

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 1535 lists one hundred and forty-three books and manuscripts, many of which survive among the Royal manuscripts in the British Library.⁴⁵ Most of them are in French and only a handful in Latin or English. *Chronicles of England* and *Rotulus regum anglie* (nos 16 and 17) show that manuscripts of the type of Arundel 53 existed in the royal library, but they were heavily outnumbered in 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 likelier, 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.⁴⁶

C. M. KAUFFMANN

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

⁴⁵ H. Omont, 'Les manuscrits français des rois d'Angleterre au château de Richmond', *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, 1891, pp. 5 ff. (photocopy in Warburg Institute Library).

⁴⁶ For example, College of Arms 20/21; 3/2; BL King's 395, see Anglo, *op. cit.* n. 13 above.

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

IN his 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 viii of the *Matheseos Libri VIII* of Julius Firmicus Maternus which, as he noted, run so 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 breadth — 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.

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

¹ E. H. Gombrich, 'The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Te', this *Journal*, xii, 1950, pp. 189–201. Reprinted in E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, 2, London 1972, pp. 109–18. Citations are from *Symbolic Images* (hereafter Gombrich). See also R. Signorini, 'Distat enim quae / Sydera te excipiant', this *Journal*, xix, 1979, p. 273; F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven 1958, pp. 115–23; E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics*, Baltimore and London 1977, pp. 26–28.

Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Volume 47, 1984

² Gombrich, p. 109. The passages used are: Manilius, *Astronomica*, v, 32–69; citations from G. P. Goold, ed. and transl., Loeb Classical Library, London 1977, pp. 300–63; Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos Libri VIII*, Book viii, v, 1–xiii, 6; see *Julii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII*, ed. W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, K. Ziegler, Leipzig 1897–1913, II, pp. 294–315. [The translation by Jean Rhys Bram (*Ancient Astrology Theory and Practice: Matheseos Libri VIII* by Firmicus Maternus, Noyes Classical Studies, Park Ridge N.J. 1975, pp. 272–81) is somewhat too free to be wholly reliable. In general, Gombrich's translations of the relevant passages are markedly closer to the original.]

The meeting of these two classical authors within the confines of a sixteenth-century decorative programme is extremely interesting. Firmicus Maternus's *Mathesis*, on the one hand, had enjoyed considerable popularity 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 1417.³ Serious interest in the poem emerges in humanist circles only after 1450, witness the proportionally large number of manuscripts which date from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴ The extent of this sudden demand is also demonstrated by the fact

that the text was printed seven times between 1470 and 1500.⁵ Despite this, the reason for and exact nature of this interest is difficult to uncover. First, the inherited texts of the *Astronomica* were profoundly corrupt, 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 1, and several badly twisted phrases (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.⁶ Second, one wonders what sense a Renaissance scholar might have made of, or from what perspective he might have interpreted, Manilius's unique non-planetary astrology

³ R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Florence 1914, I, pp. 79–80 and II, pp. 192 and 234.

⁴ The manuscripts of the *Astronomica* which can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century with certainty are:

Boston, Publ. Lib. 20 (G. 38.46), dated 1461; Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, Plut. I.3 xxv, dated 1457; Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 30.15, postdating 1474; Leiden, Universiteitsbibl., Voss. lat. oct. 3, dated 1470; Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Parm. 283, postdating 1452; Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1711, dated 1466; Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica, Vat. lat. 5160, dated 1469.

* I thank M. D. Reeve for the reference to these two manuscripts.

Other manuscripts which seem to postdate 1450 are: Holkham Hall 331; Leiden, Universiteitsbibl., Voss. lat. oct. 18; London, British Lib., Add. 22808; Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 15743; Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Auct. F. 4.34; Oxford, Corpus Christi College 66; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8022; Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica, Urb. lat. 667; Urb. lat. 668; Vat. lat. 1653; Vat. lat. 3097; Vat. lat. 8172.

For the recension of these manuscripts, see: H. W. Garrod, *Manilii Astronomici Liber II*, Oxford 1911, pp. xv–lvii; M. D. Reeve, 'Some Astronomical Manuscripts', *The Classical Quarterly*, n.s. xxx, 1980, pp. 508–22.

