

Chapter 2

The Two Lights - The Sun rules Leo and the Moon rules Cancer

Introduction

This chapter considers the Salone fresco images connected with the ‘chapters’ of the Sun and the Moon. Using the methodology described in the Introduction, it examines the top register of constellation images and evaluates the celestial cartography that is described by those fresco images. It then explores the middle and lower registers and evaluates the planetary qualities that are described by the fresco images as informed by the astrology of Ibn Ezra, and that of al-Qabīṣī. It then summarises the findings, both visually and textually.



Figure 1. Aerial view of the Palazzo della Ragione from Google Earth indicating the placement of the images for the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’ and the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’.

The Sun rules Leo

A foldout of the images for this ‘chapter’ can be found on page 96.

Table 5: The 10 columns of the Sun ‘chapter’, South and West Walls, using Barzon numbering and collating image designations. The question marks are these authors’.			
Image	Barzon (1924)	Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000) C: constellation; Z: influence of zodiac sign; P: influence of planet; M: occupation of the month; NI: a figure they are unable to interpret; W: a winged figure; R: a religious scene.	Rigobello and Autizi (2008)
41A	?	? (NI)	Male figures.
42A	Wicked and hot tempered	Anger, wrath; wickedness (Z)	Bear that sounds the trumpet.
42B	The month of July.		
42C	Grain winnower.	Grain gleaner. (M)	Grain gleaner.
43A	Person in prayer	Preaching – Oration? (P)	Person who preaches.
43B	Vendor.	Sale of religious objects. (P)	Inside a shop.
43C	A woman who gathers herbs.	Gathering medicinal herbs. (P)	Woman who collects herbs.
44A	Ink pot.	A symbol of study (P)	Inkpot — Study.
44B	The zodiac sign of Leo		
44C	Medicine.	Medicine. (P)	Doctor with woman — medicine.
45A	Constellation of The Altar.	Ara. (C)	Ara.
45B	Falcon hunter.	Hunting. (P)	Bishop hunting with a falcon.
45C	Magic?	Magic. (P)	Necromancer — Magic.
46A	Constellation of The Hydra.	Hydra. (C)	Hydra.
46B	Scholars.	Scholars disputing. (P)	Scholars disputing.
46C	Charm or spell?	Charm or spell. (P)	Charm or spell.
47A	Knight.	Knight-Fame/Glory (Z)	Knight.
47BC	The Sun.		
48A	Reed-pipe player.	Music. (P)	Reed-pipe player — Music.
48B	Hermit.	Meditation. (P)	Solitary person — meditation.
48C	Wind.	Wind. (W)	Angel.
49A	Market gardener.	? (Z)	Bleak mountain.
49B	Prince.	Prince – Power. (P)	Prince – Power.
49C	Necromancer?	Necromancy? (P)	Man with a cartouche — Necromancy
Unnumbered	St Mark the Evangelist	St Mark the Evangelist	The Charity of St Mark the Evangelist
50A	Gardener.	? (Z)	A hill with three trees.
50BC	St Thomas the Apostle?	St Thomas.	St Thomas.

The Top Register of Constellation Images for the Sun rules Leo

Along the top register towards the end of the south wall, above the image for the Labour of the Month for July, is the image at 42A (Fig.2) of what appears to be a black bear on its hind legs facing towards the west wall (the viewer's right) and blowing an instrument, perhaps a trumpet. Previous scholars in Table 5 described this as 'wicked and hot tempered', 'anger, wrath; wickedness' and 'a bear that sounds a trumpet.' As this top register contains constellations, however, a more likely candidate is Ursa Major, the Great Bear.



Figure 2. The image at 42A of a black bear standing on its feet holding a trumpet and painted so that it faces the west wall, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

To ask why the bear is painted black and why it is blowing a trumpet is to question how bears were viewed in the medieval period. Louise Clubb wrote of how, since ancient times, the bear has held a dual role of being both a wild beast full of savage intent and capable of harm, as well as an animal receptive to taming, appearing humanoid, and capable of upright posture,¹ citing *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius (c.125 – c.180) wherein both contrasting states were depicted.

