

# GÖTTERHIMMEL UND KÜNSTLERWERKSTATT



Julia Dellith, Nadja Horsch und Daniela Roberts (Hg.)

# GÖTTERHIMMEL UND KÜNSTLERWERKSTATT

*Perspektiven auf die Kunst der  
italienischen Renaissance*



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Stefano Vaccarano, Real Estate Management



PARK PALACE IMMOBILIER  
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT

by Stefano Vaccarano



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KRISTEN LIPPINCOTT

## An Early Renaissance View of the Heavens: Text and Image in Domenico Bandini's *De celo et signis celestibus*<sup>1</sup>

Domenico di Bandino d'Arezzo (c. 1535/40–1418), also known as Domenico Bandini, was part of a close-knit group of humanists closely associated with the great scholar and Florentine statesman, Colluccio Salutati, who were active in Florence in the latter decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Bandini's own career was centred on teaching grammar, poetry and rhetoric – in Bologna, Florence, Arezzo and Città di Castello – but he was also a prolific author. His known works include a basic Latin-Italian dictionary,<sup>3</sup> two works on Latin grammar (the *Rosarium artis grammaticae*<sup>4</sup> and the *Laurea de arte dictaminis*),<sup>5</sup> a commentary on Dante,<sup>6</sup> a study of Cicero's rhetoric,<sup>7</sup> commentaries on Lucan's *Pharsalia*<sup>8</sup> and Valerius

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1 I wish to thank Antonia Karaisl, Charles Burnett and Natalia Tizi for their generous assistance during the preparation of this text.

2 Also referred to as Domenico Bandini, he was born in Arezzo c. 1335/1340 and died there in August 1418. Although there is a large and growing bibliography on Bandini, the lion's share of our knowledge about his life, career and the contents of his library comes from Teresa Hankey's publications in the 1950s and 1960s, which (despite what seems to be a dislike for her subject and, even, slight disdain for his intellectual achievements) remain unsurpassed. See Hankey 1955; Hankey 1957a; Hankey 1957b; Hankey 1960 and Hankey 1963. For the most recent study and welcome re-assessment of Bandini's work, however, see Schürer 2017, which also provides a full and current bibliography.

3 A text described as the *vocabulo magistri Domenico* is preserved in two versions: Florence, BNC, Landau 260 and Modena, Bibl. Estense, a. V. 9.1 (ital. II, 39). The text has been edited by Pignatelli 2001. See also Pignatelli 1998.

4 The manuscript is preserved in Venice, Bibl. Marciana, lat. XIII, 47 (4220). See Hankey 1955, pp. 538–539 and Hankey 1957a, pp. 113–114, and n. 15.

5 Manuscripts copies survive in Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms 7502 and Brussels, Bib. Royale, Ms 1486. See Hankey 1955, pp. 539–541; Hankey 1957a, pp. 115 and n. 21; Polak 1993 and Schürer 2017, p. 58.

6 See Hankey 1955, p. 538 and Hankey 1957a, p. 118, who cites the reference to a commentary on Dante in the *De viris*, which had first been noticed by Mehus 1759, p. cxxxv, and additional references in the *De virtutibus*, mentioned by Barbi 1940, pp. 216–126. It is now presumed to be lost.

7 As yet, no copies of Bandini's *Rhetorica Ciceronis*, which seems to have been based on lectures he delivered in Bologna in 1374, have been uncovered. See Hankey 1955, pp. 542–543; Hankey 1957a, p. 115 and n. 24 and Schürer 2017, pp. 58–59.

8 Preserved in Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 9964. See Vattasso/Carusi 1914, pp. 203 ff.; Hankey 1955, pp. 544–545; Beldon 1972; Reynolds 1986, pp. 215–218 and Schürer 2017, p. 58.

Maximus's *Facta e dicta memorabilia*,<sup>9</sup> a commentary on Seneca's *Tragedies*<sup>10</sup> and an index to Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*.<sup>11</sup> His *magnum opus*, however, is an encyclopaedic compendium, the *Fons memorabilium universi* – 'the font of all memorable knowledge'. The chapter in which he discusses the so-called 'fixed stars' – that is, the stars that form the bodies of the constellations – is entitled *De celo et signis celestibus* and appears as chapter 6 in Part II of the volume.

### The text of *De celo et signis celestibus*

Of the 31 known, fifteenth-century versions and fragments of Bandini's encyclopaedia, only fourteen contain the text of the *De celo*.<sup>12</sup> His discussion of the heavens is included amongst the other books of his treatise dealing with cosmology and chronology. Internal evidence suggests that Part II of the *Fons* was 'completed' sometime around 1396, though the surviving manuscripts show that that Bandini himself re-edited and amplified several sections of the text in 1411 and kept his interventions current until his death in 1418.<sup>13</sup>

Each book in Domenico's encyclopaedia is arranged into a series of chapters devoted to a particular sub-topic within that subject.<sup>14</sup> In general, his arguments tend to proceed from 'setting the scene' – either through a set of introductory paragraphs or by using the well-known device of defining key sets of terms that will be used in the following discussions – to an examination of larger ideas and, then, to specific examples. More

9 Bandini's text has yet to be rediscovered. See Hankey 1955, p. 543 and Schürer 2017, p. 58.

10 See Hankey 1957a, p. 120; Monti/Pasut 1999; Monti 2002; Monti 2009; Monti 2010 and Schürer 2017, pp. 59 and 62–66.

11 Possibly begun at Salutati's suggestion. See Hankey 1955, pp. 545–547; Hankey 1957a, pp. 117–118. For the manuscript and editions of the *Genealogia* containing Domenico's index, see Hortis 1879, pp. 223–235, Wilkins 1927, pp. 20–25 and 67–70 and Schürer 2017, pp. 216–218. Hankey also mentions that two other minor works have been attributed to Bandini: a *Trattato della Musica* and a medical treatise, entitled *De pulmonibus*, both of which she feels that Domenico 'was perfectly capable of having written'. See Hankey 1955, pp. 547–558 (citation from p. 547), citing M. A. Alessi's *Vite d'illustri Aretini* (Arezzo, Biblioteca comunale, Ms 5), which is quoted by Viviani 1923, p. 48, and Redi 1712, III, p. 54.

12 See Appendix I.

13 For Domenico's 'tinkerings' with these books, see Hankey 1960, pp. 18–19. The most important of these are the addition of three columns of text concerning the influence of the stars on human affairs that Hankey dates to Domenico's revisions of 1412 and 1418. These changes are evident from comparisons between those manuscripts Hankey defines as belonging to Group II (based on a later version of Domenico's text) and Group III (based on an earlier version).

14 Unfortunately, these chapters rarely seem to follow the same numeration from manuscript to manuscript, which is, perhaps, not surprising given the somewhat protean nature of Bandini's fifty-year enterprise.



than one scholar has criticised Bandini for summarizing or quoting the text of previous authors without crediting them;<sup>15</sup> but, for the great majority of cases one might cite from the *De celo et signis celestibus*, Bandini tends more towards being extremely scrupulous in his citations, usually providing an abbreviated form of the author's name, the work and the section of that work from which he has drawn the material. Owing to this meticulousness, it is possible not only for a modern scholar to locate most of the pertinent passages in the original texts, but to compare Domenico's transcriptions with modern editions. Moreover, his tendency often to quote his sources verbatim can provide interesting insights into the state of a given text at the turn of the fifteenth century. Sometimes, it is possible even to trace which specific manuscript he has consulted during his process of compilation.

As Schürer has pointed out, for Bandini's generation, the real value of an encyclopaedia such as his would have been as a 'Bibliothekersatz' – or a 'library substitute'.<sup>16</sup> And, to that end, Bandini amassed a formidable collection of books during his lifetime.<sup>17</sup> The basis of his library already had been established by 1377, as can be inferred from the series of letters between Bandini and Salutati, in which the two men discussed the books they owned and those for which they were still searching.<sup>18</sup> Hankey argues that the bulk of Bandini's collection appears to have been acquired during the nearly twenty years he spent teaching in Florence from c. 1381 to 1399, and that most of the classical texts which he owned and/or has access to 'came to him as a result of his close friendship with Salutati and membership of the latter's circle in Florence'.<sup>19</sup> Whereas this might be true, it is worth pointing out that this characterization is slightly prejudiced by Hankey's own interests in Bandini's late biographical writings – more specifically, on the chapters *De viris claris* and *De mulieribus claris* in Part V of his treatise. As such, it tends to present a rather one-sided view of the breadth and range of his learning, given that there are many aspects of the sources that Bandini cites in his *De celo* that argue in favour of much more widely ranging interests and the influence that his periods in the university towns of Bologna and Padua had on his intellectual development and curiosity.

15 See Hankey 1960, pp. 18–19 and Meyer 1993. Hankey feels that 'it was not among Domenico's habits to give credit to a contemporary if he could avoid it' (p. 18).