Soldati suggests that interest in the *Astronomica* develops only after the discovery of the manuscript in the Badia of Monte Cassino in 1450. Lorenzo Bonincontri makes a note in his personal copy of the 1474 Bolognese edition of the *Astronomica* (see n. 5 below), and again on fol. 3^r of his *Commentum* (see n. 8 below), of this manuscript of Panormita's which offered several variant readings to Poggio's manuscript. See B. Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento. Ricerche e studi*, Florence 1906, p. 76. Garrod, however, (*Astronomicum*, p. lxxix) doubts the existence of any such manuscript.

It is worth noting here that Bonincontri's annotated *Astronomicum*, described by Bandini in his catalogues of the Bibl. Laurenziana as Plut. xxx. 16 (A. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurenzianae*, Florence 1775, II, col. 76), which has been repeatedly cited by modern scholars as still in the Bibl. Laurenziana, was, in fact, among those codices that were transferred to the Florentine Bibl. Nazionale in 1799 as a part of the scheme of exchange. The codex, however, is not now to be found in the Bibl. Nazionale. A handwritten list inserted into the Library's copy of Fernando Fossio's *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*

XV impressorum qui in publica Bibliotheca Magliabecchiana Florentiae adservantur, Florence 1794, that records all those volumes which had been sold or were missing from the Library and was compiled, according to a note dated 29 December 1880, by the librarian Vincenzo Fallini, has this notice: 'Manilii (Marci) ... [Astronomica] ... cum Arato. Bononia. Rugerij 1474 in fol^o pu. Prima ediz. con data, rarissimo. Quello della libreria Heber fu venduto £7.12.6 sterl. (Brunet III, 257.)' (For confirmation of the sale of the Heber codex, see Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur des Livres*, Paris 1862, III, col. 1568 and *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber*, esp. London 1834–36, VI, p. 173, no. 2399.)

Therefore, the present location of this annotated *Astronomicum*, which might provide vital clues regarding the nature of the 'alleged Panormita manuscript', is unknown.

⁵ *M. Manilii Astronomicum primum (-quintus) ex officina Joannis de Regiomonte, Nuremberg 1472. Manilii poetae clarissimi Astronomicum ad Caesarem Augustum liber primus (-quintus)*, Bologna: Hugo Rugerius and Dominus Bertocus, 1474. *M. Manilii Astronomicum. Primum. (-Quintus)*, Naples: Iodocus Hoensteyn, 1475. *Marci Manilii Mathematici poetae clarissimi Astronomicum ad Caesarem Augustum Liber Primus (-Quintus)*, (ed. Stephanus Dulcinus), Milan: Antonius Zarotus Parmensis, 1489. *J. Firmiani Astronomicorum libri octo integri et emendati ... Marci Manilii Astronomicorum libri quinque ... Arati Phaenomena Germanico Caesare interprete ... Arati ejusdem Phaenomenon fragmentum Marco T. C. interprete ... Arati ejusdem Phaenomena Graece ... Procli Diadochi Sphaera Graece ... Procli ejusdem Sphaera*, Venice 1499. There is also Lorenzo Bonincontri's edition and *Commentum* (see n. 8 below), and the mysterious 'second Neapolitan edition, sine loco et anno' mentioned by Garrod, *Astronomicum*, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

⁶ J. J. Scaliger, *In Manilii quinque libros Astronomicum commentarius et Castigationes*, Paris 1579 and J. J. Scaliger, 'Castigationes et notae' in *M. Manilii Astronomicum a Iosepho Scaligero ex vetusto codice Gemblacensi infinitis mensis reparatum*, Leiden 1599–1600. For an excellent analysis of Scaliger's approach to the *Astronomicum*, see A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, I, Oxford 1983, pp. 180–226. *M. Manilii Astronomicum ex recensione et cum notis R. Bentley*, London 1739. A. E. Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicum*, 5 vols, London 1903–33.