The bear is also an animal that hibernates from late September–early October until April or May.² Paul Shepard and Barry Sanders described how

¹ Louise G. Clubb, 'The Tragicomic Bear', *Comparative Literature Studies* 9, no. 1 (1972), 17-30, pp.23-24.

² See for example G. E. Folk, M. A. Folk, and J.G. Minor, 'Physiological condition of three species of bears in winter dens.', *Ursus* 2(1972), 107-125, p.107-125; G. E. Folk, A. Larson, and M. A. Folk, 'Physiology of hibernating bears.', *Ursus* 3(1976), 373-380, p.373-380; R. Al Nelson et al., 'Behavior, biochemistry, and hibernation in black, grizzly, and polar bears.', *Ursus* 5(1983), 284-290, p.284-290. L. L. Rogers and S. C.

The bear, more than any other teacher, gave an answer to the ultimate question - an astonishing, astounding, improbable answer, enacted rather than revealed. Its passage into the earth, winter's death, and burial under the snow was like a punctuation in the round of life that would begin again with its emergence in the spring. ... Clearly the bear was the master of renewal and the wheel of the seasons, of the knowledge of when to die and when to be reborn.³

This cycle of renewal also appears to be reflected in the sky. Ursa Major, the Great Bear, along with two other constellations, Ursa Minor, the Little Bear, and Draco, the Dragon, form a group of three constellations that cluster around the North Celestial Pole. The north and south celestial poles are the two imaginary points in the sky where the earth's axis of rotation, indefinitely extended, intersects the imaginary rotating sphere of stars called the celestial sphere (Fig.3). Due to the tilt of the earth on its axis, the North Celestial Pole will always be found at the same degree of declination (see glossary) as the latitude of the observer. Hence, since Padua has a latitude of 45.4167° north, the North Celestial Pole is found at 45.4167° above the horizon facing north. As the earth spins on its axis, the celestial poles give the impression of being fixed in the sky, remaining still whilst all other points seem to rotate around this point of stillness (Fig.4). The constellations surrounding the North Celestial Pole are termed circumpolar, meaning that they never disappear below the horizon after they become visible after sunset until dawn when the sun's light floods the sky.

The phenomenon of the tilt of the earth on its axis and the fact that these circumpolar stars never disappear also gives rise to a visual spectacle with regards to the constellation of the Great Bear. The movement of the earth around the sun over the course of a year means that the view of the heavens at set points of the night changes through the seasons and at different times of the year Ursa Major is visible with a different orientation to a viewer on earth than at other times. Viewed at midnight, the orientation of Ursa Major at spring will be seen to 'descend' towards the earth (Fig.5); in the summer months when vegetation is lush and the earth is green, she is seen to walk upon the earth (Fig.6); in the autumn she is seen to be moving upwards towards the heavens preparing to nest (Fig.7); and in the

Durst, 'Evidence that black bears reduce peripheral blood flow during hibernation', *Journal of Mammalogy* 68, no. 4 (1987), 872-875.

³ Paul Shepard and Barry Sanders, 'Celebrations of the Bear', *The North American Review* 270, no. 3 (1985), 17-25, p.18.

winter months, as the cold winds begin to blow and snow covers the ground, she is perceived to be ‘hibernating’, lying on her back with her legs upwards, as if sleeping (Fig.8). This correspondence with the observed pattern of bear hibernation means that this constellation can be used as a time-keeper, not just diurnally but as a seasonal marker.