16 Schürer 2017, p. 80. He also cites Ribémont 1997, p. 59 and Rivers 1997, pp. 147–158.

17 See Sabbadini 1905–1914, II (1914), pp. 179–190 and Hankey 1957b.

18 See Sabbadini 1905–1914, I (1905), pp. 262, 276, 291–292 and Hankey 1957b, p. 178.

19 Hankey 1957b, p. 178.

## Describing the constellations

Bandini's discussion of the constellations occupies roughly the second half of his book *De celo et signis celestibus*. Whereas his previous passages concerning the cosmos tend to be somewhat old-fashioned and reflect a comfortably Christianised view of the heavens where the Classical and other 'exotic' authorities are shuffled on and off stage like bit players, his tone changes as he begins to describe the constellations. He moves from the late-medieval world of Christian authorities and scholastic glosses and from the astrological views of his near contemporaries to a series of direct and often verbatim citations from the two major classical astronomical authorities known in the late fourteenth century: Claudius Ptolemaeus and Gaius Iulius Hyginus. Moreover, even though he continues to cite Dante and *Anticlaudianus*, the majority of his poetic citations in this section are classical: from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Persius and from three different works by Seneca.<sup>20</sup>

He opens with an introduction, which has been copied nearly verbatim from the prefatory passages from Book III of the *De Astronomia* of Hyginus,<sup>21</sup> but which Bandini, oddly, attributes to Ptolemy.<sup>22</sup> He then provides a series of cartographical and mythological details for each constellation listing them in the order established by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*.<sup>23</sup>

The sections on each constellation vary in length. In general, those on the extra-zodiacal constellations tend to be shorter and follow a relatively strict formula. The only exception to this is the description of Orion, as discussed below. The texts on the zodiacal constellations tend to be longer, looser in structure and with a greater number of citations, many of which concern weather prognostications.

In the sections concerning the 36 extra-zodiacal constellations, each description begins with a mythological explanation for the constellation, which is quoted nearly verbatim from the relevant passages in Book II of Hyginus's *De astronomia*. Following this, there is a short section on the cartographic placement of this figure relative to the other constellations, sometimes with additional comments on the positions of the limbs or attributes (all of which Bandini appropriates from Book III of *De astronomia*).

20 He cites *Medea*, *Hercules furens* and the ps.-Senecan, *Hercules on Oeta*.

21 Hyginus, *De Astronomia*, III, 1, 1: "Igitur incipiemus a polo boreo [...] ad caudam inferioris contendat" (ed. LeBoeuffe 1983, p. 87).

22 "[...] que secundum Ptholomeum .7. *Almagesti*".

23 See Ptolemy, *Almagest*, VII, 5, 1–VIII, I, 48 (ed. Toomer 1984/1998, pp. 341–399). The only exception to this is the first three constellations of Ursa minor, Ursa maior and Draco, which he groups as a single circumpolar entity. In this, he appears to be deferring to the format of the illustration of the constellations, which depict the three in terms of a combined '*Draco inter arctos*' image.

He also adds a line or two concerning the constellations alongside which the figure in question rises and sets (also derived directly from Book III of the *De astronomia*), and he lists the total number of stars in each constellation according to Hyginus (Book III). He then provides a second list of the stars in each constellation according to their magnitude. This second list of stars comes directly from Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, in which the stellar table for each constellation ends with a summary sentence on the stars in and around the figure itself, listed according to magnitude.<sup>24</sup> Bandini concludes each entry with a formulaic 'pro ut patet in subiecta figura' and a space is duly left in the manuscript for the introduction of an illustration. The general format for each extra-zodiacal constellation, then, is a resumé of the opinions of two classical authorities whom modern scholars might categorise as representing two distinct strands of the transmission of astronomical knowledge from classical antiquity to the present. The first is the so-called 'handbook tradition', which grew from the compilation of myths and cartographic details that seem to have originated during second and first centuries BC and, in large part, became attached as didactic, companion pieces to the celestial poem known as the *Phaenomena*, written by the third-century BC Greek poet, Aratus.<sup>25</sup> The second tradition is the so-called 'mathematical' tradition associated with practicing astronomers, such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy.<sup>26</sup> Bandini seems to use each authority towards a specific end: Hyginus for the myths and his recitation of the signs with which each constellation rises and sets, and Ptolemy for the summary star list that is provided at the end of constellation entry in the *Almagest*.<sup>27</sup> He obviously prefers Ptolemy's opinion on the number of stars that appear within each constellation, not only with his recurring use of the terms "cui magis adhereo" and "solertior inquisitor" when referring to Ptolemy, but also in the fact he ends his citations of Ptolemy's star lists with the phrase: "prout patet in subiecta figura", which – in most cases – ties the authority of the accompanying illustration directly to Ptolemy's views.<sup>28</sup>

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24 For the most useful edition of Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation, see Kunitzsch 1990.

25 For a quick summary of these traditions, see Lippincott 1996.

26 Ibid.

27 Infrequently, Bandini cites one of the alternate names for a constellation, which he has derived from Gerard's translation. Also, in one or two cases, there is evidence that Bandini has consulted the actual star tables themselves. For example, he mentions the star that is shared between the tip of the hunting club held by Bootes and the end of the right leg of Hercules (v Boo), which can only be discovered by consulting the tables. See Toomer 1984/1998, pp. 347 and 349 and Kunitzsch 1990, p. 54. Conversely, though, Bandini claims that Ptolemy does not list the stars of the Pleiades within his description of Taurus, whereas he does list three of them in the tables. See Kunitzsch 1990, p. 92.

28 The only occasion in which Bandini does cite the position of stars within a particular figure occurs in his entry of Cancer – for which, interestingly – he relies on Hyginus's descriptions (Book III, 22). See below for the repercussions of this decision on the accompanying illustration.

A twenty-first-century academic going through Bandini's recitation of the total number of stars in each constellation will note that the lists credited to Ptolemy adhere very closely to the most authoritative modern edition of Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation of the text.<sup>29</sup> The total number of stars attributed to Hyginus, however, do not always tally with the numbers provided in existing editions of the *De astronomia*. The reason for this latter divergence is relatively simple. Most modern editors have tended to base their editions of Hyginus's text on readings taken from the older manuscript versions of the text.<sup>30</sup> Bandini, however, relies on a contemporary, fourteenth-century manuscript; and, from the variations apparent in his text, it can be shown that he based his transcriptions either directly on the well-known version of Hyginus that is preserved in Coluccio Salutati's own copy of text, now in the Vatican (Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3110), or a direct copy of it.

The history of Salutati's manuscript and its influence on the development of astronomical manuscripts in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries – as well as on the early printed versions of *De astronomia* – is a topic worthy of its own monographic study. Bandini's reliance on this source, however, is relatively easy to trace and appears most clearly in his citations of Hyginus's list of the total number of stars in each constellation. For example, in the descriptions of the stars of the constellation of Lyra, modern editions list a total of seven stars. In both Bandini's text and Salutati's manuscript, however, the total number of stars in Lyra is listed as nine.<sup>31</sup> There are similar discrepancies between modern editions and Salutati's manuscript for Perseus, Virgo, Pisces, Lepus, Navis and the constellation grouping of Hydra, Corvus and Crater.<sup>32</sup> In this specific case, then, one can clearly support Hankey's assessment that

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29 See Kunitzsch 1990.

30 For example, although LeBœuffe lists 27 manuscripts that he has consulted in order to create his edition, the majority of these date to between the tenth and twelfth centuries, with only one coming from the thirteenth century. See LeBœuffe 1983, pp. xlvii–lvi. Similarly, Viré lists 35 manuscripts, all but two of which pre-date the end of the twelfth century. See Viré 1992, pp. xii–xxvii.

31 The text in Vat. lat. 3110 (ff. 64v–65r) reads: “Haec Lira Virgine exoriente occidere, cum Sagittario exoriri perspicitur. Habet autem in ipsis testudinis lateribus singulas stellas: in summis cacuminibus eorum; quae in testudine ut brachia sunt coniecta vel collocata singulas; in medijs hisdem quos humeros Erathones [Eratosthenes] fingit; singulas in scapulis ipsius testudinis ii; in ima Lire, quae ut basis totius videtur, unam. Et ita omnio sunt novem”. Bandini's text reads: “Que teste Igineo in sua Astrologia poetica occidit oriente Virgine et oritur cum Sagittario. Vult quam que luceat stellis .9”.

32 With Perseus, the editions list 19 stars, whereas Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 67r) provides a total of 17 stars. Editions list a total of 19 stars in Virgo, and Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 71v) provides a total of 18 stars. In the editions, Pisces are given 17 stars in the northern fish, 12 in the southern fish and 12 in the stream, or a total of 41 stars. In Vat. lat. 3110 (ff. 72v–73r), there are 17 stars in the northern fish, 12 in the southern fish and 12 in the stream. The total of the stars in the stream, however, is listed as 13, making an overall total of 42 stars in the whole constellation. Bandini does not list the stars in the different parts of the constellation, but credits Hyginus with stating that there are a total of 42 stars in Pisces. The editions provide a total of 26 stars in Argo, but in Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 74v) and Bandini, there is a total

Domenico's citations of Hyginus, at least, show the direct influence of his close friendship with Coluccio Salutati.