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.⁷

Insights into both these issues can be gained by turning to the earliest commentary on the *Astronomica*. Lorenzo di Giovanni Bonincontri published his *Commentum* in Rome in 1484.⁸ Most of his observations seem to date back to a series of public lectures delivered in Florence between 1475 and 1477.⁹ The lectures were attended and apparently well received by the Florentine humanists, notably Ficino,

Toscanello and Poliziano.¹⁰ It is important to note, however, that Bonincontri was not himself a classical scholar nor, it seems, particularly interested in making the actual text of the *Astronomica* significantly more comprehensible. He was an astrological poet whose prime intent seems to have been to render Manilius usable. He achieved this, very simply, by adding to the *Astronomica* that key facet which he felt was lacking: planetary astrology. His *Commentum* 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 Manilian text. Bonincontri rarely attacks a problematic passage; rather, he appends to it something that he actually understands.

For the Sala dei Venti, Bonincontri's commentary on lines 32–692 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 'explicates' Manilius by quoting at length and often verbatim the related passages from Book viii of Firmicus Maternus.

For example, Bonincontri's commentary of the rising of the Haedi (*Astronomica*, v, 102–17) may be compared with the corresponding passage in Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis*, viii, vi, 4–5 and 12):

⁷ A. C. Clark, 'The Literary Discoveries of Poggio', *The Classical Review*, xiii, 1899, p. 125. Reprinted in R. Fubini's edn of Poggius Bracciolini, *Opera Omnia*, Turin 1969, iv, section xv. In this letter, Poggio says: 'Is qui libros transcripsit ignorantissimus omnium viventium fuit, divinare oportet non legere, ideoque opus est ut transcribantur per hominem doctum.' See also Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggio Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Nicolis*, New York 1974, pp. 210–13.

⁸ (Laurentij) Bonincontrij Miniatisensis ad Reverendissimum in christo patrem et dominum Dominum Raphaelem Riarium TT. Sancti Georgij in celabro Diaconum Cardinalem ac Romane apostolice sedis Camerarium. In: C. Manilium Commentum incipit feliciter. The codicil at the end of Book v reads: 'Laurentij. Bonincontrij. Miniatisensis. In: C. Manilium Commentum. Rome impressum. Anno domini. Millesimoquadringentesimo octuagesimoquarto. Sedente. Innocento octavo. Pontifice maximo. Anno eius. Primo. Die vero vigesimasexta. Mensis Octobris. Finit Foeliciter' (fol. 102'). (All pagination follows the British Library copy of Bonincontri's *Commentum*.) The manuscript copy of the *Commentum*, also dedicated to Cardinal Riario, is in the Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica, Ottob. lat. 1706. See P. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, London and Leiden 1967, ii, p. 419. The best study of Bonincontri's life and work remains Benedetto Soldati's chapters in *La poesia astrologica* . . . , n. 4 above, pp. 118–98.

⁹ Soldati, *La poesia astrologica*, p. 126. '(Manilium) ego primus Florentinae legi anno salutis Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo quinto et duobus insequentibus annis.'

¹⁰ Soldati, *La poesia astrologica*, pp. 126–27, nn. 2 and 3. For Ficino and Bonincontri see Carol V. Kaske, 'Marsilio Ficino and the Twelve Gods of the Zodiac', *this Journal*, xiv, 1982, pp. 195–202.

... [Haedus] unum ex his hedis quem fert auriga, qui incipit oriri a parte .xx. arietis versus septentrionem unde tales pueri qui sic nascuntur sunt petulantes natura lascivi, sed austera facie ut Catonis frontem imitari videantur. Sed hoc fucato mentiuntur affectu. Nam voluptatibus dediti et qui varia amorum cupiditate exestuent et ab omni virtutis officio separati, timidi inbecilles qui prelia perorrescant (*sic*). Qui frequenter vitiosis libidinibus capti et praeposteri amoris studiis implicati mortem ipsi sibi inferre cogantur. Fuerit nonnunquam ovium pastores et cetera. (...) at si quis hoc sidere nascitur eo in occasu constituto et Saturnus male aspexerit, in ipso natalis momento moriuntur vel deficientibus matris viribus strangulantur. At si Mars cum hoc sidere fuerit et Iupiter aut Venus non aspexerit, forte religione faciet immolari. . . .¹¹

Or, to take another example, Bonincontri's commentary on the rising of Aquila (*Astronomica*, v, 486–503) follows Firmicus even more closely:¹²

