Fig. 1: Cameni di Griadda vault. Lithograph by F. L. Campari, 1878

Fig. 2: Schema of the Cameri di Griada. Constellations and planet gods
THE ASTROLOGICAL VAULT OF THE
CAMERA DI GRISELDA FROM ROCcabIANCA

Kristen Lippincott

Among the most delightful examples of fifteenth-century North Italian secular fresco decoration are the two cycles contained in the so-called Camera di Griselda, currently housed as part of the Civiche Raccolte in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Figs 1-2; pls. 10-11). Painted in a pale green chiaroscuro a terretial, with contrasting accents of reddish-brown in the shadows and details, the frescoes, originally located on the first floor of the south-west tower of the Parmae castle of Roccabianca, were detached and transferred to canvas in 1896-97. Their whereabouts between then and 1940, when they were 'rediscovered' by Ragghianti in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin, remains unclear. All forty-one panels were purchased by the Museo d'Arte Antica, with funds allocated by the Comune di Milano, in 1943.

The frescoes can be dated to between 1458 and 1464. 'They were commissioned by the wealthy mercante, Pier Maria Rossi, Count of BerCEO, and belong to the extensive

I should like to thank Sir Ernst Gombrich, Charles Burnet, Jean Michel Massing and Robert St. Miller for their helpful suggestions and criticism, the Princesse of the Saul Penand the Fondazione di Studi dell'Arte Roberto Longhi for financial support, and Sergio Bergolo of the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco, Milan for permission to photograph and publish the vault of the Camera di Griselda.

Abbreviations for frequently cited works:

Roberto Greci, Marliana D'Accovio Nadadora, Germano Mulargia, Curia di Benedetto in the provincia di Parma, Turin 1981; in Mulargia, Culti L. Helle, Untersuchungen über die Urgeschichte und die Endzeit der Sternen, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des gestorbenen Himmlis, Berlin 1870 = Ideer, Sternenhistorie
P. Kunitzsch, Astronomie Sternen in Europa, Wiesbaden 1956 = Kunitzsch, Arabic Astronomy
P. Kunitzsch, Untersuchungen zur Sternenhistorie in der Antike, Wiesbaden 1981 = Kunitzsch, Rhumleather
P. Kunitzsch, Der Abendstern, Die Geschichte der Eichardsen (Giulio Paleologo) in brasilianisch-lateinische Ubersetzun- gen, Wiesbaden 1910 = Kunitzsch, Der Abendstern
A. Pericoli, Storia della Ciura di Parma, 5 vols., Parma 1892-93 = Pericoli, Storia
C. Ragghianti, Studi sulla pittura lombarda del Quattrocento, Grigio d'arte, vii, 1. 1949, pp. 39-46 and vii, 4. 1949, pp. 398-400 = Ragghianti, Studi
The four volumes of Frans Suys's Versamling astrologicae et mythologicae illustrer handschriften des historische Middelalder, ..., in römisches Bibliotheken, Heidelberg 1915 = Sauli
Die Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Heidelberg 1947 = Sauli
Handschriften in englische Bibliotheken, London 1953 = Sauli-Meers, 1 and 2

... Astralogie Manuscript in Italienische, other than Rome, London 1966 = McGirk iv

1 Pericoli, Storia. Especially important: Disertazione sull'arte di Ferrara, by Benito Atti, 1795, and included by Pericoli in an Appendix to vol. 1. C. Il panegiro cerimoniale di Piazza, Parma 1786; F. L. Campari, Un castello del Parmigiano a tre quattordici, Parma 1908; Ragghianti, Studi; Giuliano Caparotta, Castello parmigiano, Parma 1933; and Mulargia, Culti, 2.
2 For information regarding the technique, original location and state of preservation of the frescoes, see Ragghianti, Studi, pp. 44-45, n. 2 and 3. In n. 5 Ragghianti wrongly says the Camera di Griselda was located in the 'southwest tower' but should read 'southeast'.
3 A. Leonardi, La storia di Griselda e Griselda negli affreschi del Castello di Roccabianca, Giotto di Bondone, 1913, pp. 53-69.

4 Alto torice the sign of Pope Pius II on the 'papal' letter head by Marchese Giuberti in the comparison on the lower left side of the north wall of the room which helps to date the frescoes in Pius's pontificate. See Atti, Disertazione, in Pericoli, Storia, 1, p. 17, E, cited by Ragghianti, Studi, pp. 44 and 46, n. 19.

5 For Rossi see Gerardo Ricciuti, Giancarlo Prado P. D. D. Ferre Matta Raimo Buccoli Gons V. Magni and Nicos Domene, ..., in Pericoli, Storia, vii, Appendix, pp. 69-85; J. Cavielez, Vie Pentaframe de la famille de Parnass en sche Descritta, Parma 1849; Federico Ross, 'Glior della Famiglia Rossi', in Pericoli, Storia, vii, Appendix, pp. 9-98; E. Carrara, Portofino de la family di Italia, Venice 1586, pp. 166-
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building and redecoration campaign of three of his major feudal holdings—San Secondo, Torrechiara, and Rocchianasca—which Rosselli began in the late 1440s. Although there is certainly a stylistic affinity between the frescoes and several examples of contemporary Milanese-influenced, courtly painting, there is no scholarly consensus as to the name of the artist or even the school to which the Rocchianasca frescoes belong.

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

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

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

* N. Pelccl, Pie Maria Ross i a uwi Castelli, Parma 1911; A. Ghiglione Quinivaglio, I castelli del Benenza, Parma 1935; also the excellent summary of the architecture of the Rossellini castelli in Madrassos' contribution to Mulazzan, Corti (pp. 47-48).

7. Ragghianti, 'Studi', pp. 238-239, suggests the Milanese painter and designer of stained glass windows, Niccolò da Verallo, Quinivaglio (op. cit., p p. 94) credited the production of the four Rossellini frescoes which made up the International Gothic style with elements from Mantegna, Jacopo Bellini and the 'rough style' (nudo fito) of the Ferrarese artist of the Schiavoni frescoes.

M. L. Ferrari, Giudeo Pietro di Genni, Milan 1938, pp. 37-47, suggests Matteo da Verallo, Giuseppe Gatti (op. cit.), Bocci, 1966, pp. 37-38 and n. 32 suggests a possible identification with the Pisan painter of the Cremonese Antonio Guglielm, Mulazzan, Corti, pp. 13-14, agrees with this attribution. Whereas there certainly seems to be a Cremonese flavour to the Rocchianasca frescoes and Rosselli's patronage of the Cremonese Benvenuto, it is evident of an interest in Cremonese art, the invocation of the creative artistic personality of Guglielm is only complicated matters. Guglielm's authorship of the Mongioi frescoes is problematic, his participation within the Palazzo Schiavoni is unlikely, and any relation between these diverse works and the Rocchianasca frescoes is purely generic.


9. This possibility was first proposed by Campari, Castelli (n. 1 above, p. 37-38). Ragghianti added that the vault was the most complete of the contemporary astrophysical cycles and described it as representing only the planets, their houses or domiciles in accord with astrological science, their correspondence with the signs of the zodiac, and of the constellations (Studi, p. 29-32). See also C. Mass, 'La camera di Griolada', Rivista di storia, 1979, pp. 32-33, reprinted in part in Capaccio, Castelli pittori, pp. 145-156. Mariolina Arne Simic, 'Il cerchio di Griolada', Nuova Italia, Parma, 1979, pp. 32-33, reprinted in part in Capaccio, Castelli pittori, pp. 145-156. Mariolina Arne Simic, 'Il cerchio di Griolada', Nuova Italia, Parma, 1979, pp. 32-33. With the exception of the exchanged labels of dune and dunes, see pp. 47-48 below.
building and redecoration campaign of three of his major feudal holdings — San Secondo, Torrechiara, and Rocca Biamanta — which Rossi began in the late 1440s. Although there is certainly a stylistic affinity between the frescoes and several examples of contemporary Milanese-influenced courtly painting, there is no scholarly consensus as to the name of the artist nor even the school to which the Rocca Biamanta frescoes belong.\(^2\)

The frescoes which cover the walls illustrate the final, one-hundredth novella of Boccaccio’s Decameron, the story of Marchese Gualtieri and his faithful wife, Griselda.\(^3\) The twenty-four compartments of the vault are covered by eighty-seven “celestial figures” whose pretense is clearly astrological. Studies of this cycle, however, have not advanced beyond a partial identification of the figures or the vague suggestion that the program might be horoscopically relevant either to the birth of its patron or to some unspecified event in his life.

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

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\(^1\) N. Pinelli, *Per Maria Rosa e i suoi Castelli*, Parma 1911; A. Giustiniani Quintavalle, *I castelli del Parmense*, Parma 1935; also the excellent summary of the architecture of the Rossi castelli in Madama’s contribution to M. Spinazzola, *Corti (pp. 457–460).