As is discussed below, the illustrations in Salutati's manuscript, which go on to form the template for the majority of late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *De astronomia*, seem not to play a major role in either Bandini's descriptions or in the pictures that accompany his text. One notable exception concerns the constellation of Centaurus. When discussing the number of stars in the constellation, Bandini says:

Et ita figuratur ut antartico circulo niti pedibus. Et humeris hyemalem: substinere videatur leporem supinum destra manu tenens, secundum Iginium,<sup>33</sup> vel Lupum secundum Ptholomeum.<sup>34</sup>

He continues, noting the different positions in which each authority places the stars within the figures:

Et quamquam Iginius in utroque corpore ponat stellas<sup>34</sup>, videlicet in Centauro 24 et 10 in Lepore.<sup>35</sup>

Tamen magis adhereo Ptholomeo qui in corpore Centauri et Lupi ponit stellas 58, videlicet in corde Centauri 37, quarum una est de magnitudine prima, de secunda 5, de tertia 7, de quarta 18, et de quinta 8. Et in corpore Lupi 19, quarum 2 sunt de magnitudine tertia, de quarta 11, et de quinta 6 [...].<sup>36</sup>

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of 23 stars. With the grouping of Hydra, Corvus and Crater, editions list 27 in Hydra, 7 in Corvus and 8 in Crater, or a total of 42 stars. Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 76r) mentions 26 stars in Hydra, 7 in Corvus and 8 in Crater – or a total of 41 stars. Bandini states: "Item ponit Iginius in signo Idre stelle 26, in Corvo 7 et in Crater 8. Sic sunt omnino 41". The only exception is with Lepus, where both the editions and Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 73v) list six stars. Bandini, however, claims there are seven stars in his text. Interestingly the illustration that appears alongside Bandini's text in Vat. lat. 3121 (fol. 21r) illustrates 12 stars, showing that in this case, at least, the image follows Ptolemy's total.

33 Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 37, 1: "Hic ita figuratur, ut in antarctico circulo niti pedibus, humeris hiemalem sustinere videatur; capite prope caudam Hydrae coniungens, hostiam dextra manu tenens supinam [...]" (ed. LeBœuffe 1983, p. 111). The text of Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 75r) maintains that reading.

34 Ptolemy lists Lupus as a separate constellation. See below.

35 Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 37, 1–2: "Habet autem stellas supra caput tres obscuras, in utrisque humeris singulas claras, in cubito sinistro unam, in manu unam, in medio pectore equino unam, in prioribus poplitibus utrisque singulas, in interscapilio quattuor, in ventre duas claras, in cauda tres, in lumbo equino unam, in genibus posterioribus singulas, in poplitibus singulas. Omnino viginti quattuor. Hostia autem habet in cauda stellas duas, in pede de posterioribus primo unam et inter utrosque pedes unam, in interscapilio unam claram et in priore parte pedum unam, infra alteram, in capite tres dispositas. Omnino decem?" (ed. LeBœuffe 1983, p. 111).

36 Ptolemy, *Almagest*, VIII, 44: "[Centaurus] Imago ergo 37 stellarum in magnitudine prima est una, in secunda 5, in tertia 7, in quarta 16, in quinta 8. [...] [Lupus] Illarum ergo 19 stellarum in magnitudine

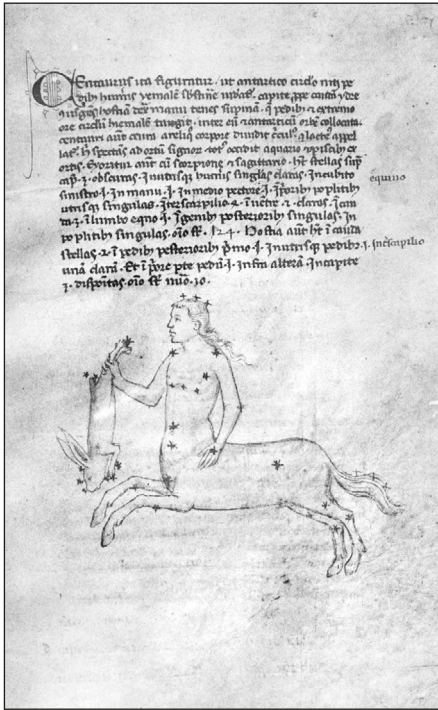


Fig. 1: Centaurus with Lepus  
Hyginus, *De astronomia*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3110, fol. 77r

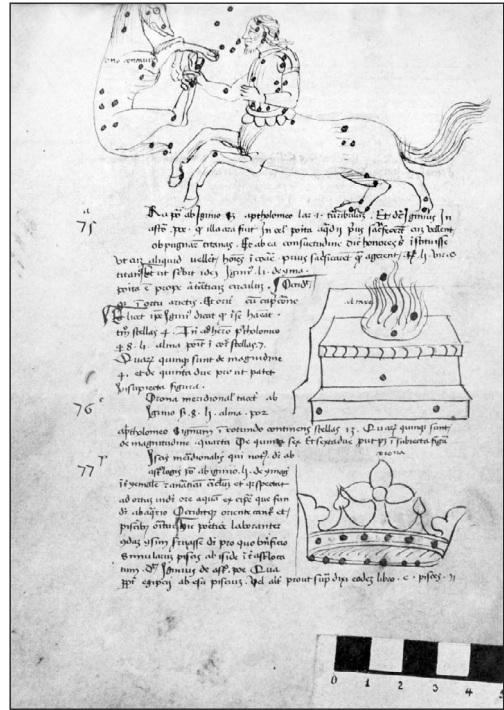


Fig. 2: Centaurus with Lupus  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 22v

In fact, Hyginus does not describe the animal held by Centaurus as “Lepus”, or a “hare”. Instead, he regularly uses the term “hostia”, to indicate a “victim” or “sacrificed animal”. The image in Bandini’s mind seems to have been derived not from the text, but from the illustration of Centaurus that appears in Salutati’s manuscript (fol. 75r), where the youthful Centaur is shown in full gallop, holding a hare outstretched in his right hand (fig. 1). When it comes to the illustrations in his own compendium, however, Bandini abandons Hyginus (and Salutati), preferring to base his image of Centaurus on an illustration related to the Ptolemaic tradition in which the Centaur holds a wolf (fig. 2 and 3).

Bandini’s entries on the zodiacal constellations tend to be longer and more varied, especially in the passages concerning the mythological sections, which are often fleshed out with carefully-selected excerpts from Latin authors, especially the Latin poets.

tertia sunt 2, in quarta 11, in quinta 6”. See the Latin transl. Gerard of Cremona; ed. Kunitzsch 1990, pp. 158 and 162.

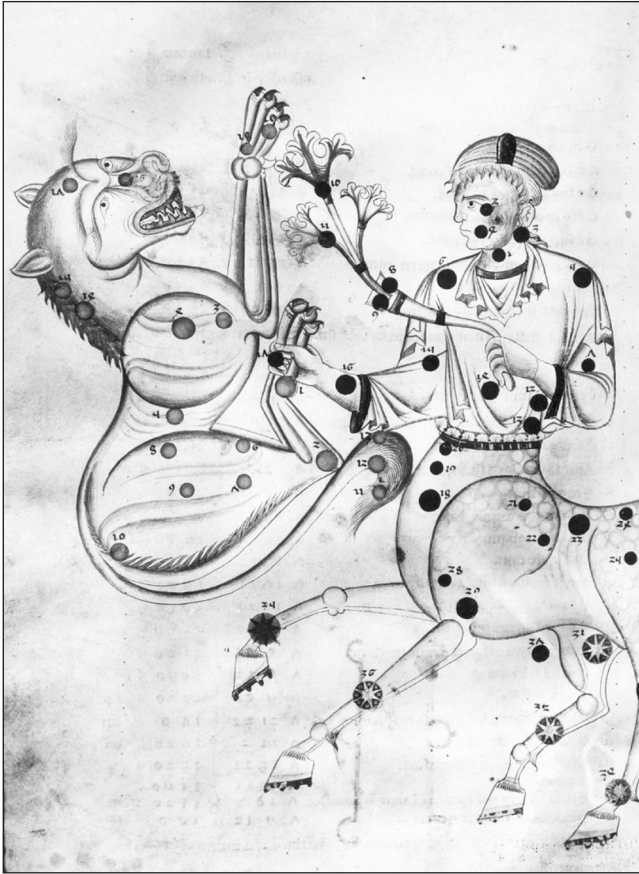


Fig. 3: Centaurus with Lupus  
Ptolemy, *Almagest* (Gerard of  
Cremona translation)  
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,  
lat. 1036, fol. 46v

He quotes Seneca in his descriptions of Taurus,<sup>37</sup> Cancer<sup>38</sup> and Leo;<sup>39</sup> Lucan's *Pharsalia* (Libra);<sup>40</sup> Ovid's *Fasti* (Taurus and Pisces)<sup>41</sup> and his *Metamorphoses* (Libra);<sup>42</sup> the *Satires*

37 Seneca, *Hercules furens*, vv. 8–9.

38 Seneca, *Hercules furens*, vv. 944–945.

39 Ps.-Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, vv. 118–20. From a passage in another section of the *Fons*, however, it is also clear that Bandini was aware of Nicholas Trevet's *Commentaries on the Seneca's Tragedies* – which is interesting, since at least three manuscript copies of Trevet's *Commentaries* contain illustrations of the constellations accompanying the expositions on passages from Seneca's *Thyestes*, *Hercules furens* and the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*. See Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 1650; Vatican, BAV, Urb. lat. 355 and Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 896. For information about the placement of the illustrations, see Franceschini 1938, Ussani 1959 and Meloni 1962. For additional information on these manuscripts, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, II, 1, pp. 107–108; II, 2, pp. 709–720 and II, 3, figg. 99, 100 and 896–902.