... qui nascentur ex cedibus hominum aut spolijs habebunt vite subsidia. Capiant pariter feras et donabunt [*sic: recte domabunt*]. Erunt fortes militaresque, quorum virtute atque praesidio metuendi bellorum impetus sopiantur tanteque virtutis ut nudo pectore prediti hostes sequantur, et ad laudem suam † prospere credant, si mortem secuta animositate contempserint. At si hunc locum felices stelle prospera radiatione muniverat, liberabunt patriam, condent civitates, et devictis hostibus triumphabunt. Quodsi Mars aut Saturnus hunc locum respexerit, facient tribunos ministros imperatorum et quibus circa [*sic: recte cura*] imperii vel provintiarum sepius demandetur. Si autem in occasu fuerit, faciet eos suffocari.

Bonincontri, *Comm.*, fol. 99^r

In Arietis parte XX. ad Aquilonem versus oritur Haedus quem fert Auriga. Hoc sidere <oriente> quicumque nati fuerint, aliud ex fronte pollicentur, aliud latenter in moribus celant. Sunt enim austera facie, proluxa barba, obstinata fronte, ut Catonis [frontem ut Catonis] prorsus institutum imitari videantur. Sed totum hoc fucato mentiuntur affectu. Sunt enim natura petulantes, lascivi, semper desideriorum pravis ac libidinosis voluptatibus implicati, et qui latenter amorum cupiditatibus semper exestuent. Erunt etiam ab omni virtutis officio separati, timidi inbecilles, et qui omne pugnarum periculum perhorrescant. Hi frequenter vitiosis libidinibus capti, et praeposteri amoris studiis occupati, mortem sibi inferre coguntur. Nascuntur etiam ex hoc sidere pastores ovium, sed qui fistula rustici carminis dulces modos dicant. . . . Si Haedus quem fert Auriga in occasu fuerit inventus, et cum Saturnus quadrata vel diametra radiatione respexerit, nati in ipso momento vitae moriuntur, aut in ipso nascendi limine constituti deficientibus matris viribus strangulantur, aut tumescentibus faucibus acerbum illis mortis inferitur exitium. Quodsi Mars cum ipsa stella in occasu fuerit inventus, ab omni benivolarum stellarum testimonio destitutus, amplecti faciet aut ad aram metuendis religionibus immolari.¹²

... Quicumque in ortu huius sideris nati fuerint, ex caede hominum et ex spolijs habebunt vitae subsidia. Capiant etiam feras pariter et donabunt. Erunt praeterea fortes militares, quorum virtute atque praesidio bellorum metuendi impetus sopiantur. Erunt sane tanta virtute, ut nudo praediti pectore hostes sequantur, ut ad laudem suam † prospere credant, si mortem secuta animositate contempserint. Quodsi hunc locum benivolae stellae prospera radiatione respexerint, liberabunt patriam, condent etiam alias civitates, et devictis vel subiugatis gentibus triumphabunt. Quodsi Mars hunc locum Saturnusve respexerit, faciet praepositos tribunos ministros imperatorum, vel satellites regum, et quibus cura imperii vel armorum custodia credatur. Si vero in occasu fuerit hoc sidus inventum, faciet natos suffocari.

Firmicus, *Mathesis*, viii; xvi, 1–2

¹¹ Bonincontri, *Commentum*, fols 93^r–94^r: "... Haedus (the Goat), that is carried by Auriga, begins to rise with the twentieth degree of Aries, on its northern side. Such boys as are born here are wanton and lascivious by nature, but of austere countenance so that they present to all appearances an imitation of Cato. Yet this is a deceit and counterfeit. For, addicted to pleasure, they are consumed with different amorous passions, and, devoid of any proper concern for virtue, are timid, feeble and terrified of battle. Frequently they fall victim to wicked lusts and, becoming entangled in ridiculous love affairs, are constrained to do away with themselves. Sometimes it will produce shepherds and so on. . . . But anyone born with this sign on the descendant and with Saturn badly aspected will die at the very moment of birth, or be strangled as his mother's strength fails during labour. But if Mars is found with this sign and Jupiter and Venus are not aspected, it will perhaps cause him to be sacrificed by religion. . . ."