\(^2\) Raggiani, *Studi*, pp. 191–195, suggests the Milanese painter and designer of stained-glass windows, Nazzaro da Varallo. Quintavalle (op. cit., p. 94) thinks the artist might be a Lombard who combined his international Gothic taste with elements from Mantua, Jacopo Bellini and the “rough style” (sotto minio) of the Ferrarese artists of the Schiavone frescoes.


\(^4\) This possibility was first proposed by Campori, in *castelli* (n. 1 above) pp. 53–57. Raggiani added that the vault was the most complex of the contemporary astrological cycles and described it as representing only ‘the planets, their houses or domiciles in accord with astrological science, their correspondent with the signs of the zodiac, and of the constellations’. (Studi, pp. 35–33.) See also O. Mutti, “La camera di Griselda”, *Marios Forni*, Parma 1926, pp. 5–11, reprinted in part in Capocchi, *Castelli parmigiani*, pp. 145–168; Marianna Arnei Smidt, “Il ciclo profano degli affreschi di Rocca Biamanta: ipotesi per una interpretazione iconografica”, *Avv Lombarda*, s.s., lxv, 1981, pp. 3–21.

\(^5\) See the exception of the interchanged bodies of dama and damo. See p. 37, n. 58.
several illuminated manuscripts and was a particularly common feature of the family of fifteenth-century manuscripts descended from or related to Poggio’s Sicilian Fragmentum ARETI, but the peculiar location of the Rocca Bianca eclipic argues against this hypothesis since, in all of the manuscript planispheres, the ecliptic is properly placed between the northern and southern constellations.

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

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

The iconographic context for the Rocca Bianca constellations is the large family of manuscripts related, albeit in some cases rather distantly, to the second-century star catalogue found in the Syntaxis mathematicae of Almagest of Ptolemy. This catalogue, along with the emendations and additions of its Arabic translators and editors al-Hajjaj ibn Yūnūs, al-Ṭabarī ibn Humain, al-Qabīli ibn Qurra (Tabitī), al-Fargānī (Al-Farghānī), Gābir ibn Ḥafīd (Geber), al-Bīrūnī, al-Farāhī, al-Battānī and Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Sūrī was made available to the Western world largely through the translations of Gerard of Cremona and Alfonso X el Sabio. These “re-Westernized” versions of the Ptolemaic Stellar Tables developed and maintained a set of pictorial and textual conventions that are remarkably

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23 P. McGurk, ‘Germanoìi Camerae Aranei et spectabili. A New Illustrated Witness from Wales’, The National Library of Wales Journal, xvi, 1971, pp. 197-216. In his analysis, McGurk lists fourteen manuscripts, dating from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, in which celestial planispheres are found. To this list, one should add the following:

Beine, Studtiib., Germ. 88 — f. 11’ (Germans, before 1029)

Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 8529 — f. 2 1/2 (Italian, 15th c)

(Formerly: Malvera, Byron Perkins Coll., 84 — f. 2 1/2 (Newfoundland, c. 1400)

New York, Morgan C. 398 — f. 93 (Italian, 1450)

Also, a variant form of the planisphere, in which the constellation pictures are replaced by stellar diagrams, appears in the illustrated Liber Floridus manuscripts:

Paris, BN, lat. 8063, f. 141’

Leiden, Univ. Inst. 56, f. 17’

Würzburg, Land. lat. 1, f. 17’

The Hague, 7.32 (Y 1927, f. 27)

The Hague, 78 C 4 (Y 1977, f. 79’)

Darmstadt, 356, f. 55’

McGurk, A., p. xvi and Jean Martin, Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d’Aracoës, Paris 1936, p. 39, state that the

"fragmentum Arretinorum" in Stella Repository had been discovered by Poggio himself, though R. Sabatier, Le Spectre des cœurs latins à vers et à prose (1100-1200. Florence 1914, I, p. 85, clearly states that in 1462 Poggio’s version in possession of the Fragmentum Arretinorum (Germanoìi norum spectaculum in Stella Repository) was in the possession of the University of Bologna. A list of the ‘Sicilian’ manuscripts is provided in McGurk, A., p. xvi, n. 19. Regarding the planispheres in these manuscripts, see note 7 above.


(All phonetic transcriptions of Arabic names in this paper follow Kuntzsch.)
distinct from the Aratus, Arates, and Hyginus-based astrological manuscripts whose descriptions and illustrations of the constellations are more strongly tied to Greco-Roman mythological considerations than to astronomical ones.

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

A typical format of such a list, if perhaps more complete than is found in some of the manuscripts, appears in the fourteenth-century Florentine Alfonsine Tables in a Vatican manuscript (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 8774) in which the constellation Hercules is described as: ... il genile, che quale si chiamà in latino incarnatus super genu ipsum, e ancora si chiamà in latino salutare. Em castello si dice el che tiend el mio in pinnaco, ed in foronino colui che è inchinato supra 1 ginocchio suo, e ancora si chiamà salutare. E in arabo si à due nomi, 'uno elgebel ale rosceti, che vuo dire 'genile', e l'altro nome è raquag, che vuo dire 'ballatore'.

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

To illustrate the direct correlation between the Roccabianca figures and the Stellar Table manuscripts, I have treated the constellations in the order in which they are most often listed in these manuscripts, that is: northern constellations from ursa minor to triangulus, the zodiacal constellations, and then the southern constellations from cetus to pisces meridionales. My headings reflect the spelling found in the Roccabianca vault with
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for., used as the abbreviation of forma, followed by the genitive of the constellation name. Specific visual comparisons have been limited to examples from the manuscripts listed in the Appendix, unless certain details could be clarified by reference to an illustration not in this list. In such instances, I have consulted only texts whose popularity in the period suggests that they would have been available to a fifteenth-century Parma nobleman.

THE NORTHERN CONSTELLATIONS

1. URSA MINOR AND URSA MAJOR

Both labels are found in all Stellar Table manuscripts. The depiction of both bears as tailless and with noses pointing upwards occurs in Vatican, Pal. lat. 1377, fol. 185. Pl. 12a

2. FOR. DRACONIS

More often represented as inter arctos, the solitary Draco is a feature derived from Arabic Tabular manuscript illustration that appears in all but seven of the Stellar Tables. There are three dragons illustrated in the Roccabianca vault: ‘FOR. DRACONIS’ (2) represents the southern constellation of Hydra; ‘FOR. UROCA’ (56) is the northern constellation Draco; and ‘FOR. SERPENTIS’ (11) refers to the cernus held by the constellation Serpentarius. Hesitancy in accepting the first two identifications stems from the position of the northern Draco, among the southern constellations, close to noci, the ship. Since this location would be much more suitable for Hydra, it seems likely that the two labels were inadvertently switched by the artist. The identification of ‘FOR. DRACONIS’ as Hydra, despite its label, is further supported by the manuscript precedent of the figure of Hydra as a dragon with folded wings, a knotted neck and curled tail found in Vatican, Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 399 and Oxford, Can. misc. 554, fol. 158 (Pl. 166).

3. FOR. INFLAMATI

The name inflamatus appears in all the manuscripts in the Appendix. Unfortunately, there is also a major disagreement in these manuscripts as to which constellation is thus designated. Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117–26, and Königsberg 1753 chose Boötes, while Pal. lat. 1266, Vat. lat. 6734, Arnsdel 66, Ruccanti 3011, Rosenthal 100, 2 and Getty, Ludwig XI, all give inflamatus as an alternative name for Cepheus (Cepheus, cayfus).

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

19. The use of forma in stellar preceding the name of the constellation appears in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117–26, Berlin K.K. B. 12, Prague 6, B. 11 and Paris Arsenal 1936 and Munich, cim 689.

20. Mutus 1267, however, last both Cepheus and cayfas as alternate names for Boötes in its facsimile inflamatus.

21. The Latinized version of this name appears in the Stellar Tables as simulah, emulah and emulah.
manuscripts, but is also reflected in their illustrations so that, for example, all the Group I
representations of infamatus are closer to a Boötes-type figure of a cloaked man raising a
club in one hand than to the Cepheus-type, who usually has both hands raised.

In the Roccabianca vault, however, the infamatus is shown in the latter, Cepheus pose. He is
close to all the Group IV and IVa illustrations, particularly to Can. misc. 534, fol. 165v
(Pl. 13b). 23

4. FOR. VOCIFERANS

The uncertainty in the Tabular manuscripts about the identity of infamatus is mirrored in
the problems surrounding vociferans. Pal. lat. 1358, Vat. lat. 8174, Vienna 5415, Arundel
66, Riccardiana 3011, Madrid 9267 and Vat. lat. 3437 associate vociferans with the
constellation Boötes, while in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussels 10117–26, Cues 207 and all the group
IV and IVa manuscripts Cepheus is listed beside vociferans. 24

The relation between Boötes and the terms vociferans, plorans, emundans and elmanus, all of
which appear as names in the Stellar Table manuscripts, can be traced to an Arabic
understanding of the proper name of Boötes (Boātīs) as being related to šwarța 'the
shouter', from šoqā, 'call' or 'shout'. 25 The Arabic equivalents al-šwarṭa and as-yaqūbūh ('the
shouter') are usually translated into the Latin vociferans etc. The Arabic name for the
constellation Boötes, 'the Oxen-driver', al-baqūr, rarely appears in the Stellar Table
Manuscripts, which generally list the Latin transliteration of the original Greek name of
Archeophylax. One exception, in which both Arabic names can be found, is in Vat. lat. 8174
(Pl. 14a).