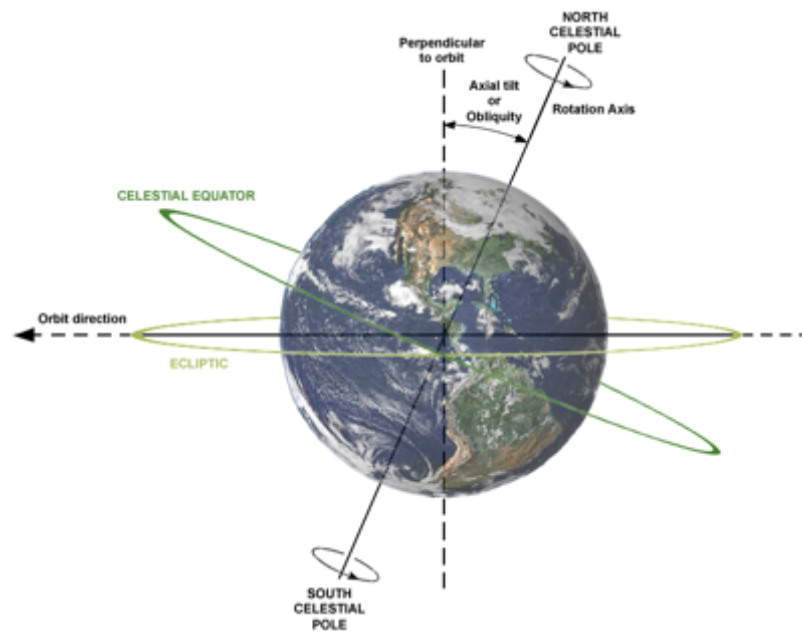


Figure 3. The north and south celestial poles and their relationship to the earth's axis of rotation, plane of orbit and axial tilt. *Diagram:* Dennis Nilssen, Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 4. Taken with a long shutter speed over several hours, this image shows the North Celestial Pole as a still centre and the circumpolar stars as star trails that circle it and do not set. *Photo:* Wikimedia Commons

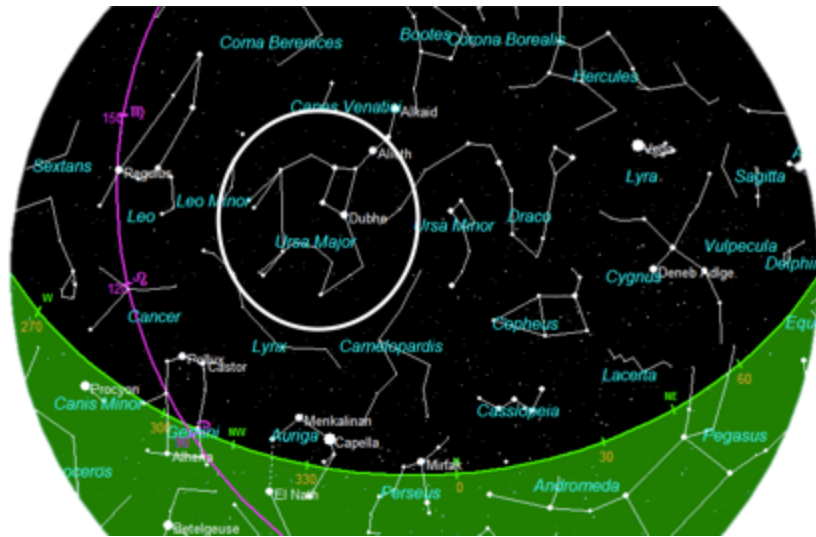


Figure 5. Midnight Taurus Ingress 13 April 1309 OS showing Ursa Major coming out of 'hibernation' and descending to walk along the earth. The night sky constellations are indicated in black and the constellations that have set or are never seen are below the horizon in the green area. The pink line is the line of the ecliptic.

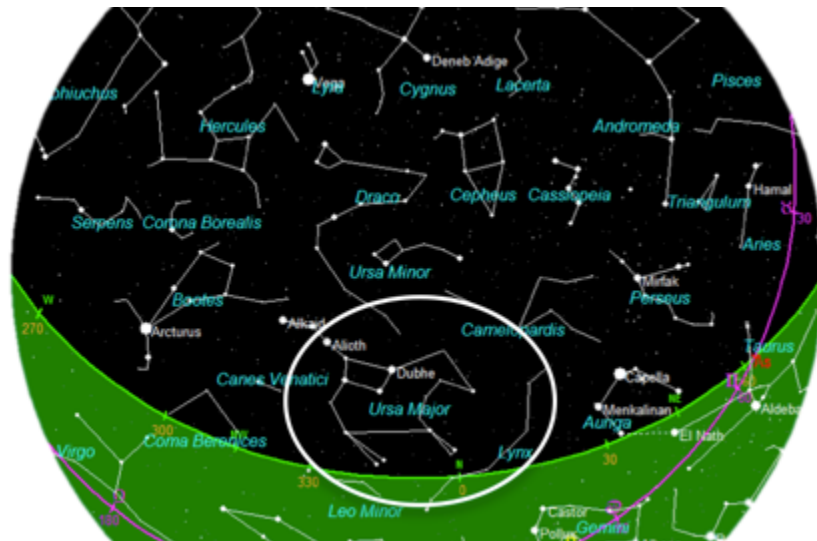


Figure 6. Midnight Leo Ingress 16 July 1309 OS showing Ursa Major walking along the ground when the earth is green with vegetation.