¹² Firmicus, *Mathesis*, viii; vi, 4–5. For an English translation see Gombrich, *op. cit.* n. 1, above, p. 110 and further that by Bram (*cit.* n. 2 above).

¹³ Bonincontri: "Those born [here] will make their living through killing people and from pillage. They will also catch and tame wild beasts. They will be strong soldiers whose bravery and protection allays the fear of war, so courageous too that they pursue the enemy with bared breast, and believe it will enhance their glory [?], if they fearlessly scorn death. But if benevolent stars protect this place with propitious rays, they will liberate their country, found cities and triumph after defeating their enemies. If, however, Mars or Saturn is in aspect, they will produce magistrates and imperial ministers, and men who are frequently entrusted with the care of the empire or its provinces. But if again [the star] is on the descendant, it will cause them to be suffocated." For Firmicus see Gombrich, p. 113 and Bram pp. 272–74.

The unacknowledged debt to Firmicus is clear, and the two examples provided are wholly representative of Bonincontri's commentary. Indeed, Bonincontri is so consistent in his quotation of Firmicus that one might suppose that the iconography of the Sala dei Venti *tondi* was devised solely from this *Commentum* without direct recourse to the *Mathesis* itself. For fifteen of the sixteen *tondi*, this case could be maintained.¹⁴ However, for one *tondo*, representing the gladiators who are born under the influence of the stars 'in fissione unguiae Tauri', the author of the programme must have turned to Firmicus Maternus,¹⁵ since neither the gladiators nor the effects of the stars of Taurus's hooves are mentioned by Manilius or in Bonincontri's *Commentum*.

Strictly speaking, the imagery of the Sala dei Venti cannot represent the horoscope of an

individual or event. The constellations depicted in the *tondi* 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.¹⁶ 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 II Gonzago was born on Sunday, 17 May 1500.¹⁷ His natal chart is reproduced in Lucas Gauricus's *Tractatus Astrologicus* (Fig. 1).¹⁸ Here Federigo's ascendant is marked at 22° 26' Taurus. Ordinarily, a person born while the last degrees of Taurus are rising would have been interpreted as having been born under the influence of the Pleiades. As Bonincontri comments, whereas Manilius and Firmicus Maternus list the rising of the Pleiades at 6° Taurus, a more accurate calculation of its rising would be with 20° Taurus.¹⁹ But the fate and personality befalling those born under the effects of the Pleiades — transvestism, 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 23° Taurus, not far from the influence of the Pleiades, the added conjunction between the ascendant and Saturn would have made him a most disgraceful 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.²⁰

A similar avoidance of the effects of the Pleiades is evident in the Sala dei Venti *tondi*. As mentioned, the only roundel for which it would have been necessary for the author of the programme to consult Firmicus Maternus is the

¹⁴ *Haedus*: See no. 11 and 12 above.

Lepus: Manilius, v, 157-73; Firmicus, viii, viii, 1-2; Bonincontri, fol. 94^r.

Jugulae I: The term *Jugulae*, in this instance, does not refer to the Aselli, the two bright stars found in the constellation of Cancer, but is used to denote the three stars in Orion's belt (see Gould, *Astronomia*, Loeb, n. 2 above, p. 314). Bonincontri understands the term in this sense: 'Jugule ut dicit papias vocatur orion, quia armatus gladio cuius capulum stellarum luce terribilis atque clarissimus est' (fol. 95^r); Manilius, v, 174-88; Firmicus, viii, ix, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 95^r.

Jugulae II: Nets and traps are mentioned by Manilius under two constellations. First, under the *Jugulae*: *retibus et cladiis campos, formidine montes* (v, 185 — 'they enclose the plains with nets, the hills with scare-feathers'), and *et colore iugis inductis retibus amari* (v, 193 — 'and to strain the river currents by lowering nets'). Second, under the effects of the constellation Procyon, whose children produce nets and hunting spears (v, 201). Firmicus says that nets are used by the children of the *Jugulae* to trap beasts and, if the stars rise with Saturn in aspect, to capture marine beasts (viii, ix, 1-2). Bonincontri mentions nets only in connection with Procyon, fol. 95^r.

