the contents of the early Tudor royal library were predominantly French rather than English, a reflection of Burgundian influence at the English court. A catalogue drawn up in 1559 lists one hundred and forty-three books and manuscripts, many of which survive among the Royal manuscripts in the British Library. 46

Most of them are in French and only a handful in Latin or English. Chronicle of England and Rotulus regum angle (nos 16 and 17) show that manuscripts of the type of Anledel 15 existed in the royal library, but they were heavily outnumbered by a predominantly French collection.

This raises the question of why a genealogy of Anglo-Saxon kings should have been so lovingly prepared in the early sixteenth century. It is clearly not a fragment, for it runs out at Alfred and the next page is blank. There are two possible explanations. It could be that we are dealing with a very early example of the renewed interest in Anglo-Saxon survival epitomized by Leland, appointed antiquary to Henry VIII in 1538, and by Archbishop Matthew Parker later in the century. On the other hand, the text as it stands finishes very abruptly with Ethelred; Alfred is shown in the genealogy but without any accompanying commentary, and it seems likely, therefore, that the manuscript was left unfinished. This would explain why the illustrations to the life of Christ were never inserted in the spaces left for them. And if it was an abandoned project, the chances are that it was originally intended as an illustrated genealogy from Adam to Henry VII or Henry VIII like so many other examples of this kind of Tudor propaganda. 47

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46 For example, College of Arms 28/4; 28/2; BL King’s 395, see Anglo, op. cit. 3, 13 above.

47 For example, see the works of F. A. Pegler and W. F. Whittick.

THE ASTROLOGICAL DECORATION OF THE SALA DEI VENTI IN THE PALAZZO DEL TE

This article on the Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Te, E. H. Gombrich demonstrated that the iconography of the sixteen medallions, which are arranged like a frieze beneath a series of alternating depictions of months and zodiacal signs, was based on the astrological doctrines associated with the risings and settings of the extra-zodiacal constellations. 1 Gombrich traced this doctrine to passages in Book V of the Astronomica of Marcus Manilius and Book V of the Mathematica Libri VIII of Julius Firmicus Maternus, which, as he noted, run as closely parallel that it is often difficult to determine which author was consulted. 2 Whereas Firmicus often supplies an added interpretation that seems to account for the presence of a particular image, the descriptions offered by Manilius are, in general, fuller, more varied in their mythological citations, and perhaps — in their poetic breath — closer to the intent and effect of the Sala dei Venti decoration. In fact the iconographic evidence suggests that the two sources were used in tandem and as complements to each other.

1 I thank Sir Ernst Gombrich, Angus Clarke and Jill Kray for helpful suggestions and criticisms; and the Woods Charitable Fund Inc. for financial support.


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The meeting of these two classical authors within the confines of a sixteenth-century decorative programme is extremely interesting. Firmicus Maternus’ *Mathesis*, on the one hand, had enjoyed considerable prominence throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance as a handy compendium of basic astrological material. On the other hand, the *Astronomica* of Manilius was virtually unknown before, and indeed for nearly thirty years after its rediscovery by Poggio in 1417. Serious interest in the poet emerges in humanist circles only after 1450, witness the proportionally large number of manuscripts which date from the second half of the fifteenth century. The extent of this sudden demand is also demonstrated by the fact that the text was printed seven times between 1470 and 1506. Despite this, the reason for and exact nature of this interest is difficult to uncover. First, the inherited texts of the *Astronomica* were profoundly distorted, to such an extent that collation, when attempted, proved to be of little value. The poem was not fundamentally incomprehensible, but there was certainly a major transposition of lines in Book I, and several badly twisted verses (for which our present-day understanding relies heavily on the inspired conjectures of Scaliger, Bentley and Housman that must have made substantial portions mysterious to the Renaissance reader). Second, one wonders what sense a Renaissance scholar might have made of, or from what perspective he might have interpreted, Manilius’ unique non-planetary astrology.