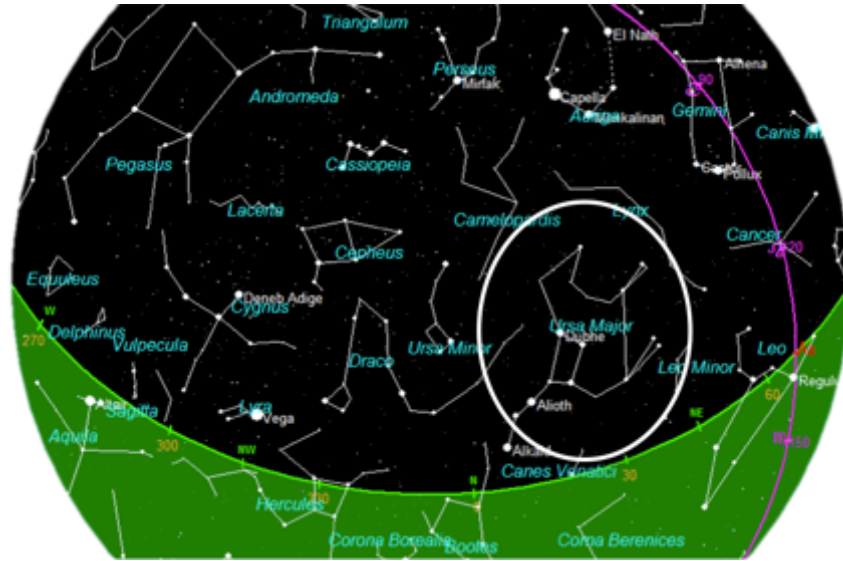


Figure 7. Midnight Scorpio Ingress 16 October 1309 OS, showing Ursa Major beginning her ascent into 'hibernation'.

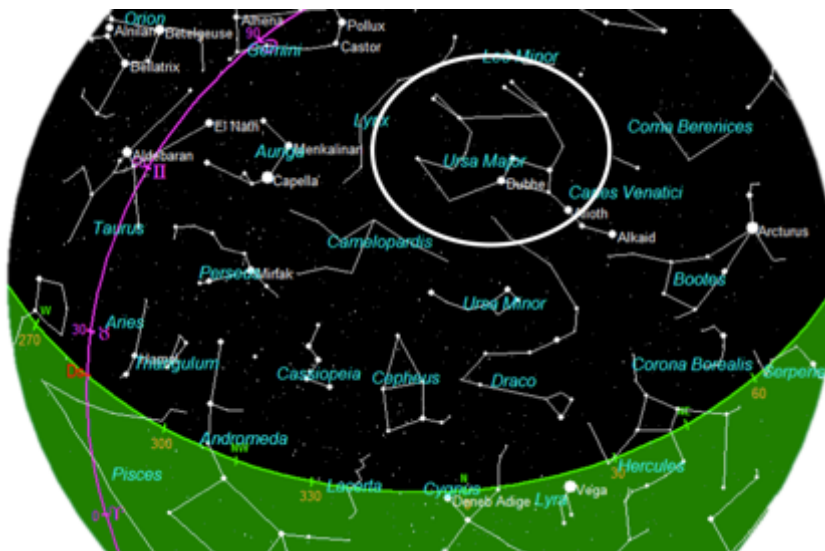


Figure 8. Midnight Aquarius Ingress 13 January 1309 OS, showing Ursa Major 'hibernating' on her back when the northern latitudes of the earth are cold and covered with white.

This concept of the constellation of the Great Bear Ursa Major in its four positions as seasonal markers in the sky sits within the philosophy of time telling by the stars.⁴ Clare Vincent and Bruce Chandler observed that

⁴ Robert Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp.24-26.