Canicula: Manilius, v, 228-30; Firmicus, viii, x, 3; Bonincontri, fol. 95^r.

Corona: Manilius, v, 251-69; Firmicus, viii, xi, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 95^r.

Sagitta: Manilius, v, 293-310; Firmicus, viii, xii, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 96^r.

Ara: Manilius, v, 339-47; Firmicus, viii, xiii, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 96^r.

Arcturus desc.: *Arcturus I*: Not described in Manilius; Firmicus, viii, xiv, 2; Bonincontri, fol. 97^r.

Arcturus II: Manilius, v, 357-63; Firmicus, viii, xiv, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 97^r.

Ophiachas: Manilius, v, 389-93; Firmicus, viii, xv, 1; Bonincontri, fol. 97^r.

Aquila: Manilius, v, 486-503; see n. 13 above.

Cetar: Manilius, v, 656-92; Firmicus, viii, xvii, 5; Bonincontri, fol. 101^r.

Delphinus/Navis: Manilius, v, 416-48 and 32-56; Firmicus, viii, xv, 2 and vi, 1; Bonincontri, fols. 98^r-98^v and 93^r.

¹⁵ Gombrich, p. 110. Firmicus, viii, vii, 3.

¹⁶ Gombrich, p. 115.

¹⁷ Antonio Mainardi, *Il Fiochetto delle Cronache di Mantova* raccolta da Stefano Gioia, Mantua 1844, p. 108.

¹⁸ Lucas Gauricus *Geophysicus episcopi civitatis Tractatus Astrologicus*, Venice 1552, fol. 44^r.

¹⁹ Bonincontri, *Commentum*, fol. 26^r, '... hec constellatio olim erat in Tauri fronte et sunt septem stelle. Nunc vero sunt iuxta vigesimam Tauri partem' and fol. 94^r, '... et nostra memoria sunt prope vigesimum gradum Tauri'.

²⁰ Gauricus, *Tractatus Astrologicus*, fol. 44^r, '... si natus fuisset horoscopante 23 (Tauri) parte prope Pleiades et ibidem Saturnus, fuisset turpissimus. Sed Gaurico iudice venit in lucem horoscopante 5, 15 (Geminorum). Decima [domus] 8.0 (Aquatii) et ita horoscopi, et Solis directio intulit'.

Federicus Gonzaga, Primus Dux Mantuanorum.