40 Lucan, *Pharsalia* (= *De bello civili*), II, vv. 691–692.

41 Ovid, *Fasti*, V, vv. 619–620 and II, vv. 451–472.

42 Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, II, vv. 195–197.

of Persius (Libra).<sup>43</sup> Amongst late-classical authorities, he cites the *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* of Macrobius (Gemini)<sup>44</sup> and Servius's *Commentaries on Virgil* (Gemini).<sup>45</sup> His citations of later medieval authors include Alan de Lille's *Anticlaudianus* (Gemini),<sup>46</sup> Andalò di Negro's *Introductorium ad Iudicia astrologia* (Taurus)<sup>47</sup> and Guido Bonatti's *De astronomiae* (Taurus).<sup>48</sup> His only citations from 'Arabic' authors appear in his section on Libra, where he discusses the fact that the length of the day and the night is equal during the equinox and cites the authority of Alfraganus<sup>49</sup> and Haly Abenragel.<sup>50</sup>

Between the last zodiacal constellation (Pisces) and the first constellation of the southern celestial hemisphere (Cetus), Bandini embarks upon a lengthy overview of the astrological lore associated with the different signs of the zodiac. In method, this section is close to those that precede and follow it, but the sources he cites are surprisingly different. Indeed, in the entire section devoted to the astrology of the signs, he cites Hyginus and Ptolemy only once each. Instead, his authorities for these passages are almost exclusively medieval, with 'Arabic' authors taking centre stage: namely, Albumasar,<sup>51</sup> Zahl,<sup>52</sup> Haly Abenragel<sup>53</sup> and Alchabitius,<sup>54</sup> with supplementary corroboration from Andalò di Negro,<sup>55</sup> Michael Scot and Guido Bonatti.

Following the extended astrological intervention, Bandini returns to his discussion of the constellations of the southern celestial hemisphere. As with the passages on the figures of the northern celestial hemisphere, Bandini's entries are much shorter than those on the zodiacal constellations, with the one exception of his entry on Orion, which is twice as long as the other entries for the non-zodiacal constellations. Not only does Bandini supplement the mythological information on the appearance of the

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43 Persius, *Satire*, V, vv. 45–49.

44 Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, I, vi, 51–55.

45 Servius, *In Virgilio carmina commentariorum on Aeneid*, VI, 121.

46 Alan de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, V, vv. 17–18.

47 Andalò di Negro, *Introductorium ad iudicia astrologie*, listing a variant of the number of stars in the constellation.

48 Guido Bonatti, *De astronomiae Tractatus X*, Pars prima, tractatus secundus, cap. vii.

49 Alfraganus [Abū al-'Abbās Ḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī], *Liber de aggregatione stellarum*, chap. vi.

50 Haly Abenragel [Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī l-Rijāl], *Praeclarissimus liber completus in iudiciis astrorum*, chap. I.

51 Albumasar, *Introductoriam in astrologiam*, II, differentia 6.

52 Both the *De electionibus*, chap. ii and *De interrogationibus*, chaps. xii and xiv.

53 Haly Abenragel, *De iudiciis astrorum*, IV, chap. ix.

54 Alchabitius [[Abū al-Ṣaqr 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn 'Alī al-Qabīsī], *Introductorium ad iudiciis astrorum*, xi (also known as the *Libellus isagogicus*).

55 Andalò di Negro, *Introductorius ad iudicia astrologia*.



constellation, drawn from Virgil's *Aeneid*<sup>56</sup> and Lucan's *Pharsalia*,<sup>57</sup> but he also adds a certain amount of astronomical and meteorological details, taken from Lactantius's Commentary on the ninth *Thebaid* of Statius,<sup>58</sup> Isidore's *Etymologies*<sup>59</sup> and Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo*.<sup>60</sup> Exactly why this constellation attracted so much of Bandini's attention remains unclear, though it is interesting to note that he describes Orion as "cantatissimus", suggesting that his focus on Orion may only reflect the richness of the literary associations he was able to uncover.

### The illustrations of *De celo et signis celestibus*

**Sources and context:** As mentioned, Bandini concludes the description of each constellation with the phrase of "prout patet in subiecta figura", which demonstrates that he intended this part of his treatise, at least, to be illustrated. Of the 14 manuscripts containing the text of the *De celo*, only six have been illustrated.<sup>61</sup>

The five manuscripts which contain illustrations are as follows:

Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Edili 170–172

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Ms 1983

London, Lambeth Palace, Ms 25

Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms 4

To this list, one might add the manuscript in Oxford, Balliol College, Ms 238 A-E. The latter sections of the compendium have been copiously illustrated, but the pages of *De celo*, which were probably equally as richly decorated, have been excised, leaving only three cosmological diagrams from the beginning of the book (fig. 4).<sup>62</sup>

As one might expect of a group of manuscripts, which were all copied within a comparatively confined ambit and over a relatively short period of time,<sup>63</sup> the illustrations in four of the manuscripts are relatively homogenous. There are small

56 Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, vv. 517–521 and I, v. 535.

57 Lucan, *Pharsalia* (= *De bello civili*), I, v. 665.

58 Lactantius, *In Statii Thebaida Commentum* IX, IX, 461.

59 *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, III, lxxi, 10.

60 Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo libri xxii*, sive *etymologiarum opus*, IX, 14.

61 See Appendix I. Note that the remaining eight manuscripts have retained the blank spaces in the text.

62 Oxford, Balliol College, Ms 238B, ff. 46v–47r. See Mynors 1963, pp. 256–257. Mynors notes that the *De Celso* begins on fol. 22r and breaks off in chapter 14 with "decertantes celum inge(nitum)". It recommences with fol. 25r = *Liber de stellis fixis* with an imperfect beginning: "set vereor me morsibus lanier detractorum".

63 Hankey 1960, pp. 48–49.

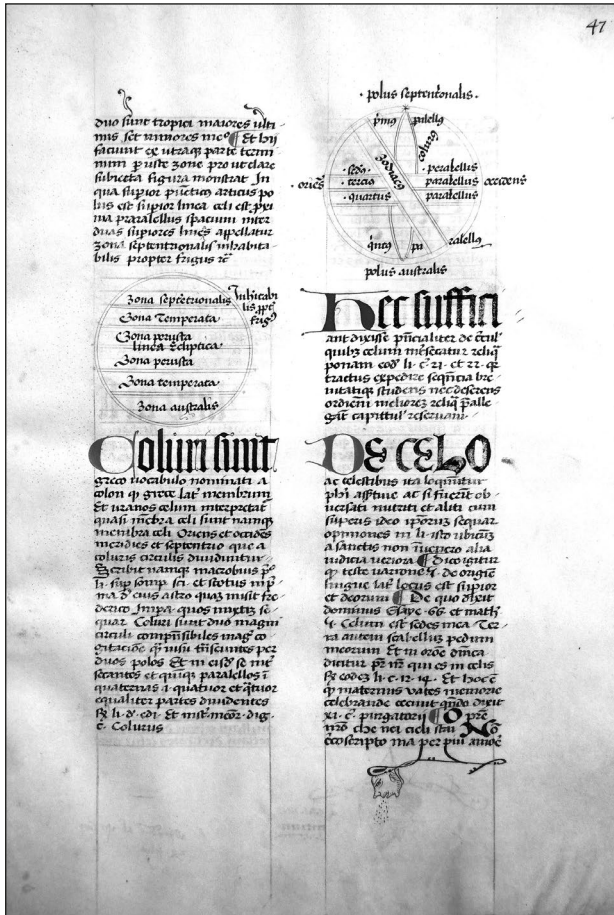


Fig. 4: Diagrams showing zones, parallels and colures Domenico Bandini, *Fons memorabilia universi* Oxford, Balliol College, Ms 238B, fol. 47r (reproduced by kind permission of the Master an Fellows of Balliol College)

changes in attributes and posture, but they can be clearly viewed as a relatively coherent set. The finest set of illustrations appears in Vat. lat. 2131 (figg. 2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 20). Those in Madrid 1983 are less proficient copies of the Vatican images, with a few changes in the left-right orientations of the figures, which suggest that it is not a direct copy and there may have been an intermediary to account for the divergences (figg. 7 and 9).<sup>64</sup> The Fermo manuscript appears to be closely connected to the Madrid manuscript, keeping the changes in orientation and preserving several of its idiosyncratic details (fig. 10). The Laurenziana manuscript is related to Madrid 1983 and Fermo 4, but the artist introduces several pictorial variants, which may reflect an intermediary or

<sup>64</sup> Note that whereas Vat. lat. 3121 represents a late-fourteenth-century version of Domenico's text, Madrid 1983 belongs to Hankey's Group II and dates to the middle years of the fifteenth century.