The stars have been used to tell the nighttime hours since ancient times. The *Kalendrier des Bergers* [Shepherd's Calendar], a book that went through many editions from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, sets forth a traditional method for memorizing the position of the constellation Ursa Major, The Great Bear or Big Dipper, in the sky at midnight for each night of the year. The legend at the top of the schematic diagram in Figure 5 says, 'By this figure shepherds in the fields at night can know at all times what hour it is, whether before midnight or after.'⁵

According to Shepard and Sanders:

Traditional symbols for the turning Great Bear include the cross and the swastika (the four revolving seasons, the four directions), and what might be the most basic of all symbols, the spiral... Etymological connections between *bear* and ... maintaining one's correct direction by keeping one's *bearings* are all deeply rooted in the bear's power of renewing the world.⁶

There are four depictions of bears along this constellation register in the Salone in total. The first image, along the south wall at 14A (Fig.9), is of a man thrusting a stick at the throat of a brown bear facing the man and lying down on the ground, in the Venus rules Taurus 'chapter'. Blood runs from the bear's throat. The next image, along the south wall at 16A (Fig.10), is of a small brown bear with a stick in its mouth facing towards the west wall (the viewer's right), in the Venus rules Taurus 'chapter'. The third image, along the north wall at 77A (Fig.12), is of a brown bear standing on its hind legs facing the west wall (the viewer's left), in the Mars rules Scorpio 'chapter'. The fourth image along the south wall at 42A (Fig.11) is this one in this Sun rules Leo 'chapter'.

The bear at 14A (Fig.9) appears to be an image of bear baiting and will be discussed more fully in chapter 4. There are, however, seasonal bears within this sequence: the bear at 16A heralding spring (Fig.10); the bear at 42A heralding summer (Fig.11); and the bear at 77A heralding autumn (Fig.12). Logically there should be a bear heralding winter and, if so, it

⁵ Clare Vincent and Bruce Chandler, 'Nighttime and Easter Time: The Rotations of the Sun, the Moon, and the Little Bear in Renaissance Time Reckoning', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, no. 8 (1969), 372-384, pp.375-376.

⁶ Shepard and Sanders, 'Celebrations of the Bear', pp.19-20.

would appear at or around 99A (Figs.13 and 14). Currently the wall shows that this image is damaged.



(Left) Figure 9. The bear at 14AB, south wall, in what appears to be bear baiting. *Photo.* D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 10. The bear at 16A, south wall, Taurus 'chapter', possibly heralding the spring. *Photo.* D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 11. The bear at 42A, south wall, Leo 'chapter', possibly heralding summer. *Photo.* D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 12. The bear at 77A, north wall, Scorpio 'chapter', possibly heralding autumn. *Photo.* D.Gunzburg.

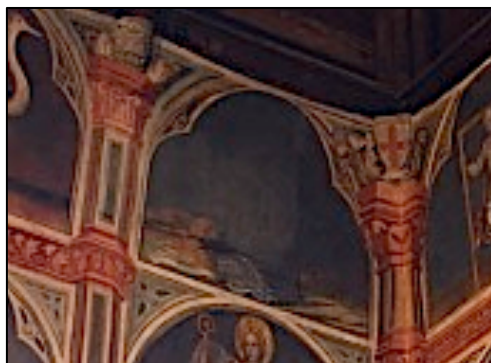


Figure 13. Damaged image at 99A, north wall, Aquarius 'chapter', a bear that possibly heralded winter. *Photo.* D.Gunzburg.