W. imprimaens qui in publica Bibliotheca Magistrorum Florentiae excererit. Florence 1504, that records all those volumes which had been sold or were missing from the library and was compiled, according to a note dated 9 December 1506, by the librarians Vincenzo Falleni, has this notice: \[\ldots\] a. Arato, Boecia. Regii 127 in folio. Prima ed. con data, rassunto. Quodlibet liber et manusv, 57, 19, 25.1. (Bentren, 1127.) (For confirmation of the sale of the Heber codex, see Jacques-Charles Brunet, Napoléon et l’Édition de l’Amour de la Lorraine, Paris 1882, in col. 158: Bibliotheca Herculanae. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, 2nd ed., London 1832-45, 15: 173, 185)

Therefore, the present location of this annotated *Astronomica*, which might provide still clues regarding the nature of the alleged Panormita, is of interest. It is


Saddiqi suggests that interest in the *Astronomica* developed only after the discovery of the manuscript in the Badia of Monte Cassino in 1450. Lorenzo Boncompagni makes a note in his personal copy of the 1451 Bolognese edition of the *Astronomica* (see n. 1 below), and again on fol. 31 of his Commentaries (see n. 2 below), of the manuscript of Panormitae which offered several variant readings to Poggio’s manuscript. See J. Saddiqi, La scelta astronomica di Giacomo Cipriano, Rome 1966, p. 26. Saddiqi, however, (Astronomia, p. 189) doubts the existence of any such manuscript.

It is worth noting here that Boncompagni’s annotated *Astronomica*, described by Badiali in his catalogue of the Bibliae Latinitatis in Ptothexy Church, Florence 1773, x, col. 790, which has been repeatedly cited by modern scholars as still in the Bibliae Latinitatis, was, in fact, among those codices that were transferred to the Biblioteca Nazionale in 1792 as part of the scheme of exchange. The codex, however, is not now to be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale, but it is described in the Library’s copy of Ferdinando Foschi’s *Catalogus codicum sui et sui praebentium* (Florence 1793, 15: 189-190).
and a cosmos in which the primary transmitters of stellar power — the planets — were conspicuously absent. Perhaps Poggio's warning to Francesco Barbaro that the text of the Astronomica demanded divination rather than reading referred to more than just scribal errors.

Insights into both these issues can be gained by turning to the earliest commentary on the Astronomica. Lorenzo di Giovanni Bonacossi published his Commentari in Rome in 1482. Most of his observations seem to date back to a series of public lectures delivered in Florence between 1475 and 1477. The lectures were attended and apparently well received by the Florentine humanists, notably Ficino.


"L. Bernonzi, Commentarii de astronomica scripto pater nostro et hominum sapientium et religiosis sectatis, Exst, 1730, vol. 1."

Toscanelli and Poliziano. It is important to note, however, that Bonacossi was not himself a classical scholar nor was he lacking planetary astrology. His Commentari thus presents Manilius within the context of a body of inherited astrological doctrine and consists largely of citations of passages taken from other classical sources which, by their analogous nature, are intended to cast light upon the general obscurity of the Manilius text.

Bonacossi rarely attacks a problematic passage; rather, he appears to treat something that he actually understands.

For the Suda dei Venti, Bonacossi's commentary on lines 526–602 of Book v of the Astronomica is particularly relevant. His method in this section, generally speaking, is tripartite. First, he notes the difference between Manilius's co-ordinates for the rising of each constellation and those co-ordinates which are appropriate for 1480. Second, he explains the meaning of any mythological names or terms which he thinks might be problematic. Third — and this constitutes the bulk of his commentary on Book v — he expounds Manilius by quoting at length and often paraphrasing the related passages from Book v of Firmicus Maternus.

For example, Bonacossi's commentary on the rising of the Herd (Astronomica, v, 106–17) may be compared with the corresponding passage in Firmicus Maternus (Mathesios, vii, 4.5 and 12)."

18 Sellani, la poesia astrologica, pp. 31–77, ii. 2 and 1. For Ficino and Bonacossi see Carol V. Knauf, Marsilio Ficino and the Twelve Gods of the Zodiac, this Journal, xxvi, 1982, pp. 191–202.
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... [Hedus] anurus es his hodie quem fert aariga, qui incipit urri e parte, xx. aarigis versus septemnonem unde talique qui tunc nascetur sicut petulantia natura lasciv, sed a casta face ut Cano ens formen stant videantur. Sed hac facuto mentitur affectu. Nam velutubus deduxit et qui varia amorum cupiditate existantur et substans virtutin officio separati, timid in telicels quae prae cetero proromunt (35). Qui frequenter virtutin libidinitas carent et praeestri amoris studii implicati mortem ipsi sibi infer omanit. Fueit somnorum ornatum pastores et cetera ( ... ) atque hoc sicut nascitur in oculorum simulatio et Santorim nati asperest, in iis naturalis momento mortuam et defiantibus matris virtus straegiatur. At si Mars cum hanc sit viri et Jupiter an Venus non aspereret, fuit religiosae iacet immortali ( ... )

Or, to take another example, Bononcentri's commentary on the rising of Aquila (Astronomico. v, 466-503) follows Firmicus even more closely:

... [Bononcentri, Comment., 64 a 39-49:] "... Hecatus the Great, not carried by Auros, begins to rise with the twentieth degree of Aries, in its northern side. Such boys as are born here are wonten and lascivious by nature, but of assured constancy so that they produce tall appearances as instations of Cato. Yet this is a decided and conscientious. For, addicted to pleasure, they are consumed with different amours passions, and, devoid of any proper concern for virtue, are unkind, sordid and terrible of heart. Frequently they fall victims to wicked lusts and, becoming ensnared in ridiculous free afflatus, are constrained to die away with themselves. Sometimes it will produce sheepleahs and so on ... But since born with this sign on the descendant and with basst splendit capito will die at the verest moment of birth, or be strangled at his mother's strength fail in labour. But if Mars is found in this sign and Jupiter and Venus are not asperet, it will perhaps cause him to be sacrificed by religion.

[35] Bononcentri, Comment., 64 a 39-49: "... Hecatus the Great, not carried by Auros, begins to rise with the twentieth degree of Aries, in its northern side. Such boys as are born here are wonten and lascivious by nature, but of assured constancy so that they produce tall appearances as instations of Cato. Yet this is a decided and conscientious. For, addicted to pleasure, they are consumed with different amours passions, and, devoid of any proper concern for virtue, are unkind, sordid and terrible of heart. Frequently they fall victims to wicked lusts and, becoming ensnared in ridiculous free afflatus, are constrained to die away with themselves. Sometimes it will produce sheepleahs and so on ... But since born with this sign on the descendant and with basst splendit capito will die at the verest moment of birth, or be strangled at his mother's strength fail in labour. But if Mars is found in this sign and Jupiter and Venus are not asperet, it will perhaps cause him to be sacrificed by religion.

[36] Firmicus, Mathematico, vii, vii, 4-5. For an English translation see Gombrich, op. cit. ii, above, p. 115 and further that by Bum (op. cit. n. a above).

[37] Bononcentri: "These born here will make their living through killing people and from pillage. They will also catch and tame with beads. They will be strong soldiers whose bravery and prudence always the fear of war, so courageous too that they pursue the enemy with band of bread, and believe it will ennace their glory (!), if they feebly scorn death. But if benevolent: stars protect this place with proprius retulere, they will liberate their country, found cities and triumph after declining their enemies. If, however, Mars or Saturn is asperet, they will produce magistrates and imperial masters, and men who are frequently associated with the care of the empire or its provinces. But again (the star) is on the descendant, it will cause them to be suffocated." For Firmicus see Gombrich, p. 113 and Bum pp. 272-74.
The unacknowledged debt to Firmicus is clear, and the two examples provided are wholly representative of Bonnominri’s commentary. Indeed, Bonnominri is consistent in his quotation of Firmicus that one might suppose that the iconography of the Sala dei Venti tardi was devised solely from this Commentarii without direct recourse to the Mathematica itself. For examples of the sixteen tardi, this case could be maintained.

However, in the catalog of the gladiators who are born under the influence of the stars (‘paschae unguale Tauri’), the author of the programme must have turned to Firmicus Maternus, since neither the gladiators nor the effects of the stars of Taurus’s house are mentioned by Manilius or in Bonnominri’s Commentarii.

Strictly speaking, the imagery of the Sala dei Venti cannot represent the horoscope of an individual or event. The constellations depicted in the tardi are much too evenly spaced amongst the twelve zodiacal signs, and there is no indication that any of the accompanying Olympian gods are intended to be interpreted as planets. On the other hand, it would seem remarkable if a patron decorated a room with scenes illustrating the various fortunes of those born under the risings and settings of the different constellations without making some allusion to his own lucky stars.

Federigo I Gonzaga was born on Sunday, 27 May 1506. His natal chart is reproduced in Luca Gauricus’s Tractatus Astronomicus (Fig. 1). Here Federigo’s ascendant is marked at 22° 26′ Taurus. Ordinarily, a person born while the last degree of Taurus is rising would have been interpreted as having been born under the influence of the Pleiades. As Bonnominri comments, whereas Manilius and Firmicus Maternus list the risings of the Pleiades at 5° Taurus, a more accurate calculation of the rising would be at 26° Taurus. But the fate and personal idiosyncrasies of those born under the effects of the Pleiades — transmutation, devotion to luxury, lust and a passion for emotional display — hardly provide an appropriate augury for the first Duke of Mantua. Indeed, Gauricus argues that had Federigo been born with a horoscope of 25° Taurus, not far from the influence of the Pleiades, the added conjunction between the ascendant and Saturn would have made him a most disagreeable character. Given the evidence of the man, Gauricus’s response is to recast the horoscope and find Federigo a new ascendant at 5° 25′ Gemini, now safely in conjunction with the Sun.