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

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

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

23 The depiction of infamatus as literally flaying
appear also in Ravi, s. 117 and Urb. lat. 1386, fol. 35v
(Pl. 13c).
24 Köchisberg 1753 has the totally confused list of
vociferans, plorans, vociferans, elmanus and almanus in
connection with Boötes. Madrid 9567 lists vociferans
with Boötes, but also includes stoptas, jovitas and groupus
(Equatoris), names properly associated with the
constellation Herati.
25 See Kaminica, De Almagrei, p. 175. Ideier, Studien,
pp. 46–57, n. 2, and Tauber, op. cit. n. 21 above,
p. 217.
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ring or wreath. Astronomically, the Northern Crown appears in the sky above and to the right of Boötes, its stars mingling with those of Boötes's right arm.26

In the fifteenth-century manuscript of Domenico Bandini d'Arezzo's Fons Monuments Universi, now Florence, Laurentian Edizi 170, there is on fol. 84\r a peculiar illustration of Boötes holding a ball or sphere in his outstretched hand (Pl. 140). This attribute does not appear in the five other illustrated Fons Monuments that I have been able to locate,27 but it seems to illustrate a statement made in Bandini's description of corona: 'coronam septentrionalen sinistro humero prope arctophylax tangit seu scriptus Ygianus suas de ymas [magna].'28 It seems plausible that the sphere held by Boötes in the Florence manuscript is corona and that an illustration based on this passage might have served as the precedent for the Roccabianca sceptrum.29

On the other hand, the passage cited by Bandini, from Book III of Hyginus's Astronomica, actually reads 'Coronam humere sinistro prope contingere Arcophylax videtur.'30 In addition, the description of Boötes offered by Hyginus in the preceding passage describes him as 'Arcophylax. Haunus manum sistentem circulorum arcticus includit.'30 Depictions of Boötes holding the Arctic Circle appear in two formats. In manuscript planispheres Boötes is often shown placing one hand on the Arctic Circle.31 Closer to the Roccabianca sceptrum is the Boötes that accompanies the Hyginus fragment in which he is shown standing with his club in one hand and the other hand raised, holding the polar sphere containing the constellation triad of Draco and the two bears.32 A particularly interesting example of the relationship here between the Hyginus text and its illustrations can be found on fol. 57 of Baltimore Walters 714, in which the illuminator has gone to imaginative lengths to underline the importance of both of Hyginus's descriptions (Pl. 14f). The Florentine Boötes, depending on whether he refers to the Bandini passage or to an illustration taken from a Hyginus manuscript, can be interpreted as holding either corona or the Arctic Circle. Similarly, the ring held by the Roccabianca sceptrum might be either. Given the context of the rest of the vault, and supposing that there is here some uniform iconographic scheme, the fact that ura major, minor and draco do not appear within

26 In the planisphere on fol. 10 of Barth lat. 29, Horatius is shown resting one hand on a wreath-shaped corona. Though there is textual precedent for a description of Horatius holding corona (see A. Le Bonnaffe, Les dieux latins d'autrefois et de constellations, Paris 1857, p. 105, n. 1), I have yet to find second illustration of this in the Liber Horarium family of manuscripts (see n. 11 above). Boötes is often depicted with four stars above his outstretched right hand, but these stars are not identified with corona, and corona is always illustrated as a separate constellation elsewhere in the manuscript.

27 See e.g. Le Bonnaffe, Les dieux latins d'autrefois et de constellations, Paris 1857, p. 105, n. 1, for a discussion of the mistreatment of the constellation in the Fons Monuments. A note in Bandini d'Arezzo's manuscript reads: 'Boötes coenobita et corona in coda astra.'

28 Hyginus, Astronomica, tr. M. C. ed. B. R. Beale, Leipzig 1935, p. 4. There is further evidence for the diffusion of the description in the illustrations of the mid-twelfth-century revised Boötes seigneur MS, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1957, fol. 65', to which a second depiction of Boötes in the Boötes sphere has been added by a later hand.

29 Ibid.


31 See n. 11 above.

32 See e.g. Le Bonnaffe, Les dieux latins d'autrefois et de constellations, Paris 1857, p. 105, n. 1, for a discussion of the mistreatment of the constellation in the Fons Monuments. A note in Bandini d'Arezzo's manuscript reads: 'Boötes coenobita et corona in coda astra.'
the confines of *rociferae's* ring suggests that this ring is more likely to be crenae. Whatever the case, however, the identification of *rociferae as Boötes* is unaffected.  

5. FOR ALCYTHY

This figure represents *Hercules*. The label *alcithy*, which appears in the manuscripts as *alcithii, aigkithi, algei*, and *elgehi*, is the latinized version of the Arabic *al-gāthi*, which is, in turn, a translation of the Greek name *Oĩ õ̆yωνων, or* *Ergonos, the Buckler*.  

The Roccabianca *alcithy*, though quite far from Western ‘classical’ representations of the demi-god, is close to all of the illustrations found in the Group iv and iwa manuscripts, and especially close to the figures in Urb. lat. 1999, fol. 35° and Oxford, Rawl. c. 117, fol. 149° (Pl. 15d), in which the *Hercule* is shown in a slightly more upright and less crouching position.  

6. VULTUR CADENS

The name of *vultur cadens* for the constellation *lyra* comes from the Arabic identification of this constellation with their name for the bright star α Lyrae as *in-nan al-sa'di* (*Wega / Vega*), or ‘the falling eagle’.  

The name appears in Stellar Table manuscripts most often accompanied by the other terms for the constellation *lyra*, such as *allure, allure, algure* — derived from a series of transliterations from the Greek ἀγώρε, to the Arabic *allure* or *al-lure* with the addition of the definite article, to the Latin *allure* and *allure*, which refers to the mythical invention of the lyre by Mercury.  

These names account for the most common illustrations of *lyra* as a lyre, a turtle, or a falling or swooping bird.  

In the Roccabianca vault, *vultur cadens* is shown as a small, winged, raven-like mammal. This conforms to the depiction in all the iv and iwa manuscripts (Pl. 15a). Related illustrations appear in the Group iv manuscripts, but the mammal is wingless, and in Brussels 101 17–26, fol. 57*, where, again wingless, it has a peculiar shield-shaped body.  

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

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28 Ragghianti, *Studi*, p. 32, describes *rociferae as dacclag* and holding a crow and a bird in his hands.  

Both of these objects could be considered proper attributes of *Boötes*—the *coma* certainly has a history of being identified as a dish (see al-Biruni, for example) and it seems less iconographically accurate manuscript illustrations. *Boötes's* club is sometimes indistinguishable from the type of boar or scythe that might be carried by other constellations or planet skies.  

However, Ragghianti’s purpose in making these suggestions seems to be to support his identification of *rociferae as Heracles*, who according to one tradition, is called the ‘Dancer’ (see p. 46 above). Since much more obvious identifications for the two attributes are more readily available, it hardly seems likely that *rociferae’s posture identifies him as a dancer, particularly as eight of the other standing male figures in the vault are posed in the same manner.


31 The wingless *vultur cadens* of Venetus 53° is illustrated in Sant-Mer, m. 1, p. 88v, fig. 26.  

32 As an interesting depiction of *vultur cadens* as a sort of helmeted gladiator, see *ab* 61 of Bursa, n. 7.

33 For references to the *Sphaera herbeca* ‘constellations’ see Bell, *Sphaera* (1. 64 below), pp. 45–46, 457.
7. FOR GALEN

Although the label galina is used in non-Tabular manuscripts in association with the stellar cluster of the Pleiades,44 the text and labels of the Stellar Tables follow the Arabic translators and become linked with the names er蕙a (cytis, eis, erœ, herœ), erœm quœt realœm and eisun al yœn, which are all connected with the constellation of cygnus, the swan. The origins of this seemingly bizarre list of terms is explained by Ideer as the result of a series of compounded mistakes made by over-ingenious translators.45 Despite the variation in names, however, the pictorial tradition found in the Tabular manuscripts is remarkably consistent in its representation of this constellation as a hen or rooster.46

The Roccabianca galina is close to the hereditary type of cock found in most of the Stellar Tables, and is identical to the galina of Can. misc. 554, fol. 169v and Urb. lat. 1599, fol. 36v (Pl. 12b).

8. FOR SEDS

This figure represents the constellation Cassiopeia. The isolated name of seds, as opposed to Cassiopeia sedens or Cassiopeia sedens in sedes appears only in Pal. lat. 1377, Brussel 10117-26 and Rosenthal 1002.