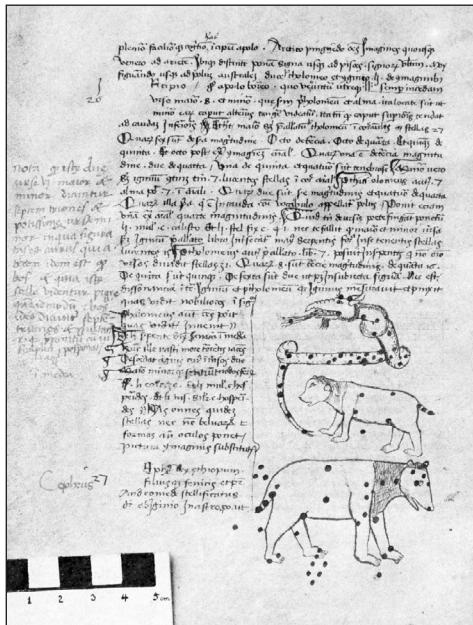


Fig. 5: *Draco inter arctos*  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 9v



Fig. 6: *Cepheus and Bootes*  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 10r

the artist's own invention (fig. 11). In the illustrations in Lambeth 35, the artist certainly has taken his cue from a manuscript similar to the other four, but has decided to add a bit of his own artistic flair to several of the images – hence, destroying the iconographic links to the rest of the tradition, but creating a series of delightful images nonetheless (fig. 12).

Given that Bandini's text is so dependent on the information supplied by Hyginus and the Latin stellar tables derived from Ptolemy's *Almagest*, it is interesting to note that the images do not adhere exclusively or slavishly to the pictorial traditions associated with either author. Instead, they are an interesting and apparently unique amalgam, showing traits of a number of different sources – not unlike the text of Bandini's compendium itself.

Taking the illustrations in Vat. lat. 3121 as the touchstone, the image of *Draco inter arctos* is a reversed form of the configuration one finds in many early Islamic globes (figg. 5 and 7), but this so-called 'sky view' of the grouping does not appear in any known manuscript versions of the Ptolemaic tables. Similarly, the kneeling *Cepheus* (figg. 6 and 7) is a feature of Islamic globes and reappears in numerous versions of the Ptolemaic Tables (both in Eastern and Latin versions of the texts), and in later celestial maps representing the mathematical tradition, though no exact parallel for Bandini's image seems to exist amongst the known manuscripts. Images of *Bootes* holding a staff



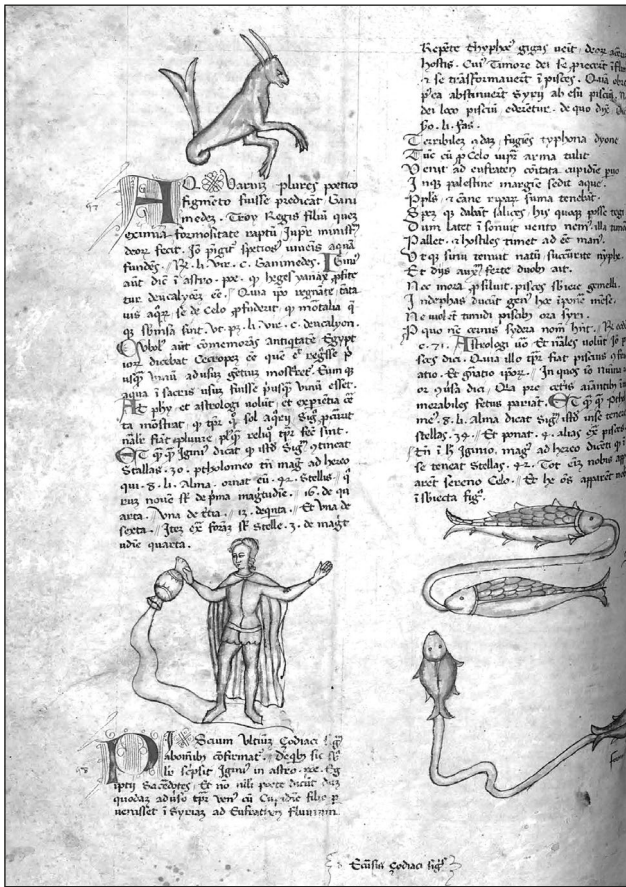


Fig. 9: Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces (twice)  
Domenico Bandini,  
*Fons memorabilia universi*  
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de  
España, Ms 1983, fol. 119v

raises a flail with three thongs in his right hand and who is shown with a rabbit standing on his left shoulder appears in several of the Hyginus manuscripts, but does not appear in any of the Stellar Tables.<sup>67</sup> The depiction of *Andromeda* as a woman, standing and stripped to the waist, with her wrists tied to two upright poles (fig. 15) is definitely a Western formula, as Eastern depictions of *Andromeda* show her walking, rather than standing and, even though she may have chains on her wrists, they are never attached to another object.<sup>68</sup>

67 See Lippincott, *The Saxl Project/Auriga*. The depiction of *Capra* and the *Haedi* as rabbits is a common pictorial mistake across a wide range of constellation illustrations.

68 Again, the closest visual parallel to Bandini's *Andromeda* appears in the related Stellar Table in Catania, *Bibl. Univeritaria*, Ms Arm 3. 87 and Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 5318, where they appear as the Western alternative in a series of variant images. For illustrations, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, II, 3, fig. 404 (Catania) and 406 (Vienna). Both reproductions showing one or more of the Eastern variants of *Andromeda* with a large fish on her belly). See also Lippincott, *The Saxl Project/Andromeda*.



Fig. 10: Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius  
Domenico Bandini, *Fons memorabilia universi*  
Fermo, Biblioteca comunale, Ms 4, fol. 63r

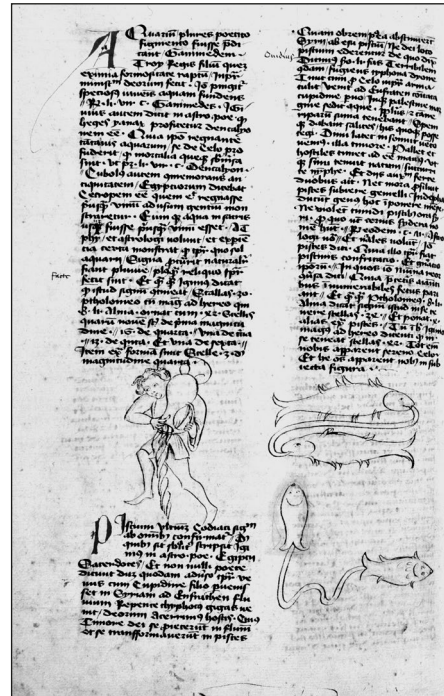


Fig. 11: Aquarius and Pisces (twice)  
Domenico Bandini, *Fons memorabilia universi*  
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,  
Ms Edili 170, fol. 89v

The illustration and text for the constellation of *Triangulus* (or “Deltoton” as Bandini calls it) bears witness to Bandini’s active interest in how the constellations should be depicted. In the text of Vat. lat. 3121, Bandini says: “Ptholomeus autem ponit hunc triangulum super collum arietis.” The statement is curious since Ptolemy makes no such claim. It may be that this description is the result of Bandini’s misunderstanding of Gerard’s description of the first star in Triangulum: “que est super caput trianguli.”<sup>69</sup> Equally, it might be a transposition from Hyginus, who describes Triangulum as “supra caput Arietis”;<sup>70</sup> and also describes Aries as having his “caput infra Triangulum.”<sup>71</sup> In the illustration, a faint line has been drawn between the head of the Ram and the Triangle above it, making the link between the constellations more explicit (fig. 15).<sup>72</sup>

69 See the Latin transl. Gerard of Cremona (ed. Kunitzsch 1990, p. 84). The translation should be ‘the star in the apex of the triangle’. See Toomer 1984/1998, p. 360.

70 Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 18 (ed. LeBeuffle 1983, pp. 99–100).

71 Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 19 (ed. LeBeuffle 1983, p. 100).

72 Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 13r. The anomaly does not reappear in the other illustrated manuscripts.