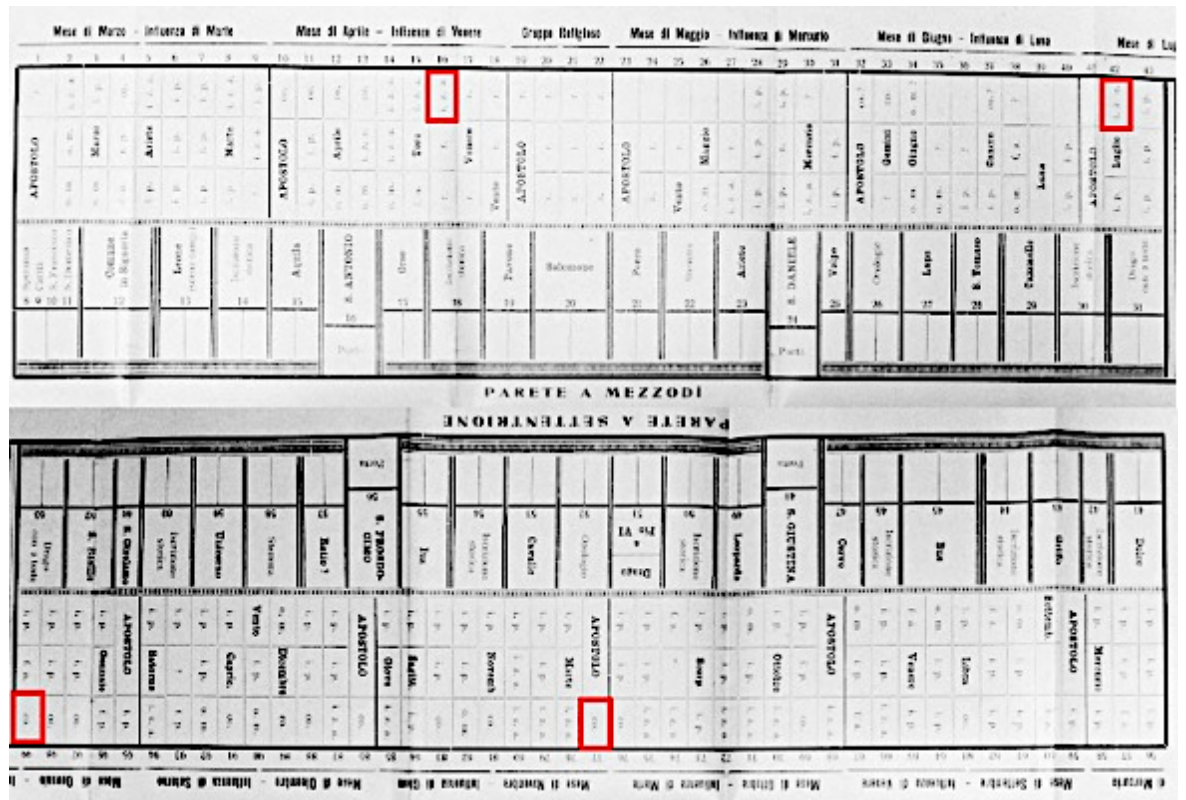


Figure 14. Barzon's plan of the Salone showing the north (lower part of plan) and south (upper part of plan) walls, with an indication of the placement of the bears. Seasonal movement is from top left clockwise.

That these seasonal bears in the sky were important for navigation and travel is underscored by the work of Stephen Emlen when considering the migratory patterns of birds. Emlen found that Indigo Buntings (*Passerina cyanea*) were unable to select their normal migration direction when prevented from viewing the night sky prior to the autumn migration season and that their maturation process was one where ‘stellar cues come to be associated with a directional reference system provided by the axis of celestial rotation.’⁷ He also found that ‘the circumpolar area within 35 degrees of the North Star may be important if not essential to this orientation process.’⁸ This is the area that contains The Great Bear. Such a pattern of migration helps explain how this area of the sky might be important for navigation in general and as such makes it understandable that such seasonal markers would be placed within this constellation register of the images of the Salone.

⁷ Stephen T. Emlen, ‘Celestial Rotation: Its Importance in the Development of Migratory Orientation’, *Science* 170, no. 3963 (1970), 1198-1201, p.1198. See also Stephen T. Emlen, ‘Migratory Orientation in the Indigo Bunting, *Passerina cyanea*: Part I: Evidence for Use of Celestial Cues’, *The Auk* 84, no. 3 (1967), 309-342.

⁸ Stephen T. Emlen, ‘Migratory Orientation in the Indigo Bunting, *Passerina cyanea*. Part II: Mechanism of Celestial Orientation’, *The Auk* 84, no. 4 (1967), 463-489, p.483.