In form, the Roccabianca seds is close to the common Cassiopea-type of a seated female who raises both arms. The three-quarter profile categorizes her with the particular sub-set of this genre which is more closely allied to the Arabic illustrations than to the Western, more ‘classicizing’ attempts. In her nudity the Roccabianca Cassiopeia is similar to those in the rva manuscripts of Urb. lat. 1399, fol. 36v (Pl. 12b) and Rawl. C. 117, fol. 147, although in these representations, as in all of the rva and rva manuscript figures, Cassiopeia is looking back over her throne.48 In this particular combination of details, the Roccabianca seds is without manuscript precedent.

9. FOR HERODIAN WITH CAPUT ALOCE

The history of the constellation Persius and the transformations of Medusa’s severed head into the caput alobos or caput diablos, then back again, are sufficiently well published that they need not be repeated,49 but it should be mentioned that the identification of Persius specifically as defrens caput alobos appears in almost all the Stellar table manuscripts.45

The Roccabianca Persius is close to all the rva and rva manuscript illustrations (Pl. 12b).46
10. FOR CORALIJ

The label of corallum appears, apparently interchangeably with collarium, in the manuscripts as a variant name for the constellation of Auriga. Pal. lat. 1568, Cues 207, Köenigsberg 1735, Vienna 5415, Arundel 66, Madrid 9276, and all the Group IV and V manuscripts list corallum. Collarium is used in the Group I manuscripts. Pal. lat. 1577, Brüssel 1017–20, Ricordiana 3011, and Rosenbach 100.2.

According to Kunzsch, the term collarium seems to be related to a phrase added by Al-Sufi to the more common terms for Auriga: retinens habenas and al-’ayyiq, a name derived from the identification of the constellation with the Arabic name for α Aur, which is latinized in the Stellar Table manuscripts to alaeus, alaeus, alaeus, alaeus, alaeus, and alaeus. Al-Sufi’s added phrase, wa-masumma b-’anqa’ al-falas or ‘and is also known as al-’ṣamq’, is latinized in the Stellar Table manuscripts into aleaeus, aleaeus, manqal alayna and alaman. The name seems to refer to Auriga’s role as goatherd, but how this term is then translated to either collarium or corallum remains to be explained. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the term corallum/collarium appears in more than eighty percent of the name lists found in the Stellar Tables.

The Roccbabiana corallum seems to be, like the Roccabiana sels, an unprecedented amalgamation of a number of different manuscript illustrations of Auriga. He carries pincers as in some of the IV and V manuscripts (Pl. 14b). The other object which he holds resembles the remnants of reins held by the retinens habenas figure of the Group I and Group II manuscripts and its tripartite end is perhaps influenced by the three-angled tail in most representations of Auriga.

11. FOR ALANGE AND FOR SERPENTIS

Alange (alangae), along with spheniscus (spheniscus, spheniscus, alzaer, alzaer), alzemeneus and later serpents, is one of the alternate names for Serpentis found in the Stellar Table manuscripts. The serpent-holder himself usually represented either nude and walking with a snake wrapped around his waist, or dressed in a simple, calf-length tunic and standing in front of a horizontally placed, fat-bellied serpent. No manuscript illustration that I know exactly matches the twist of the serpent around the body and then through the legs of the Roccabiana alangae. The nearest parallel is in Rosenthal 100, fol. 132v in the constellation illustrations in the fourteenth-century Senecan Tragedies, Val. lat. 1590, fol. 179v.

[Note: The text continues with detailed references and discussion of the notation and illustration of the constellation Auriga and its associated terms and figures.]
ASTROLOGY IN THE CAMÉA DI GRISELDA

11. FOR AQUILA

Aquila and cultus solare are the two most usual names for this constellation. The Roccabianca Aquila is close to the illustrations found in the Group 1a and 1b manuscripts and identical to the equus which appears on fol. 164' of Can. misc. 554.

12. FOR DELPHINI

Delphinus (atolphus, delphus, delphynus) and ex piscis maris appear as names for this constellation in all Stellar Table manuscripts. The posture of the Roccabianca delphius, standing on his tail, and with sculpish fin is paralleled in Can. misc. 554, fol. 164' and Urb. lat. 1396, fol. 36'. His porose-like body is similar to the Riccardiani 3011 delphus on fol. 6', but in general, the Roccabianca delphius is much less ferocious than his counterparts in most of the manuscript illustrations.

13. FOR EQUIPARIUM

The name equus prior is derived from the Arabic adaptation of the Ptolemaic ιππος προτερος, 'the forepart of the horse', or the first horse'. The Arabic term which more closely approximates to the Greek name for this constellation, κατα αλφα, 'the part of the horse', which is given by Tābit, as Si Tān al-Bīrūni, appears only in Var. lat. 3174 (quaeq at αλφα] and in Getty, Ludwig 30.7 (quaeq αλφα), despite the fact that the most common illustration for this constellation is a disembodied horse's head and neck. The name equus prior appears in all the Stellar Table manuscripts.

14. FOR EQUUS ALATUS

The alternate name of equus alatus for the constellation of Pegasus is relatively rare and appears only in Brussels 16117-26, Vienna 5415 and Arundel 65. Among the Arabic translators, only al-Bīrūni mentions the horse's wings with the phrase al-fans al-magannā, 'the winged horse'. This phrase is not found among the Stellar Table Latin transliterations. Equally rare is the depiction of Pegasus as a full horse, since both Arabic and Western descriptions of the constellation refer only to the front half of the horse. The only Stellar Tables to illustrate a full Pegasus are the three Group rva manuscripts (Pl. 15).

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81 Cultus solare is derived from the Arabic name for the star λαλ of omens aquila (al Azur), as 'the flying eagle'. Kunzisch, Der Almagest, pp. 133-36. 82 Kunzisch, Der Almagest, pp. 133-36. 83 The Role of Instruction in the History of the Egyptian Avicenna by Abu 'l-Hasan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Risālī, ed. and transl. S. R. C. Wright, London, 1954. 84 76-77.
The misspelling of *Andromeda* is hardly surprising since *Andromeda* can be found in the Tabular manuscripts variously rendered as *andreode*, *androneda*, *andromede*, *andromethy*, *andromace* and *andromadae*. The Roccabianca representation of *Andromeda*, however, is quite unusual. As *mulier estostia*, her chains are appropriate, but not found in the illustrations that are closest to her figurative type. In these illustrations, in the 16th, 17th, and 18th manuscripts, *Andromeda* is shown holding a knotted rope (Pl. 159). Also, the column to which the Roccabianca *Andromeda* is chained is not present in any of these illustrations, though columns appear in one of the four alternate illustrations for *Andromeda* in the 16th manuscripts of Vienna 53.18 and Catania 87, fol. 11v. As with the *Cassiopeia* and the *constellation*, the Roccabianca *Andromeda* seems to represent an unprecedented combination of existing motifs and attributes.

17. FOR. TRIANGULI

A simple equilateral triangle is everywhere the most common representation for *triangulas* or *delitos*.

THE ZODIACAL CONSTELLATIONS

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

The depiction of both *Aries* and *Taurus* (18 and 19) running in the same celestial direction is found in only one Tabular manuscript. Astronomically, as usually shown in the Arabic-based Stellar Table manuscripts, *Aries* has his head turned backwards over his shoulder and *Taurus* is only half a bull, placed either vertically or in a direction opposite to *Aries*. The running *Aries* and *Taurus* are derived from non-astronomical calendrical imagery such as one finds, for example, in clocks, manuscript calendars, and the frescoes of the Palazzo Schiavonia in Ferrara. The Roccabianca *Gemini*, on the other hand, depicted as nude male-female couple, is a relatively common feature of the Stellar Table manuscripts. The particular way in which one of the *Gemini* (20) holds the other’s wrist is similar to the Milanese calendar manuscripts, New York, Morgan Library, MS 335, fol. 3v (Pl. 158). I have not been able to locate a precedent for the Roccabianca *Virgo* (22) a nude, winged-praying female. *Capricorn* (27) as a whole goat, his form in the vault, appears in Vatican, Pal. lat. 1568 and in all of the iv and rva manuscripts. *Aquarius* (28) who holds a fish in one hand while he pours water from an urn onto the snout of a larger fish upon which he is standing, can be found in the Morgan 335 manuscript, fol. 3v and in the Group rva manuscripts. As can be seen, therefore, there are isolated examples of coincidence between the vault and the Stellar Table manuscripts, but the Roccabianca zodiacal constellations are less consistently dependent on such manuscripts than are their extra-zodiacal counterparts.