Fig. 12: Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius  
Domenico Bandini, *Fons memorabilia universi*  
London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 35, fol. 117v

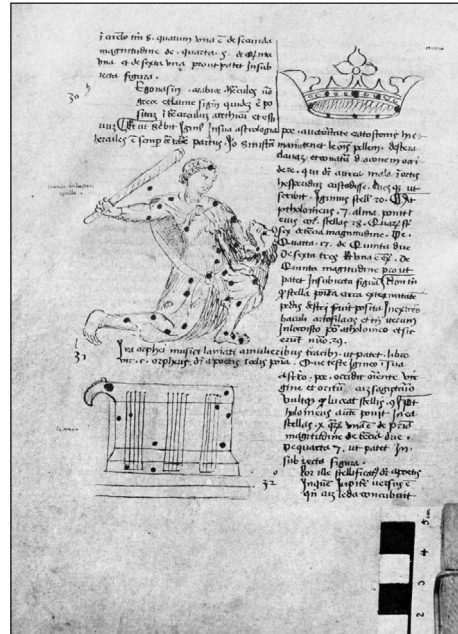


Fig. 13: Hercules, Lyra and Corona borealis  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 10v

As is often the case, illustrations of the zodiacal constellations tend to be more dependent solely on manuscript sources as there are so many alternative iconographies from which to choose an image. For example, the depiction of *Taurus* in Vat. lat. 3121 is of a delightfully playful full-bodied steer (fig. 15),<sup>73</sup> despite the fact that all descriptions of the constellation claim that only the front half of the body is visible. The depiction of *Libra* is interesting in that it shows a pair of scales suspended in mid-air, whereas Bandini's describes the Scales as being “est septimum zodiaci signum tractinam in manu tenens”. *Libra* being held by a disembodied hand is a feature that tends to be found most often in the Latin Stellar Tables.<sup>74</sup> The fact that Bandini describes it in this manner suggests he has a specific ‘Ptolemaic’ picture in mind, which – unfortunately – was not sufficiently clearly passed to the artists illustrating his manuscripts. The rest of

73 See Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 13r. The other illustrated versions show only half the bull.

74 See, for example, Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica A. Mai, Ms. E. II. 2 (fol. 103r); the two illustrations in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. C. 117 (f. 151r); and Vatican, BAV, Urb. lat. 1399 (fol. 38r). For illustrations, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, II, 3, figg. 459 (Oxford) and 475 (Pal. lat. 1399).



Fig. 14: Lyra and Cygnus  
Hyginus, *De astronomia*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3110,  
fol. 67r

the zodiacal illustrations are fairly generic with the exception of *Sagittarius*, who sports a typically Eastern ‘turban’ with fluttering bands on his head (fig. 10).<sup>75</sup>

There are two curious examples amongst the zodiacal illustrations where Bandini offers two different images for the same constellation. *Cancer* is depicted twice: once with a fully rounded body and once with a slightly concave snout (fig. 16).<sup>76</sup> The only discernible difference between the two is in the placement of the stars on the Crab’s

<sup>75</sup> In Lambeth Palace 35, *Sagittarius* (fol. 117v) does not have a turban on his head, but does seem to have numerous decorative fabric daggers emanating from his costume his body (the one from his elbow unattractively resembling squid’s tentacles).



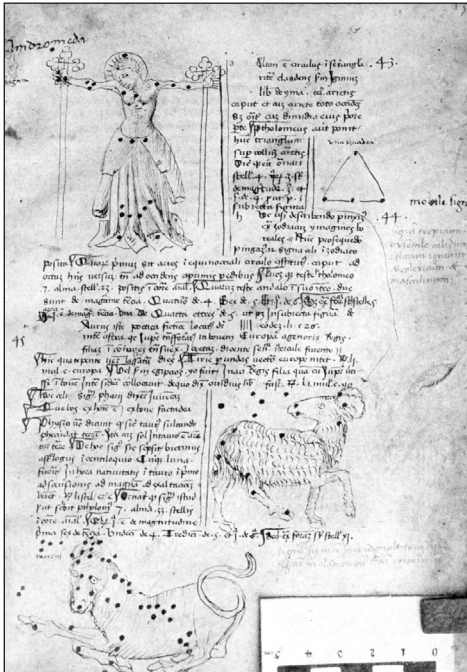


Fig. 15: Andromeda, Triangulum, Aries and Taurus  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 13r

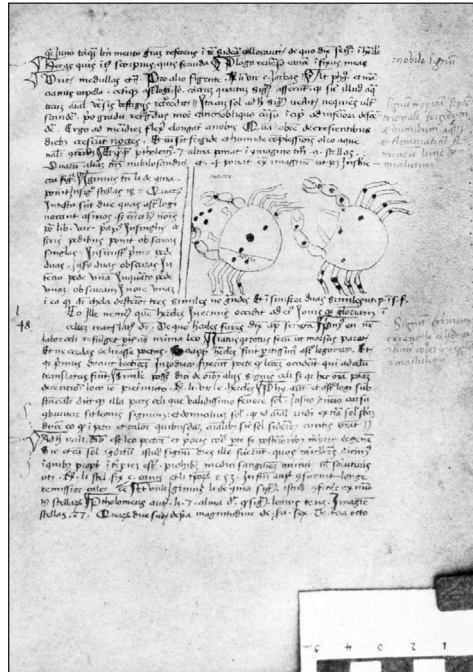


Fig. 16: Cancer (twice)  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 14r

body, which will be more fully addressed below. The constellation of *Pisces* is also portrayed twice (fig. 17).<sup>77</sup> Here the differences are more pronounced. The first figure depicts the two fish swimming in opposite directions, with both their backs facing upwards and their mouths connected by an S-shaped stream. The second shows the fish placed at a 90° angle, facing away from each other, and their tails connected by a stream that has a soft W-shape bend. In the Vatican manuscript, the figures are described in the accompanying text. The first one as: “Et hec prima figura est forma secunda Iginium”; and the second on as: “Et haec sequens forma est secundum tholomeum cui non adhero”; and, whereas the double set of images is reproduced in four of the illustrated copies of the text, the explanatory texts are not included.<sup>78</sup> As Bandini himself has explained, the

76 See Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 14r; Madrid 1983, fol. 118r and Florence, Bibl. Lauranziana, Edili 170, fol. 88r. Lambeth Palace 35 depicts a single, bi-lobed crab (fol. 116r).

77 See Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 17r; Madrid 1983, fol. 119v; Fermo 4, fol. 63v and Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Edili 170, fol. 89v.

78 The *Pisces* in Lambeth Palace 35 are depicted as two beaky and spiny fish, both swimming in the same direction and the stream between them has been misunderstood and is shown as a twisting snake (fol. 118r).

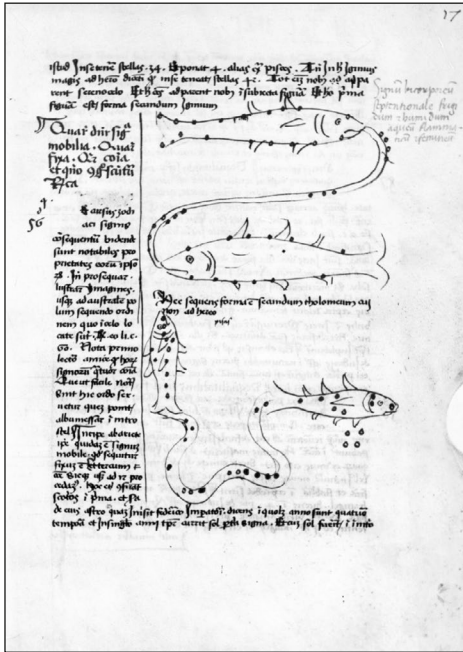


Fig. 17: Pisces (twice)  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 17r

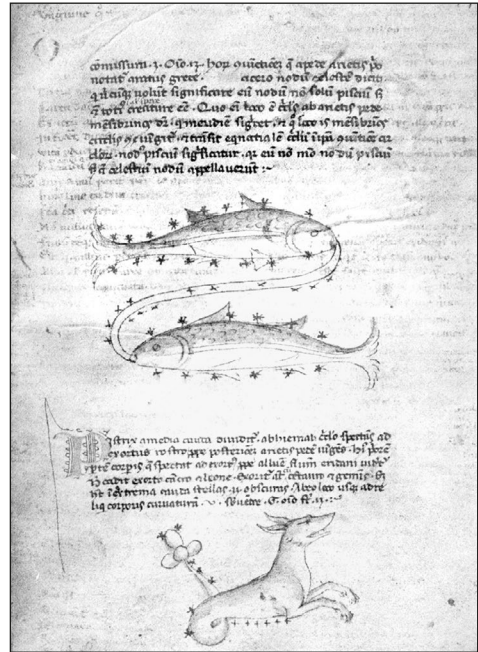


Fig. 18: Pisces and Cetus  
Hyginus, *De astronomia*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3110, fol. 75r

first image derives from Hyginus and, indeed, it is very close to the sort of illustration that appears in Salutati's manuscript, Vat. lat. 3110 (fig. 18).<sup>79</sup> The second aligns with the iconography found on celestial globes, and in both the Eastern and Latin versions of the Ptolemaic Tables (fig. 19).<sup>80</sup> Bandini's decision to 'adhere' to the Hyginian image is slightly peculiar, since it contradicts his general tendency to identify Ptolemy as the more reliable model. It might be explained, however, by the fact that images close to the 'Hyginian' model of the two parallel fish do appear in some versions of the Stellar Tables, especially in manuscripts of the so-called Alfonsine Stellar Tables,<sup>81</sup> as well as to those manuscripts that provide multiple versions of each constellation, such as Brussels, Bib. Roy., Ms 10117–26 and Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ms Rawl. C. 117, which have already

79 For an illustration, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, fig. 559.

80 Similar depictions of Pisces appear in all the *Sufi latinus* manuscripts and in several of the Alfonsine Stellar Tables, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. misc. 27. It also appears in other Alfonsine astrological manuscripts, such as the *Libro del Saber* (Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 8174) and the *Lapidario of Alfonso X* (El Escorial, Ms h. I. 15).