Figure 15. The image of a nobly dressed man at 43A, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.
Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving forward along the constellation register, the image at 43A (Fig.15) is of a swarthy man wearing a red chaperon on his head and long-sleeved yellow gown. The scholars in Table 5 described this image as ‘a person in prayer’, ‘preaching, oration’ and ‘a person who preaches’. However, visible in the sky south of the ecliptic along the horizon with Ursa Major in the pre-dawn light is the constellation Orion (Fig.16). Orion’s distinctive configuration as a bright and spectacular humanlike constellation in the night sky meant that his myth was contained in many world cultures. He was known to the Babylonians as ‘The Heavenly Shepherd’ or ‘The True Shepherd of Anu’, where Anu was the god of the sky, meaning the ecliptical area.⁹ In Egyptian mythology the stars of Orion were associated with Osiris, the sun-god of rebirth and afterlife. To the Egyptians the constellation was not a symbol of a god, it was a living god, a visible emblem of his physical place or appearance in the sky,¹⁰ in the same way that Sirius in Canis Major was said to be dwelling place of Isis.¹¹ Greek stories echoed Egyptian mythology. Thus I contend that image 43A is a depiction of the constellation Orion.

⁹ Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, Archiv für Orientforschung. Beiheft 24. (Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Sohne Gessellschaft M.B.H., 1989), p.139; Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.108.

¹⁰ Wallis E.A. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. 1, Studies in Egyptian Mythology (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), p.41.

¹¹ Wallis E.A. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. 2, Studies in Egyptian Mythology (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), p.215.



Figure 18. The image at 44A at the beginning of the west wall, top register, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving to the west wall, scholars in Table 5 described image 44A (Fig.18) as ‘an ink pot’ or ‘study’. Yet medieval scribes placed ink in an inkhorn, literally a horn that held ink and which sat in a hole in a table or holder. An example of an inkhorn can be seen in Teodericus’ signature portrait of Gregory the Great writing (inscribed ‘Teodericus depinxit hanc imaginem Gregorium papam’), in the early twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*, Harley 3011, folio 69v, London, British Library (Fig. 19), as well as in the signature portrait of illuminator Hugo in his late eleventh-century work *St. Jerome: Commentary on Isaiah*, MS Bodley 717 fol. 287v, Bodleian Library (Fig.20). An inkhorn was also held in the hand, as in the image of Saint Luke the Evangelist in the *Gospel of Ebbo*, MS1, folio 90v. (Fig.21) and the three figures in *Liber Rabani de originibus rerum* (Fig.22). When a scribe travelled, quills were carried in a penner, a case or sheath made of metal, horn or leather and carried at the girdle.¹²

Thus I am arguing that, rather than the image at 44A expressing writing, it is instead an image of a fountain, with a rounded rectangle lower basin and central stem that carries an inner basin spouting three streams of water. William D. Wixom’s exploration of Gothic fountains revealed a variety of lower basin shapes including octagonal, hexagonal, polygonal, quatrefoil, round or rectangular from which, centred in the basin, a column rises supporting a smaller basin or vessel.¹³

¹² In *The Merchant’s Tale*, Geoffrey Chaucer (1343–1400) wrote of how: ‘But prively a penner gan he borwe, And in a lettre wroot he al his sorwe.’ Geoffrey Chaucer, ‘The Merchant’s Tale’, in *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Gerard NeCastro (eChaucer: <http://www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/chaucer>, 2007). Lines 1879–1880 - accessed 11 January 2011.

¹³ William D. Wixom, ‘A Glimpse at the Fountains of the Middle Ages’, *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 8(2003), 6-23.



(Left) Figure 19. Teodericus' signature portrait of Gregory the Great writing (inscribed 'Teodericus depinxit hanc imaginem Gregorium papam'), early twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, Harley 3011, folio 69v, London, British Library. Image: British Library.



(Right) Figure 20. *St. Jerome: Commentary on Isaiah* MSBodley 717 fol. 287v Self-portrait of illuminator Hugo, late 11th century, Bodleian Library. Image: ARTstor.