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84 For a reproduction of the Vienna 335b *Andromeda*, see Steen, pl. viii, fig. 11.
85 The columns found in the Vienna and Catania manuscripts are without precedent or parallel in either Tabular or non-Tabular manuscripts. They appear to be the artist’s approximation of the trees or rocks to which *Andromeda* is usually tied.
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THE SOUTHERN CONSTELLATIONS

30. FOR CUS

Cetus, the animal marinus, is usually represented in the Stellar Tables as a monstrous, lion-faced fish or as a fish with boar's tusks and a long, curvy beard. The Roccabianca cetus, however, in his diagonal placement and slightly milder disposition, is closer to the type of cetus illustrated in Ursa lat. 339 and Rawl. c. 117, fol. 153f.86

31. FOR ORION

The Roccabianca Orion is identical to all of the illustrations in the Group IV and IVa manuscripts, in which a nude crouching male figure points to his hat with his right hand and raises his left arm behind him (Pl. 19b).

32. FOR FLUMINIS

Flumina, fluvius, cursus, riuo, and júdæa are all names for the constellation Eridanus. Closely allied to the Arabic pictorial tradition, the Roccabianca flumina is illustrated as a stylized segment of river water. It appears in this form in all but three of the Stellar Table manuscripts.

33. FOR LEPUS

The Roccabianca lepus running with his ears back also appears in the ivus manuscripts, Getty, Ludwig xii., and Pal. lat. 1372.

34. FOR CANIS and FOR CANIS ANTECEDENTES

Canis is listed in the Stellar Table manuscripts with the variant names of canis maior, Sirius and a series of Latin transliterations from the Arabic al-Shura al-kabir al-jumámiyya, which confabulates the Arabic name for the star cMA, 'the Southern Sirius,' with its legendary feat of having passed over the Milky Way (the phrase roughly translates: 'Sirius, the cross-over, the Southern one'), and from the Arabic al-kab al-aqbar, 'the larger hound,' used by both as-Sufi and al-Biruni.87 Canis antecedens is listed in the Stellar Tables as canis minor, Procyon and as Latinized forms of the Arabic al-Shura al-kabir al-jumámiyya al-le'amiyya, the name for cMI as 'the Northern Sirius' who is blind, or bleary-eyed from crying because she was too weak to cross over the Milky Way (the phrase translates: 'Sirius, the bleary-eyed, the Northern one'), and as the transliteration of the Arabic al-kab al-aqbar, 'the smaller hound'.88

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

86 Madrid 4506 describes cetus as 'po marinus'.
87 For an illustration of the Oxford, Rawl. c. 117 Orion and cetus, see Stahl-Meier iii, 2, pl. 130b, fig. 177.
88 For further information on the Northern and Southern Sirius, see al-Biruni (in 33 above), 164, Wright ed., pp. 86-87. The story is given in more detail by Par-Helvetius, La Littére de L'Égypte à l'Espit à la Roman, pp. 130-131, and in Fournier, 'Les Noms de la Terre et de la Terreur', cursus (xanum) xxix, ed. 1297 par Géorges Alboussy, di B. Bischoff, iv. and Fournier, 'Les Noms de la Terre et de la Mer', p. 103-104. The Latin transliterations for the Arabic appear in the Stellar Tables as: acheron alakhor al-rumus, canis akhor, acheron alakhor, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron, acheron alakhor acheron.
since canis is a sleeker, running dog and canis astraedem a beagle-like hound. Canis astraedem with his nose pointing down, as if he were rooting, is also found in Pal. lat. 1568, fol. 53r.

35. FOR. NAVIS

The depiction of navis as a full ship with a furled sail and a tower on its poop deck also appears in Can. misc. 554, fol. 158r (Pl. 160) and Urb. lat. 1396.

36. FOR. UDER

As mentioned (see p. 47 above), FOR. UDRE represents the mislabelled constellation of draco. The configuration of the Roccabianca draco with knotted neck, facing back over his shoulder and with his tail pointing down also appears in Urb. lat. 1396, fol. 31v and Rawl. C. 117, fol. 143v.

37. FOR. VASES

A two-handled vase in which both handles take the form of a dragon-headed serpent can be found in the Group G manuscripts (Pl. 18c) and in Can. misc. 554.

38. FOR. CORVI

The Roccabianca corvus is similar to that in Rawl. C. 117.

39. FOR. CENTAUR

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

The autroaurus, usually represented as a female centaur or as a sphinx-like half-human/half-lion, who holds three flowers in each of her outstretched hands and has a number of large teeth, is not one of the forty-eight Ptolemaic constellations. The description of autroaurus as a constellation seems to appear first in the scholia accompanying the Germanicus Caesar translation of Aratus’s Phaenomena. In the so-called ‘Scholia Struveniana’ to the Germanic translation, the anonymous commentator adds to the descriptions of the north and south poles (noted: “Vertices externos, circa quos sphaera...”) that the south pole ‘autroaurus dicitur, quem quidam dici habet esse Themis. Theis enim Oceani uxor, matris Iunonis et etiam integer in oceano prohibere occideret’. The association between the south pole, which can also be referred to as

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34 The centaurus of Oxford, Can. misc. 554, fol. 157r is reproduced in Still-Meyer III, p. 326, fig. 129.
35 A. Breyer, Germanicae Astronomia Arabica non adhibit. Berlin 1887, p. 119n. See also, Antonio dell’Era, ‘Una sussidio astronomico medievali: gli Ishala Struveniana e Germanici’, Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. v, xxv, 1979, pp. 231-271. Dell’Era (p. 148) describes this mythological centaurus as originating from sources outside the Arabo-latin tradition, perhaps as an autonomous intervention by the compiler. J. Martin, Histoire du texte des Phaenomena d’Aratus. Paris 1932, pp. 99-146, points out that the ‘Scholia Struveniana’ are not scholia at all, but rather a compilation of excerpts from the Arabo-latin, Book iv of Plato’s Natural History and the Astronomy of Hyginus, etc., which issued from a contamination between the Bandiera Scholia and the so-called ‘Sangroniciens Scholia’ itself a collection of Arabo-latin fragments. Nevertheless, the description of the centaurus as a constellation found in the ‘Scholia Struveniana’ does not appear in the Arabic text, the other scholia. Pliny or in the Astronomy of Hyginus, thereby supporting dell’Era’s thesis that this material originates outside of the Arabo-latin/Arabo-scholastic tradition. See also, F. Bölt, Sphaera. Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternkunde..., Leipzig 1913, pp. 419-46.
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The identification of the south pole as acentaurus does occur in the 'Scolia Sigmundae':

...religia satrum a pole equalis, ... et in australis, cui appellatur acentaurus et numquam videntur, ed. Evera, p. 231. See Bull, Sykeus, pp. 445-46. It also seems possible that the flowers held by acentaurus might reflect further confusion between the constellation and the south wind, acentarius. See Pope, 'Observations', n. 1, ed. V. de Angelis, Milan 1980, p. 134: 'acentarius nactus est sessu acentarius'.

Hyginus, Astronomica, 11, 1: 'Hoc signum, ut comparedissime, non occidit. Et qui ventrum aliquo de centauri constitutum, sanguis Thetis Oceanus acenturum recipit, cum religia sideris et personae in aequo, quod Tethys lunas sit nutrix, cui Callisto acubatret ut pastet' Ed. B. Bunte, Leipzig 1875, p. 31. See also Hyginus Fabulas, 177, 1; Ovvi, Metamorphoses, 11, 308ff. and Ptolemy, n. 51.

See the list of sources in W. Röschel, 'Bibliotheca Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Leipzig 1976-78, vol. 3, p. 296-98. The illustrations of the Madrid manuscript were very influential on the development of that catalogue given by Michael Scot in his Liber Introductionis. See Rod, 'Selections', pp. 444-52 and Sad-Mayer, n. 1, p. xxxv-xxxviii. It should be noted that Bull's transcription of the passage in the Liber Introductionis which describes the acentaurus preserves a variant reading that incorrectly identifies Tethys as 'meris locis' (The variant reading occurs in Rod, p. 66 and Munich, cim 1059). Compare Bull's transcription with the passage found in the Michael Scot manuscript in the Biblioteca del Seminario in Padua (fol. 27); p. 46: 'Acentaurus ibique esse Oceani maris, alii nomine Tethis [MS: chethis] et Oceanus, alii dicit et quod nutrix [MS: nutri] lunae, coena forma tale esse nutrix nutrici, habens marinas placas, et pellucidum et levatos; interfusus umbilicis [MS: umbilicis] et quadrupites [MS: quadrupulam] animal habens et quatuor sub ventre piem, et iacere inter Corone et Herculem.' I thank Michael Evans for his help in transcribing this passage. The problem of placing the acentaurus in the heavens is well demonstrated by Scot's listing of the fictitious constellation both in the twenty-seventh constellation and, therefore, among the stars of the southern celestial hemisphere: 'Virusinae septem ex acentoribus in forma media nude et animalis quadrupentes et equi'.