81 See, for example, the nearly parallel Pisces in Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica A. Mai, Ms Σ. II. 2 (388); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Can. misc. 554; Vatican, BAV, Urb. lat. 1399 and Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3099.

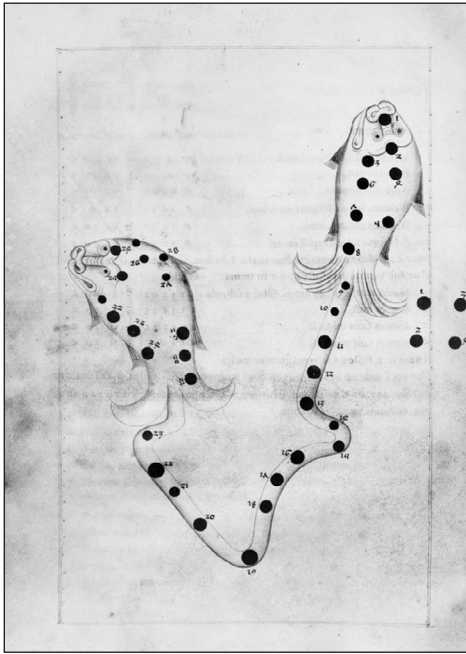


Fig. 19: Pisces  
Ptolemy, *Almagest* (Gerard of Cremona translation)  
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, lat. 1036, fol. 33v

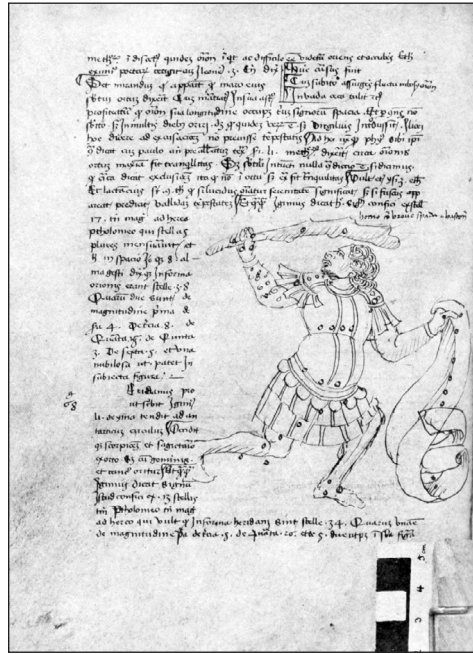


Fig. 20: Orion  
Domenico Bandini, *De celo et signis celestibus*  
Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121, fol. 20v

shown themselves to contain pictorial examples similar to those used by Bandini's artists.<sup>82</sup>

Turning to the constellations of the southern hemisphere, Bandini's depiction of *Orion* is also slightly unusual (fig. 20). He is depicted dressed as a warrior and lunging to the right. He raises a club in his right hand and holds the end of what appear to be a long banderole in his left hand. Several Western versions of the figure of *Orion* show his leading arm covered by a hunting cloak – which can often take on a life of its own in some depictions – and others have him holding the end of his scabbard in this hand. The extensive banderole is probably a development of the Eastern tradition of providing *Orion* with an overlong sleeve on that arm (fig. 21), which in the Latin versions of the *Stellar Tables*, is often transformed into a long sack, such as one sees in Catania, Bibl. Universitaria, Ms Arm. 3. 87 and Vienna, ONB, cod. 5318 manuscripts (fig. 22).<sup>83</sup>

82 For an illustration, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, II, 3, fig. 463 (Oxford, Ms Rawl. C. 117, fol. 152r). The manuscript in Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (Universitas Nicolai Kopernici), cod. 74 (fol. 172r) is similar, but there is a knot in the stream/cord.

83 For illustrations, see Lippincott, *The Saxe Project/Eridanus*.



Fig. 21: Orion  
 Ptolemy, *Almagest* (Gerard of  
 Cremona translation)  
 Paris, Bibliothèque de  
 l’Arsenal, lat. 1036, fol. 36r

In Bandini’s illustrations, the form of the banderole is sufficiently similar to the shape of the following constellation of Eridanus, that one could be forgiven for thinking that the intention is to suggest that the celestial river begins its journey emanating from Orion’s right hand. Cartographically, Eridanus is often shown as being connected to Orion’s left foot or shin, as one sees in the three surviving celestial globes from antiquity: the globe held by the Farnese Atlas, the Kugel globe in Paris and the late-Roman celestial globe in Mainz.<sup>84</sup>

To summarize, it is clear that Bandini had access to illustrated manuscripts of both Hyginus and a Latin version of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*. Although there are several manuscripts from this period that have preserved a number of pictorial variants, rather

<sup>84</sup> See Lippincott 2009, pp. 45–49 and figg. 3a–9.



Fig. 22: Orion Eridanus, Canis maior and Canis minor, *Sufi latinus*  
Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 5318, fol. 33v

like multiple options as to how the constellation could be illustrated, it is unlikely that Bandini's images were copied from a single source. Instead, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was Bandini himself who chose which image should illustrate a particular constellation. Having said that, however, it is difficult to detect any underlying motive or pattern behind his decisions. In general, he seems to prefer pictorial formulas derived from the Stellar Tables, but twice he provides illustrations stemming from both traditions. His preference for Hyginus is erratic. It might relate to the constellation having very clear 'literary' elements that he found lacking in 'Ptolemy's' rendering, such as the inclusion of the lion pelt of Hercules or the stakes to which Andromeda is bound; or it may just be personal preference for an image which seemed more familiar, such as the depiction of Lyra as a Renaissance musical instrument or of Cassiopeia seated on a wooden bench. The only instance in which Bandini reveals his thinking is with the parallel Pisces – and here, contrary to his general tendencies, he says he prefers the "forma secundum Iginium".

**Placing the stars:** Only two of the known manuscripts of the *De celo* have illustrations in which the stars have been marked: Vat. lat. 3121 and Fermo 4. A quick survey reveals that the positioning of the stars in both manuscripts nearly is identical. Even where



Pisces), the stars according to Hyginus are placed in one figure, and the ones according to Ptolemy in the other.<sup>86</sup>

**The legacy:** As Hankey observed:

The *Fons* seems to have been known and studied in several centres in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century, and then suddenly to have lost interest for the learned public. Almost all our codices were copied before 1460, and from the calligraphy one would say that the readers' notes mostly belong to the same period.<sup>87</sup>

More recently, Schürer has traced the influence of Bandini's work through the writings of a number of contemporary authors.<sup>88</sup> Nonetheless, even these do not trespass the turn of the century.<sup>89</sup>

In terms of its illustrations, there is one intriguing example in which the *De Celo* seems to have been echoed, if not directly copied: the late fifteenth-century Hyginus manuscript currently in Cortona, Libreria del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, Ms 184 (265).<sup>90</sup> The Cortona Hyginus not only records an unusual combination of figures drawn from both the images preserved in fifteenth-century copies of the *De astronomia*

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86 With Cancer, the Ptolemaic number appears in the first figure (on the left) and the Hyginian stars appear on the second figure (on the right). Cancer is the only example in which Bandini includes a description of the positions of the stars in accordance with Hyginus's lists in Book III of *De astronomia*, stating: 'Iginius tamen liber De ymaginibus posuit in signo stellas 18, quarum in testa sunt 2, quas astrologi vocant Asinos [...]. In singulis dextris pedibus ponit obscuras singulas. In sinistro primo pede 2, in secundo 2 obscuras, in tertio pede unam, in quarto pede unam obscuram, in ore unam. In ea quae dicitur chela dexterior 3 similes, non grandes. Et in sinistra 2 similes'. Compare Hyginus, *De astronomia*, II, 23, 2: 'In eius deformationis parte sunt quidam qui Asini appellantur, a Libero in testa Cancris duabus stellis omnino figurati'. (ed. LeBoeuffe 1983, p. 65), and III, 22: 'Hic autem habet in ipsa testa stellas duas quae Asini vocantur, de quibus ante [iam] diximus; in dextris pedibus singulas obscuras, in sinistro pede primo duas, [et] in secundo duas obscuras, in tertio unam, in quarto primo unam obscuram, in ore unam; in ea quae chela dexterior dicitur, tres similes, non grandes; in sinistra similes duas. Omnino est stellarum septemdecim'. (ed. LeBoeuffe 1983, p. 102). Note that this is one of the many occasions where modern editions differ from the content in early Renaissance manuscripts of the text. Here, Bandini follows Vat. lat. 3110 (fol. 70v), which lists a total of 18 stars. With Pisces, the Ptolemaic figure is set below the Hyginian one (as labelled in Vat. lat. 3121).

87 Hankey 1960, p. 48.

88 Schürer 2017, pp. 87–106.

89 With the exception of two later copies of the pertinent passages concerning Tuscan heroes. See Hankey 1955, p. 54 (Florence, Laurenziana, Fondo Redi, Ms. 159 and Florence, BNC, Magliabecchiana IX, 127). See also the now missing, eighteenth-century manuscript owned by Aliotti, cited by Hankey 1960, p. 49.