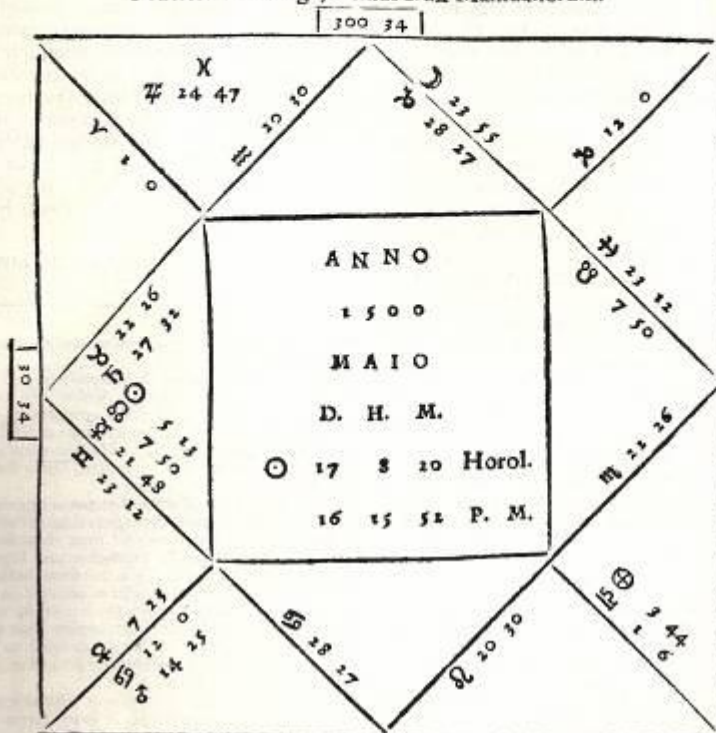


FIG. 1: Federigo II Gonzaga's natal chart

tondo that represents the influence of the stars 'in fissionem ungulae Tauri'. Firmicus offers no ecliptical co-ordinates for these stars, but there seems to be a tendency among medieval and Renaissance astronomers to describe some of the stars found between 20° and 29° Taurus as the knees and hooves of the Bull. For example, the *Alfonsine Tables* list the stars of the right knee and hoof of Taurus at 23° 48' and 20° 8' Taurus and the left knee at 29° 18' Taurus.²¹ Alessandro Piccolomini notes the left foot of the Bull at 24° Taurus.²²

²¹ *Tabulae Astronomicae Divi Alfonsi Regis Romanorum et Castellae*, Venice 1518, p. 49.

²² Alessandro Piccolomini, *De le stelle fisse libro uno*, Venice 1553, p. 124.

The location of these stars associated with the 'ungula Tauri' overlaps the point of Federigo's ascendant at 22° 26' 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' *tondo*:

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.²³

²³ See n. 15 above.

The Firmicus 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 Bonincontri's *Commentum* 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 *Astronomica*. Most probably, Bonincontri 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 tampering with the system to accommodate the horoscope of Federigo II Gonzaga, seem to provide support for Gombrich's suggestion that the author of the Sala dei Venti programme was none other than Lucas Gauricus.²⁴ It must have been Gauricus's admiration for the *Commentum* that prompted him to publish Bonincontri's *De rebus coelestibus* in 1526.²⁵ 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'.²⁶ Further, the insistent desire to remove Federigo's ascendant from the problematic influence 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.²⁷

KRISTEN LIPPINCOTT

Rebus Coelestibus, Libri tres ad Ferdinandum Aragonum, Inclitum Siciliae Regem.

Also Gauricus praised Bonincontri in his inaugural lecture before the Ferrarese *Studio*. See 'Oratio de inventoribus, utilitate et laudibus astronomiae, habita per Lucam Gauricum vertente Anno Humanati Verbi MDVII. Dum in Ferrariensi Gymnasio Mathematicas disciplinas publice profiteretur', in L. Gauricus, *Opera Omnia*, Basle 1575, p. 6.

²⁴ That the five books of the *Astronomica* represent only a fragment of a larger work, perhaps as large as eight books, is an idea that has found support from classicists such as Housman, D. B. Gail, P. Thielscher and Garrod. 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.

²⁷ In this light, Pietro Aretno's characterization of Gauricus as 'propheta doppio il fatto' seems ironically suitable. See Silvestri, 'Luca Gaurico', *L'Archivista*, n. 24 above, p. 310, n. 3.

²⁴ Gombrich, pp. 118 and 226-27, nn. 33-37. See also: F. Gabotto, 'Alcuni appunti per la cronologia della vita dell'astrologo Luca Gaurico', *Archivio Storico Napoletano*, xvii, 1892, pp. 278-98; A. Silvestri, 'Luca Gaurico e l'astrologia a Mantova nella prima metà del Cinquecento', *L'Archivista*, xxxiv, 1939, pp. 299-315.

²⁵ *Laurentii Bonincontri Miliatensis De Rebus Coelestibus, Auream opusculum ab L. Gaurico Neapolitano ... recognitum*, Venice 1526. Re-issued in Basle in 1540 as: *Laurentii Bonincontri Miliatensis Rerum naturalium et diuinarum, sive De*

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 dictes or sayengis of the philosophres* (1477) were used as sayings ascribed to Hermes in Books 2, 3 and 4 of Baldwin's florilegium *A Treatise of Morall*

Philosophie (1547).¹ For his chapter on Hermes Trismegistus in Book 1, however, Baldwin drew on Ficino's 'Argumentum' to *Pimander* (1471).² 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 authors including Laertius, Burley and Erasmus but not Ficino. On Baldwin, see D. T. Starnes, 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the "Sayings of the Philosophers"', *Texas University Studies in English*, xii, 1933, pp. 5-35.

² See F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno And The Hermetic Tradition*, repr. Chicago 1978, ch. 1, pp. 14-16.