Cited from Hans Miöls, 'incorrupte transcript of Munich, cim 1059 made during the 14th-15th c. and is located between the two northern constellations of Perseus and Gemini. The acentaurus also appears in the only illustrated manuscripts of Germanicus Aratus, the acentaurus, appears only in Munich and in the eleven illustrated 'Selctae' manuscripts. It does not appear in Var, loc. cit. 710 despite this manuscript's derivation from a, since it is the Hyginus and not the Germanicus section of this manuscript that is illustrated. For a discussion of the reception of the acentaurus, see W. D. Brady, 'Sicilia Astronomica Manuscript, Classed in Scritti, vol. xxx, 1960, pp. 91-186 and in Texts and Transmission, A Survey of the Latin Classics, ed. L. E. Rhodos, Oxford 1963, pp. 20-22.
The paint loss in the first half of this label is not vital since the depiction of lar (ara, etiae, sacrum) as a lighthouse is quite common, though it is found more often in non-Tabular than in Tabular manuscripts. The alternate name of "turhilum" seems to be a corruption of "turbitulum", which appears in Vienna 5415 and Pal. lat. 1768.

Corona meridionalis is most often represented in the Stellar Tables as either a shield, derived from Arabic sources, or as a jewelled ring behind which a single or triple face appears. The depiction of corona as a marchional crown can be found in Brussels 1017-26, fol. 77r and Vienna 445.

The Roccabianca pisces meridionalis is close to the fish depicted in Bergamo Σ 2.2, fol. 112v.

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

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

Caput and cauda draconis do not represent the two halves of the serpens held by Serpens as suggested by Nolte, but are actually related to the Arabic mythologization of the lunar nodes. The northern or ascending node, that point at which the north-moving moon crosses the ecliptic, was known as the caput draconis. The cauda draconis was the southern lunar node, or that point at which the south-moving moon recrosses the ecliptic. Astronomically, the positions of these two nodes are directly opposite each other in the heavens. This fact is illustrated in the Roccabianca vault by their positioning respectively in Gemini and Capricornus (Pl. 108, 112).

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

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

Judging from the numerous testimonies which survive, Pier Maria Rossetti’s love for the Cornaexa gentlewoman, Bianca Pellegrini, seems to have been the prime determining factor, if not indeed the impetus, for the majority of his artistic commissions. 75 This devotion is documented not only in Enzo’s medals but also in the lengthy poem, Cantilena pro Pontifici D. Petra Maria Rados Eretec Comite Magnusco et Niceri Domino, by the Pernesian humanist poet Gerardo Rustici, 76 in the decorative complex of the so-called

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70 Ragghianti, ‘Study’, p. 34.
71 Galaxia is usually represented as a mandorla held either by two angels or by two women, or by one woman accompanied by an elder, melancholic man.
72 Illustrated in Seltz, pl. X, fig. 21.
73 George Francis Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before 1600, Text, pp. 70-71, no. 682 and pl. XIV. One medal is signed by FRANCESCO PARMESEOPPH on the reverse and dated 1557. On the obverse, The portrait of Bianca Pellegrini is identified by the label TVAE BLANCHINAE- DURANAE- VELLACI- RUM-MAGNECVS. See also J. Friedlaender, Die italienischen Schmuckmedaillen des füntzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1490-1570, Berlin 1881, p. 120, and pl. XVI, no. 10. The second medal is published in Hill, p. 73, no. 257, and pl. XVII. It bears the inscription of “P. ROSSITUS - C. VELLACI- RUM” on the obverse.
74 Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 120, Hill, Corpus, pp. 71.
75 The two seem to have met at the Viccini court in Milan. Despite the fact that they were both married— Rosso to Antonia Torreti, the daughter of the wealthy Guido Torreti, Count of Monziangolo, and Bianca to the Milanese condottiere, Melchiorri d’Arundo— Bianca bore Pier Maria one son, Ottaviano Rosso, bypassing his legitimate wife and children, left all his property to Bianca and her son in his will of 15 January 1494, which was reaffirmed in a ceremony held at Tortona on 13 October 1497.
76 The poem is dated 30 December 1495. It is published as an Appendix to Pecozzi, Storie, xviii.
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Camera d’Oro in the Rossi castello of Torrechiara, and in the name of the very castle from which our frescoes were detached, the Roccabianca. The Griselda cycle certainly illustrates some facets of their relationship, as the representations of the protagonists (as has often been noted) resemble the portrait of Pier Maria and Bianca on the medallia and in the Camera d’Oro.

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

On the other hand, there is a striking similarity between the Bianca impressa and one of the personal devices used by Gian Galeazzo Visconti. This latter, which is perhaps an early version of or variant on the more familiar Visconti/Strizza flaming turde dove seated on a cloud with the motto “A bon druy,” can be seen among other impressae in the decorative borders of the Visconti Hours, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 397 and Landau Finlay 22 (see, in particular, fol. 77v and the cloudlike aureole surrounding the portrait of Gian Galeazzo on fol. 11r). Although hardly an important impressa for the Visconti/Strizza dynasty, it appears occasionally, for example on one of the sculpted heraldic capitals on the southwest side of the Rocchetta of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, among the impressae of Massimiliano...


78. The name of this area, which in Latin was 1437 was still called by the earlier name of Rezemondo. Rezemoso. Rezemo or Rezemo was a Pezzana, Storia, ii, pp. 32, 159, 173, 205, 217, 247, had been changed to Roccabianca at least by 1470 since it is so labelled in the depiction of the Rossi in the frescoes of Torrechiara. That the name was chosen by Ross, in honour of Bianca Pellegrina, is first recorded by Castello. See Pezzana, Storia, iv, p. 56, and Ragghianti, ‘Storia’, p. 41-43. Given their respective marital infidelity, the idea that Ross chose to illustrate the story of Griselda, the faithful wife, with portraits of himself and his mistress has been the source of much concern to historians and even prompted one scholar to suggest that this room was in some way documenting a reconciliation between Pier Maria and his illegitimate wife Antoina Terrilli — an issue which becomes relative in the light of the fact that the nose him ten legitimate children. Evidence seems to suggest that Ross’s marriage to Antoina had been agreed upon as a result of political and financial maneuvering between Pier Maria’s father, Pietro Ross, and Guido Terrilli after the latter had been given new lands over a sizable portion of lands by Filippo Maria Visconti in 1428 (see Pezzana, Storia, ii, p. 297.) One might conjecture that the political necessity of maintaining a marriage to the wealthy, feuded Antonia, despite the fact that he was in love with another woman, may have prompted Pier Maria to agree with the suggestion impressed by Doreo, portrait of the Griselda wife, whom he asks, ‘Cile si potra dir qui, se non ame nelle povere case piu de’ divini spiriti, come nole mai di quel che sauro pi piu degno di pudar porzi, che d’avere sopra uomini signiori? Such a hypothesis would account for the choice of the Griselda 1403 and for the astrological void which accompanied it.


80. Miller Mein and Edwin W. Kirsh, The Visconti Hours, London 1972. See also the drawing of Gian Galeazzo Visconti formerly attributed to Pisanello (Paris, Louvre, no. 930), in which a rocky landscape is used as a base for the bust in a manner very similar to that found in the Encyclopedia of Bianca Pellegrina. The drawing is reproduced in Maria Font Todeschi, Ilibri del Pisanello e della sua scuola, Florence 1968, pl. 199-178, fig. 9 and discussed pp. 11-61.

81. Reproduced in Luca Beltrami, Il castello di Milano sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli d’Este MCCCLXXII — MEDELIX, Milan 1884, p. 71. I thank Evelyn Walsh for this reference.}

82. Bernard de Montfort in a passage comparing episcopal, evidently deriving this name from Monger’s hypothesis that the impressa was a “fulfillment of the law” and appeared among the Sforza impressae as an allusion to Gabriele Sforza, Archbishop of Milan (1455–57). See G. Monger, ‘Il castello di Milano’, Archivio Storico Lombardo, ser. 3, anno ii, 1884, pp. 437-90. Since the use of the impressa prefaces Gabriele Sforza’s biographer, and since the image looks like neither the earlier shape of a banner nor the more readily identifiable lugaline seal used for the Visconti/Strizza impressae can gain impressa, it seems not to represent a caputergium episcopale.
ASTROLOGY IN THE CAMERA DI GRISELDA

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

In any case, the fact that Bianca’s impresa appears in the vault suggests that this extra ‘constellation’ has been placed here as a sort of catalytic homage to Bianca in the tradition of Hadrian’s introduction of the constellation of Antinous into the heavens in commemoration of his dying love, or in the appearance of the Costra Brentesia in consolation for the theft of Berenice’s tresses from the Temple of Anaisot Aphrodite at Zephyrium.

