellarum fixarum verificatarum per dominum Alphoncium quondam regem hispanie ex quibus fit spera solida ptolomei . . . et ego hermannus salus addo super Alphoncium anno 1360 completo 1 gradus, 32 minuta, 52 secunda licet hic ponam earum loca secundum Alphoncium' (fol. 152^r)
 A peculiar Tabular MS with marginal illustrations labelled with a confused list of variant names for each constellation. Also contains several pictorial details not found in the other MSS.
- e. London, British Library, Arundel 66 English 1490
 illustrations from 33^r-46^r
 Guido Bonatti *Liber introductorius* with expl.: 'Explicit tabula stellarum fixarum secundum quod sunt in ymaginibus signorum extracta a Ptholomeo dictione. 6^a. et 7. Almageste et verificata per astrologos domini Alfonsi illustris regis Hispanie Anno Domini 1449 et verificata Oxioniensis Anno Domini 1449 per Astrologos Humfridi ducis Glous.' (fol. 47^r)
 Tabular MS with headings to each table listing the multiple names for each constellation. Illustrations derived from non-Tabular MSS.
- f. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 5415 German ~1464
 illustrations from 217^r-251^r
 inc.: 'Tabula stellarum fixarum secundum quod sunt in ymaginibus celi et etiam quarundam que sunt extra huiusmodi ymagines . . .' (fol. 217^r)
 Tabular MS with multiple labels and framed illustrations.
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Angeli 1147. A. 6 Italian 15th c.
 illustrations from 2^r-13^v
 Illustrations scattered across a double-page spread with labels in Latin accompanying each constellation. Shares certain pictorial idiosyncrasies with Vienna 5415.



a—North-east quadrant (pp. 43, 47–64 *passim*)



b—South-east quadrant (pp. 43, 48–64 *passim*)

Roccabianca vault, details



a—North-west quadrant (pp. 43, 47–64 *passim*)



b—South-west quadrant (pp. 43, 47–64 *passim*)

Roccabianca vault, details



a—Ursa major, Ursa minor, Gallina, Perseus with Caput algal, Cassiopeia. Rocca Bianca vault, detail (pp. 47, 51)



b—Gallina, Cassiopeia, Perseus, Corallium (Auriga). Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb.lat. 1399, fol. 38^v (pp. 51)

12



a—Serpens, Hydra, Corallium (Auriga), Alange (Serpentarius), Inflammatus (Cepheus). Rocca Bianca vault, detail (pp. 47, 52, 55)



b—Cepheus, fol. 163^v (p. 48)

c, e: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon.a.1056, 534



c—Serpens, fol. 161^v (p. 53)



d—Inflammatus (Cepheus), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb.lat. 1399, fol. 35^v (p. 48, n. 23)

13



a—Aquila, Equus prior, Vociferans (Boötes), Delphinus. Roccabianca vault, detail (pp. 48–50, 53)

... et condem sui de quibus. Et
vna e cu de pma magnitudine
ut p in subiecta fig.



c—Boötes. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Edili 170, fol. 84^v (p. 49)



b—Boötes. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 554, fol. 163^v (p. 48)



d—The polar sphere, Corona septentrionalis, Boötes. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 734, fol. 5^v (p. 49)



a—Allore (Vultur cadens). Bergamo, Bibl. Civica, MS Σ.II.2, fol. 94^r (p. 30)



c—Equus alatus (Pegasus), Equus prior. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 554, fol. 160^v (p. 53)



b—Triangulum, Vultur cadens, Algithy (Hercules), Equus alatus (Pegasus), Andromeda. Roccabianca vault, detail (pp. 50, 53f)



d—Hercules, fol. 146^r (p. 50)

d, e: Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C.117



e—Andromeda, fol. 149^r (p. 54)



a—Gemini. New York, Morgan Library, MS 355, fol. 5^r (p. 54)



b—Orion. Bergamo, Bibl. Civica, MS Σ. II. 2, fol. 107^r (p. 55)



c—Vas. Catania, Bibl. Universitaria, MS 87, fol. 18^r (p. 56)



d—Lupus, fol. 156^v (p. 57)



e—Hydra, Navis, fol. 158^r (p. 56)



f—Austronotus, fol. 154^v (p. 57)

d-f: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 554



a—'Clouds'. Rocchianca vault, detail (pp. 59-61)



c—Socle tile with *Digne et in eternum* impresa. Castello di Torrechiara, Camera d'Oro, detail (p. 62)



b—Medal of Bianca Pellegrini d'Arluno by Gianfrancesco Enzola da Parma, 1457 (p. 59)



d—Sol in Leo and marchional crown with star. Rocchianca vault, detail (pp. 61, 64)