90 See McGurk 1966, pp. 19–20; Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016, II, 2, pp. 630–633 and II, 3, figg. 820–822 and Lippincott, The Saxl Project/Hyginus.

and in the Latin Stellar Tables, it shares the exact same set of borrowings with Bandini for all but four of the constellation (figg. 23 and 24). Moreover, the Cortona manuscript preserves the idiosyncratic double-rendering of Pisces and is stylistically so close to those found in the Madrid version of the *Fons*, that one is tempted to posit it or a close relative as the model for these images.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

As has been shown, Domenico Bandini's book on *De celo et signis celestibus* is an extremely rich text in many ways. As Iolanda Ventura has pointed out in her recent study of the similarly diverse botanical sections of the *Fons memorabilium universi*, the structure, layout and content of Bandini's work 'point to a cultural world in a phase of profound transformation, in which sources and branches of knowledge are undergoing a process of restructuring and updating'<sup>92</sup>. Neither an old-fashioned encyclopaedist, nor a visionary innovator,

he rather should be regarded as somebody who experienced and felt this change and renewal and endeavoured to convert them into an encyclopaedic structure that brought the medieval idea of the encyclopaedia and science into harmony with the methodological and cultural transformation of the science of nature prevailing at the time.<sup>93</sup>

The changes that Ventura sees include Bandini's tracing classical sources back to their original texts and not relying on medieval interpolations; taking full advantage of an increased wealth of sources and resources; demonstrating an 'increased sensitivity' to different written traditions and a general shift from presenting this collected knowledge as a tool for interpreting 'the biblical *res*, but also for the correct approach to classical texts'<sup>94</sup>.

Whereas Ventura is careful to point out that her observations have only been tested against his botanical chapters, the method and the manner she attributes to Bandini in these sections certainly apply to his exploration of the heavens, if not more so.

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91 Oddly, Blume/Haffner/Metzger 2016 do not include Bandini's manuscripts in their catalogue. This may be why they have missed the dependence of the Cortona Hyginus on the *Fons*, and their suggestion that the source for the illustrations can be found in the *Sufi latinus* manuscripts, such as the ones in Prague, Berlin and Gotha (II, 2, p. 631).

92 Ventura 2003, esp. pp. 105–115, citation from p. 110.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid., citation from p. 107.



APPENDIX I<sup>95</sup>**Hankey's Group 'U/Ga'****Va Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3121**

Italian, late 14th century

*De celo et signis celestis* and *De stellis erraticis* only  
diagrams and constellations illustrated

**Hankey's Group I****Re Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1140**

Italian, ca. 1430

*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV

blank spaces for diagrams and constellations

**E Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Edili 170–172**

Italian and German, probably before 1442

*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–V in three volumes

no spaces for the diagrams; the constellations are illustrated, but the figures of Cepheus, Corona borealis, Pegasus and Gemini have been excised from the manuscript

**Hankey's Group II****C Vatican, BAV, Chigiana VIII 234, 235 and 237**

Italian, before 1458

*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV and V, A–P

blank spaces for diagrams and constellations

**Ma Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Ms 1983**

North Italian, mid-15th century

*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–III, with index to I–IV

diagrams and constellations illustrated

95 The grouping of manuscripts here follows Hankey 1960. See additional comments in Merenda 2015 and Schürer 2017. For a fairly complete bibliography on each manuscript, see these sources. In addition, the Biblioteca Laurenziana maintains a full and current bibliography on its manuscript, Edili 170–172 at: [www. http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca](http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca).

- L London, Lambeth Palace, Ms 35**  
 Italian (Fermo, in a German and Italian hand), 1450  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV  
 diagrams and constellations illustrated, though there are missing pages, so the series begins with Delphinus
- B Oxford, Balliol College, Ms 238 A–E**  
 Cologne and Rome, 1445–48  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV (nearly complete, save losses of individual pages)  
 diagrams are illustrated, but all the pages that probably had constellation illustrations have been excised
- Ro Vatican, BAV, Ross. 1155, 1156, 1157**  
 Italian, mid-15th century (before 1458)  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–III  
 blank spaces for diagrams and constellations
- Pa Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 922, 923**  
 Italian, mid-15th century  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV  
 blank spaces for diagrams and constellations
- V Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 2028 and 2029**  
 Italian, 15th century  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–IV  
 blank spaces for diagrams and constellations
- T Turin, Biblioteca nazionale e universitaria, Md D. I. 8 (389)**  
 Italian, mid-15th century (before 1443)  
*Fons memorabilium universi*, Parts I–II  
 blank spaces for diagrams and constellations

### Hankey's Group III

- F Fermo, Biblioteca comunale, Ms 4**  
 Italian, 15th century  
 a series of fragments from different chapters, arranged in a haphazard manner  
 the *De celo* is incomplete, but there are illustrations for the constellations of Leo to Orion and Centaurus to Piscis Austrinus

**M Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, lat. 3177 (X. 124)**

Italian, 15th century

isolated chapters on astronomy and geography

blank spaces for diagrams and constellations

**Pi Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms Aldine 504**

Italian, 15th century

selections from Parts II, III and IV

blank spaces for diagrams and constellations

## APPENDIX II

	Hyginus	Ptolemy	Vat. lat 3121
1. Ursa maior	–	27 + 8	27 + 6 + 4 in trapezoid
2. Ursa minor	7	7	8
3. Draco	15	31	31
4. Cepheus	19	11 + 2	11 + 2
5. Bootes	14	22 + 1	22
6. Corona boreales	9	8	8
7. Hercules	20	28 + 1	25 (?) + 1 + 6 in the lion's head
8. Lyra	9	10	10
9. Cygnus	13	17 + 2	16 + 2
10. Cassiopeia	19	13	13
11. Perseus	17	26 + 3	26
12. Auriga	7	14	14
13. Ophiuchus	–	24	24 + 5
14. Serpens	–	18	16
15. Sagitta	4	5	5
16. Aquila	4	9	–
17. Delphinus	10	10	10
18. Equuleus	–	4	4
19. Pegasus	18	20	20
20. Andromeda	20	23	23 + 1
21. Triangulum	–	4	4
22. Aries	–	13	13 + 5
23. Taurus	–	32+11 <sup>96</sup>	40 + 2 + 4

96 Note that Bandini criticises Ptolemy for apparently missing some of the stars in Pleiades: “Nota est que Ptolomeus non posuit ex Pleiadibus nisi stellas 4. Ut patet liber ‘De stellis fixis’, capitulum Pleiades. Ergo cum ipse 7 sunt non mireris lectorem. fi. 36 reperies in animali, meo”.

	<b>Hyginus</b>	<b>Ptolemy</b>	<b>Vat. lat 3121</b>
24. Gemini	–	18 + 7	20 + 5
25. Cancer	18	9 + 4	18/13
26. Leo	19	27 + 8	27 + 8
27. Virgo	19	26 + 6	25 + 6
28. Libra	–	8 + 9	17
29. Scorpio	19	21 + 3	20
30. Sagittarius	15	31	27 + 2
31. Capricorn	–	28	28
32. Aquarius	30	42 + 3	23 + 22
33. Pisces	42	34 + 4	42/35 + 4
34. Cetus	13	22	26
35. Orion	17	38	38
36. Eridanus	13	34	34
37. Lepus	7	12	12
38. Canis maior	19	18	18 + 3
39. Canis minor	3	2	2
40. Navis	27	45	
41. Hydra	26	25	23 + 2
42. Corvus	7	7	6 (?)
43. Crater	8	7	7
44. Centaurus	24	37	37
45. Lupus	10	19	16 (?)
46. Ara	4	7	7
47. Corona meridionalis	–	9	13
48. Piscis meridionalis	12	11 + 6	11 + 6

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## Bildnachweis

Seite 17–32

Jack Wasserman

### **The Astronomical Painting in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence**

Fig. 1–4: (Author's archive)

Fig. 5: Elena Gurrieri, Nerida Newbigin and Kathleen Olive (eds.): *Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai di Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici*, 2 vols., Florence 2015.

Fig. 6: from: Caroline Elam: *The Site and Early Building History of Michelangelo's New Sacristy*, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 23 (1979), p. 64, fig. 6.

Seite 33–66

Kristen Lippincott

### **An Early Renaissance View of the Heavens:**

#### **Text and Image in Domenico Bandini's *De celo et signis celestibus***

Fig. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 13–18, 20: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Fig. 3, 19, 21: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, © BnF

Fig. 4: Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College

Fig. 7, 9: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España

Fig. 10: Fermo, Biblioteca comunale

Fig. 11: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Fig. 12: London, Lambeth Palace

Fig. 22: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Fig. 23–24: Cortona, Libreria del Comune e l'Accademia Etrusca

Seite 67–82

Juliana Barone/Martin Kemp

### **The *Head of a Soldier* in the Ashmolean Museum and the Size of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari***

Fig. 1–2: from: Rab Hatfield: *Finding Leonardo: the case for recovering the Battle of Anghiari*, Prato 2007; courtesy Rab Hatfield

Fig. 3, 5–7: from: Carlo Pedretti and Margherita Melani: *Leonardo da Vinci and the Battle of Anghiari. Its Origin through the Timbal Panel*, Prato 2017

Fig. 4: Reconstruction by Juliana Barone and Martin Kemp of the sheets of paper of the drawing of the *Head of a Soldier* in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 3)