The resemblance of the cloud-like ‘constellation’ to the impresa found on the Bianca medals would not be the only example of this sort of visual punning on the Roccabianca vault. Several pictorial peculiarities suggest the insertion of personal imagery. For example, the astronomically unnecessary second Leo in the triangular panel at the centre of the southern wall might be included as a reference to the Rossi family impresa of the rampant lion (pl. 173). The radiant sun in front of this lion, though perhaps an allusion to the Sun’s astrological dominion in the zodiacal sign of Leo, can also be interpreted within the context of Rossi/Pellegrini iconography. In addition to the gulf surcoo sun over the central crossing point of the two main groins in the Camera di Gricelda vault, there are five suns in the Camera d’Oro, which are showering beneficent rays over all the Rossi lands, and radiant suns appear on four of the five Rossi/Bianca medals, here again apparently playing a role in the Pellegrini family arms. If the suns in fact relate specifically to Bianca, the Roccabianca sole Leo becomes quite a significant image. Again, the depiction of corona meridionalis as a marchional crown is not unique, but it is sufficiently rare that one could perhaps connect the image on the vault with the lovelorn impresa of

title of the Camera d’Oro and in the San Niccolò triennale. See s. 89 below. Hill, Corpus, n. 73 above, notes the rampant lion on the reverse and horse trappings on the reverse of this same medal.

68 Mazzini/Barber’s heraldic biographer is reproduced in Giorgio Vasari and Marcello del Piazzo, Icone e simboli. Atlante pittorico e poetico medievale e moderno, Rome 1929, p. 80.
69 The rainbow impresa of Cardinal Ascanio appears on the front of the Cardinal’s tomb in St. Maria della Pace (see E. Bonsioli, and S. Valitiri, Storia di St. Maria della Pace, Rome 1976, 85-86 and pl. xxv., fig. 28), and also on the frontispiece to the Liber materiae di Florimont de Fossio, now Milan, Bibl. Trevisiana, 24th, see also Milan, p. 167, Sforza, Gian Galeazzo Maria e Ludovico il Moro (1477-1492), ed. Giulia Bolognani, Milan 1979, pp. 273-75.
70 See, L. Illica, Storia delle Arti, Milan 1819, see ‘Rossi, n. 5’; Capecci, Castelli, ep. cit. n. 1 above, p. 67. The Rossi impresa also appears in the terracotta
three marchional crowns arranged in a circle surrounding two intertwined hearts with the motto Dixit et est et erat (Pl. 176). Moreover the depiction of the tower in one of the two-storeyed towers is reminiscent of the Pellegriini emblem of a tower on the reverse of two of the Enzola medals. Finally, although paint loss here makes it certain, the male and female Gemini seem to be similar in facial type to the Guadieri and Griselda depicted on the walls of the Camera di Griselda, and therefore might even be idealized versions of the portraits of Piet Maria and Bianca that appear in the Camera d'Oro and the Enzola medals. There seems therefore to be evidence of a subtle manipulation of the constellations on the vault to accommodate the iconography of Piet Maria and Bianca in a way that recalls the personal content in the Griselda cycle.

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

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

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88 This impresa can be found on the terracotta tiles which made up the niche of the Camera d'Oro and on the carved wooden ribbons used by the lovers in their private chapel, which was located directly beneath the Camera d'Oro in the northern tower of the Roccbianca. For the trittico, currently in the Castello Sforzesco, see C. A. Alberici, Grandi collezioni di argenteria nel Castello Sforzesco, Milano 1976, p. 17. Mazzucchi, Cerchi, p. 190, n. 13; Capuschi, Castello, n. 1 above, pp. 71 ff.
89 Hill, Cerchi, n. 72 above, p. 76, no. 280 (pl. 136); reverse; p. 71, no. 282 (pl. 136), reverse.
90 Pier Maria is depicted four times and Bianca five times in the Camera d'Oro. For these portraits see W. Torni de Gregori, Pitture originarie lamberti del Rinascimento, Milan 1963, figs. 70, 15. Rici believed that the Madonna in Benvenuto's signed and dated polyptych painted for the Camera di San Niccolò in Torricchiara was intended to resemble Bianca Foppizzi. (G. Ricci, op. cit., fig. 77 above, p. 74; also F. Terzani, La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia al più antico monumento alla vita del Quattrocento, Turin 1963, p. 51.) For the Enzola medals which contain portraits of Pier Maria or Bianca see Hill, Cerchi, p. 72, no. 294 (pl. 136), obverse bust right with 'PETER MARIA RUBUSI' and 'MARIA RUBUSI', obverse bust right with 'PETER MARIA RUBUSI - L'UOMO DI VENDUTI' and 'MARIA RUBUSI - L'UOMO DI VENDUTI' (pl. 137), obverse bust right with 'PETER MARIA RUBUSI' and 'MARIA RUBUSI - L'UOMO DI VENDUTI' and 'MARIA RUBUSI' and 'MARIA RUBUSI' (pl. 138).
ASTROLOGY IN THE CAMERA DI GRISELDA

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

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

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

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95 See, a above.
96 The division of the zodiacal signs into diurnal and nocturnal domiciles of the planet gods is from Casanova. Ptolemy (Tetraehon, 1.17) assigns the planets to houses without making any differentiation between day and night houses. The same is found in Julius Firmicus Maternus (Mathesis libri VIII, p. 5). Macrobius (Commentary on SENECA's De Somno II, 3,22, 27–28). Ptolemy (De astrologia, 12) and in the pseudo-Bede's, Mundi constitutio (Migne, PL. 20, 892–
93). Macrobius, however, says that the Sun was in Leo, Luna in Cancer, Mercury in Virgo, Venus in Libra, Mars in Scorpio, Jupiter in Sagittarius and Saturn in Capricorn on the day the Lamb began, which could be interpreted as referring to diurnal houses. The inconsistency about diurnal and nocturnal houses is reflected in modern summaries of these theories. F. Redd and C. Bereit J. (Starglaube und Sterndeutung, Die Geschichte und die Wurzeln der Sternkunde, Leipzig and Berlin 1926, p. 259), offer:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Nocturnal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Virgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Libra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Scorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>Sagittarius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>Capricorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Taurus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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97 Ptolemy, Tetrarchon. 1. 17.
98 Ibid.
four planets matched their positions in the Roccafiorentina vault, but not once, from 1412 to 1482, was there a date when all the planets were so aligned.97

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

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

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

\[\text{mox occidit die xxv mensis marciij, nomina et pronomina dominorum peregrinorum Venetiam a Beato Antonio Vienensis qui lavaverat de sacro fons batissimum Petram Marann natun magnifici petri de Rubensi qui natui fuit codem miliesimo sic, i.e. anno et die xxv ejusdem mensis marciij hora secunda noctis vel circa.} \]

But Pezzana’s placement of the date 3rd September 1413 to support his choice of 25 March 1413 as Pier Maria’s birthday,100 Jacopo Cavicco, Rossi’s friend and biographer, states that Rossi died at the age of sixty-nine years and twelve days.101 According to the Diario, Rossi died 1 September 1482,102 which would have made his birthdate 20 August 1413. Given the relative reliability of the sources one might mistrust Cavicco’s memory were it not for the fact that the stellar emblem in the Roccafiorentina vault, placed between the two zodiacal signs of Leo and Virgo, coincides with

97: 11 February — 30 November 1454
Saturn 10° 10’ to 18° 10’ retrograde
Jupiter 2° 10’ to 7° 10’ retrograde
Mars 5° 10’ to 27° 10’
Venus 2° Y to 19° Y
but Mercury was located 1° Y to 21° Y
during these dates.
101: 5 April—5 May 1432
Saturn 10° 10’ to 18° 10’ retrograde
Jupiter 2° Y to 7° Y
Mars 5° 10’ to 27° 10’
but by 5 April Venus was nearly 1° 5°, by 11 April the Sun was at 18° Y and Mercury was 8° Y.
the position of the Sun at 3° Virgo, its location on 20 August 1413. Although this coincidence cannot prove either Cavicco’s date or my hypothesis, it seems sufficiently compelling to warrant consideration. And if the crowned heart was meant to represent Rossini’s birthdate, then perhaps the smaller, uncrowned heart located between Scorpio and Sagittarius illustrates the natal star of Bianca Pellegrini.

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

APPENDIX

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

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108 Select bibliography for the manuscripts listed in the Appendix:
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common prototype. Groups ii, iii, and iv are the manuscripts to show the continuity of a particular pictorial tradition into a different format or manuscript type. The manuscripts listed in Group iv all represent what could be considered the final stage of the development of the Latin Amagean. In this last group, the listed alternative constellation names are often confused or corrupt and both the texts and illustrations regularly show the infiltra tion of Western elements.

Oxford, Can. misc. 554
Saxi-Meter i, p. lii, 174 ff.


Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. O. 40, 57, and 93.

Paris, Arch. St. 1906
Saxi-Meter ii, i, pp. xxx, 179, iv, 189, and figs 17 and 35.

McGuckin, pp. xxvii, xxvii, 11.

Hauber, Sitzb. p. 92.


London, Bl. Aveniol 90.

Los Angeles, Getty, Ludwig 31.

Saxi-Meter i, i, p. 114, 479 ff.

Amsterdam, N. V. M. A. C. I. A. N., 1844 (Acquainia 1844), pp. 299-300.