A similar avoidance of the effects of the Pleiades is evident in the Sala dei Venti tardi. As mentioned, the only ruling for which it would have been necessary for the author of the programme to consult Firmicus Maternus is the
Fig. 1: Federigo II Gonzaga’s natal chart

The location of these stars associated with the ‘ungula Tauri’ overlaps the point of Federigo’s ascendant at 29° 56’ Taurus. Federigo’s natal chart, which shows his ascendant in conjunction with Saturn and without beneficent planets in aspect, mirrors the situation described by Firmicus and depicted in the ‘ungula Tauri’ tends: If the horoscope was in the parting of the hooves of Taurus . . . (and) only malignant rays are menacingly directed at this spot without the presence of benevolent stars, famous gladiators will be born. But those, who, after taking many prizes and countless victories, will die by the menacing sword in their fights, amidst the great applause and favour of the spectators.\footnote{See n. 15 above.}

23 Tabulae Astronomicae Divi Alfini Regis Romani Regis at Castale, Venice 1518 p. 49.\footnote{De la stella fase libre am, Venice 1533, p. 174.}
The Fermicus passage and its illustration in the Sala dei Venti are significant not only in their relation to the planetary conditions of Federigo's horoscope, but also in the fact that they describe an alternative fate for those who otherwise would be regarded as the children of the Pleiades.

That the iconography of the Sala dei Venti depends on Bononcini's Commentarii cannot be proved. Nevertheless, the decoration at least seems to represent a parallel in terms of what might be called 'humanistic approach' towards the problems presented by the Astrometria. Most probably, Bononcini served as the source of inspiration or as a sort of basic ground plan for the Sala dei Venti programme. This, and the indications of a slight tempering with the system to accommodate the horoscope of Federigo's Combraga, seem to provide support for Germini's suggestion that the author of the Sala dei Venti programme was none other than Lucas Gauricus. It must have been Gauricus's admiration for the Commentarii that prompted him to publish Bononcini's De rerum coelestibus in 1526. The similarity between the two works lies in the fact that both, one through commentary and the other through verse, provide the necessary planetary astrology to make Manilius's Astronomica "complete." Further, the insistent desire to remove Federigo's descendant from the problematic influences of the Pleiades, seen both in the Sala dei Venti and in Gauricus's recasting of Federigo's natal chart, seems like the concern of a court astrologer, whose livelihood depended on his ability to reconcile astrological doctrine with historical fact.

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Bono Germini, Libri tre de Ferrando Augusto, Infinum Statum Rigen.

Also Gauricus praised Bononcini in his inaugural lecture before the Ferrarese Studium. See Oratio de inventornbus, utilibus et ludiis astronomicis, habita per Lucam Gauricium veritatis Anno Domini MDCII.


That the five books of the Astronomica contain only a fragment of a large work, perhaps as large as eight books, is an idea that has found support from classical such as Housman, D.B. Gais, J. Beek, and Gareau. It is based largely on passages such as that found in Book II, 749, in which Manilius seems to refer to sections on planetary astrology not contained within the five books we possess.

Whether or not the Astronomica is complete is not questioned here, only that without a section devoted to planetary astrology, the Astronomica would have seemed incomplete to the Renaissance astrologer.

In this light, Pierre Aron's characterization of Gauricus as prophet, prophet, is fitting for a figure seen historically suited. See Silver, L. Guerini, L'Archivio, n. 54 above, p. 316, n. 5.

HOW HERMES TRISMEGISTUS WAS INTRODUCED TO RENAISSANCE ENGLAND: THE INFLUENCES OF CAXTON AND FICINO'S "ARGUMENTUM" ON BALDWIN AND PALFREYMAN

Approximately a quarter of the sayings attributed to Hermes in Caxton's The dithes or leeges of the philosophes (1477) were used as sayings ascribed to Hermes in Book 2, 3 and 4 of Baldwin's florilegium A Treatise of Morall 1 For his chapter on Hermes Trismegistus in Book 1, however, Baldwin drew on Ficino's "Argumentum" to Fimander (1471). Through Baldwin and then Palfreyman who expanded Baldwin's treatise, Ficino's seminal

1 The other sayings ascribed to Hermes in Books 2, 3 and 4 of Baldwin's treatise are derived from several other sources including Laertius, Boece and Bruni but not Ficino. On Baldwin, see D.E. Strauss, "The Thomas Elyot and the "Sayings of the Philosophers", Texas University Studies in English XLI, 1975, pp. 5--25.