A. von Eng and J. M. Piene, Das MS der Sammlung Luthe, Colmar 1926, iv, pp. 176-182.

Madrid 1962
J. Domínguez-Bordón, Memoriales con pictura. Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España, Madrid 1952, p. 208, no. 634.

McGuckin, p. 36.

Munich, Gin Ehr.

Saxi-Meter i, p. lii, 174 ff.

Oxford, Can. misc. 554
Saxi-Meter i, p. lii, 479 ff.


GROUP I

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

Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, lat. 1036
Illustrations from f.2r
Incl. ‘Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymagibus suis. Verificatis ab Ebbeorophy philosopher Amei arabum 323...’. (fol. 1r)

Sicilian: 13th c.

Berlin, Kupferstickkabinett; 7b. 9. 10
Illustrations from f.4v
Incl. ‘Imagines phialomat cum stellis suis verificatis temport Aboasi regis’ (fol. 1r)

Italian (Murano?): late-14th c.

Prague, Panátk Národního Přízemní, Strahovský d. a. u. 13
Illustrations from f.15v

Bohemian: mid-14th c.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, clm 826
Illustrations 34-41v

Bohemian: late-14th c.

The section containing the illustrations is incomplete and ends after the table for equis acudes.

GROUP 1a

Close in several of its details to the Group 1 manuscripts, but illustrations are arranged in a different format of two to four illustrations per page with multiple same labels and the number of stars in each constellation listed. No text or table.

Coes, Hospitalbibliothek, 207
Illustrations from f.2r-2v
Incl. ‘Tabulae stellarum secundum philosophum eius nomen Ebeorophy que equates intus vice acubes 323’ (fol. 118v)

Bohemian: 14th c.

GROUP 1b

Two manuscripts identical in format, text and illustration. Very close to Group 1 MSS, but with multiple illustrations for cultur cadens, gallina / Phoenix, Herakles, Serpenteria, and Andromeda. Labels contain multiple names for each constellation and astrological information regarding the types of people born under each constellation.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 5318
Illustrations from f.1-3v
Incl. ‘Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymagibus suis verificatis ab Jeber Mopiph philosofo anaxis Arabum 325...’. (fol. 2v)

Saltzburg: 15th c.

Catania, Biblioteca Comunale, 87 (int. 89)
Illustrations from f.1-9v
Incl. ‘Incipit liber de locis stellarum fixarum cum ymagibus suis verificatis ab fiber mooph philosofo anaxis Arabum 325...’. (fol. 1v)

Italian: 15th c.
GROUP II

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

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1377

1. Phoc.
illustrations from 182-194
inc. 'Forma et ymagines celli et stelle ipsarum secundum citas et magnitudines tabuliste almagasti proboaco. . . . (fol. 189v')

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1368

German
1416
illustrations from 51r-56r
inc. "Tabula stellarum foarum in 48 celli ymaginesibus verificatum per magistrum Johanni decanam Nabursem ad annum Christi 1416.' (fol. 51r')

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 107174-96

Italian
15th c.
illustrations from 54v-78r
Prodecchius de' Biddemoni Tabulæ — inc. 'Forma et ymagines celli et stelle ipsarum secundum citas et magnitudines almagasti. Tholom'. (fol. 54v')

GROUP III

Two manuscripts which are different in format, but similar in text and illustration. The text of the Getty MS seems to be derived from the list of constellation names on folis 5r-4 of the Vatican MS.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 8174

Florentine
1379
illustrations from 1r-95r
inc. 'Questo et li libro delle figure delle stelle forse le qualisimo selottsco cielo. Il quale libro feco tradurre di caldeo e de arabacho in volgare castellano lo Re don Alfonso figlio . . . e tuanlaolo per suo chomandamento Guida il Choomo al Maquis e Gualienarrenre de Spasso chero'. (fol. 1r')

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig 3177

(formerly Kew, Cockrell Collection).

illustrations from 1r-6r
exp. 'Explicit ymagines celli' (fol. 6r')

GROUP IV

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

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 3099

Ferrarese
1470
illustrations from 1r-24v
inc. 'Tabulae iste verificat foarum temporip Alfonso regis quod fuit anno domini 1251 . . . (fol. 11v')

Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Z. n. 2

N. Italian
15th c.
illustrations from 47r-112v
GROUP IVa

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

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 117  
English  
c. 1300  
illustrations from 145r-153v

int.: Sequitur tabula stellarum fixarum secundam quod sunt superiam in tyrannos beato magi et eisiam de quibusdam que sunt extra ymagines... (fol. 145v)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. misc. 554  
Oriental  
1433  
illustrations from 154r-172v

Patr.: Beltrami Ores, inc.: 'Stelle fisse verificati completi anni Christi 1216 memebus 5... (fol. 124v)

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat. 1999  
Italian  
15th c.  
illustrations from 35r-60r

GROUP V: MISCELLANEOUS MSS

a. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 9211  
Italian  
late 15th c.  
illustrations from 3r-7r

Ludovico de Angulo De figura un imagine mundi, inc.: 'Seguiter iteria pars que est de superiori sphera coeli et stellis fastis... (fol. r')

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

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

Ludovico de Angulo De imagine mundi, inc.: 'Cap. proximus sestra tertae partis de divisionem futurum coeli... (fol. 83v)

Similar in several details to Riccardiana 9211 with multiple constellation names added as labels to each illustration.

b. Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, F. n. 33  
German  
14th-15th c.  
illustrations from 39r-41r

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

c. Munich, J. Rosenthal Collection, Catalogue 100,  
German  
15th c.  
illustrations from 135r-170v

In format very much like Group V MSS, having several illustrations per page accompanied by multi-name labels and passages regarding the horoscopes of individuals born under each constellation.
d. Königsberg, Universitäts-bibliothek, 1753
   illustrations from 153°-181°
   inc.: "Tabula stellarum fixorum verificatam per dominum Alphonseum quondam regem hispaniae ex
   quibus sit opera solida poskoncl . . . et ego hermanus salus addio super Alphonseum anno 1360
   completo i gratus, 32 minuta, 32 seconda liter ut ponam manum loca aequatibus Alphonse um
   (vol. 157°)
   A peculiar Tabular MS with marginal illustrations labelled with a confused list of variant names for each
   constellation. Also contains several pictorial details not found in the other MSS.

e. London, British Library, Arundel 68
   illustrations from 33°-46°
   Guido Bonatti Liber introducitorius with expl: "Explicit tabula stellarum secundum quod sunt in
   ymaginibus signorum extracta à Phidiones dicione. 5° et 7. Almageste et verificata per
   astrologos dominii Alfonso illustris regis Hispaniae Anno Domini 1449 et verificata Osiundessis
   Anno Domini 1449 per Astrologos Hamirici duce Glov." (fd. 47°)
   Tabular MS with headings to each table listing the multiple names for each constellation. Illustrations
   derived from non-Tabular MSS.

f. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 5415
   illustrations from 217°-231°
   inc.: "Tabula stellarum fixorum secundum quod sunt in ymaginibus signorum etiam quas rumpunt que sunt
   extra biniomodi imaginis . . . " (fd. 217°)
   Tabular MS with multiple labels and framed illustrations.

   Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Angeli 1347 A. 6
   illustrations from 2°-3°
   Illustrations scattered across a double-page spread with labels in Latin accompanying each constella-
   tion. Shows certain pictorial idiosyncrasies with Vienna 5415.
Recumbent vaults, details

a—North-east quadrant (pp. 45, 57-58, 64, 70, 71)
b—South-east quadrant (pp. 45, 57-58, 64, 70, 71)

c—North-west quadrant (pp. 45, 57-58, 64, 70, 71)
d—South-west quadrant (pp. 45, 57-58, 64, 70, 71)
a—Aquila, Equeus prior, Vocietans (Boïes), Delphinus. Roccafrierae vault, detail (pp. 48-50, 53)

b—Boïes. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 504, fol. 163 (p. 48)

c—Boïes. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Ed. 170, fol. 84 (p. 49)

d—The polar sphere, Corona septentrionalis, Boïes. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 734, fol. 5 (p. 49)
A—Alloro (Vultur cadens), Bergamo, Bibl. Civica, MS 2.11.2, fol. 94v (p. 59)

B—Triangulum, Vultur cadens, Algithy (Hercules), Equus alatus (Pegasus), Andromeda. Boccoblanca vault, fresco (pp. 35, 36)

c—Equus alatus (Pegasus). Equus prior. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 554, fol. 160v (p. 33)

d—Hercules, fol. 148r (p. 59)

e—Andromeda, fol. 149r (p. 54)
3—‘Cocrine’. Roccabianca vault, detail (pp. 59–61)

b—Medal af Bianca Pellegrini d’Arundo by Gianfrancesco Erzola da Parma, 1457 (p. 59)

c—Stoke tile with Diogenes in eternam irrepessa. Castello di Torrechiara, Camera d’Oro, detail (p. 60)

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