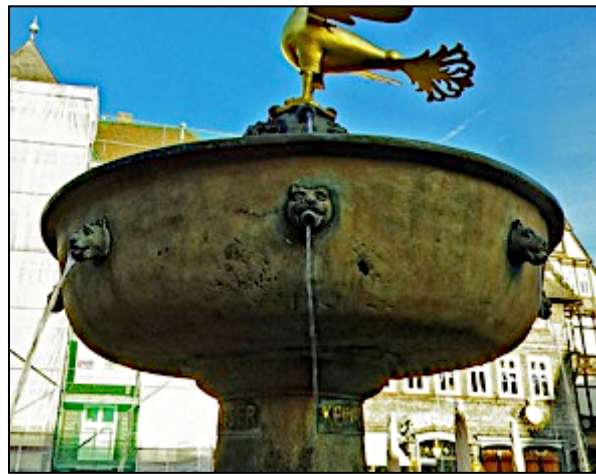


(Left) Figure 21. *Gospel of Ebbo* (Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims), Saint Luke Evangelist, MS 1, folio 90v. illuminated manuscript, c. 816-835, Bibliothèque municipale (Épernay, France). Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 22. *Liber Rabani de originibus rerum*, XV, 1; de philosophis (Codex based on encyclopaedia compiled by Rabanus Maurus: *De rerum naturis*), MSCas. 132, completed 1022-23 in the Abbey at Montecassino, Biblioteca del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino. Image: ARTstor.

Animal-head waterspouts were found at all levels of the fountain, with a predominance of lions emitting streams of water from their mouth, such as the Fontana Grande in Viterbo which dates from 1206 (Fig.23) and the thirteenth century Marktbecken, of Goslar, Germany, a fountain with two bronze basins (Fig.24); lions were also used as finials¹⁴ and on ivory caskets depicting The Fountain of Youth (Fig.25).



(Left) Figure 23. Fontana Grande, Viterbo, Italy, 1206, with the lion sculptures at the base of the column. Photo: K.Weise, Wikimedia Commons.

(Right) Figure 24. Goslar Fountain, dating from the thirteenth century, marketplace, Goslar, Germany, with the sculptured lions spurting water from their mouths. Photo: Burkhard Koerner.



Figure 25. The Fountain of Youth, front plaque of a casket with Aristotle teaching Alexander, Aristotle & Phyllis (left) and detail of the Fountain of Youth with lions' heads spurting water (right). France, Paris, 1330-50, elephant ivory, 11.5 x 24.6 x 12.4 cm for the entire casket. The Walters Art Museum (formerly the Walters Art Gallery), Baltimore, 71.264. Photo: ARTstor.

¹⁴ Wixom, 'A Glimpse at the Fountains of the Middle Ages', p.20.

In the Salone fresco scheme the planetary image of the lion at image 44B (Fig.26), the accepted image for the zodiac sign of Leo, is painted beneath the fountain, linking the fountain at image 44A and the lion at 44B contiguously.



Figure 26. The image at 44B of a lion, at the beginning of the west wall, top register, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The connection between lions and fountains, however, dates back to around 6,000 to 3,000 BCE when the stars of the constellation of Leo formed the heliacal rising stars (see glossary) —the stars that rise just before the sun and act as a herald for sunrise¹⁵ — of the summer solstice. Historically the constellation of Leo was recognised as a lion by the Persians, Syrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Jews, Arabs, Greeks, Latins, and Turks.¹⁶ Hence as the sun moved into the constellation of Leo the Lion, a time when the sun was at its closest to the earth in the northern hemisphere and the days were at their hottest, this constellation was linked with long hot summer days and humid nights, a time when crops could burn and when fever and death were ubiquitous. Thus the constellation Leo and lions became permanently linked with the Sun. They were also linked with water, for it was at this midsummer period in Egypt that the Nile flooded and brought nutrients and sediments from upstream to the parched and fissured delta. At the same time it may also

¹⁵ Bernadette Brady, 'Star phases: the naked-eye astronomy of the Old Kingdom pyramid utterances', in *Skyscapes: The Role and Importance of the Sky in Archaeology*, ed. Fabio Silva and Campion Nicholas (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014 - forthcoming).

¹⁶ Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p.253.

have lured real lions seeking water from their desert haunts to the banks of the river and thus anchored what was seen in the sky with what was occurring on earth. Lions' heads were carved onto the irrigation gates that allowed the Nile waters into the fields¹⁷ and this continued into the medieval period where the cascade of water from the mouth of a lion on a medieval fountain was reflective of the Lion that protected and guarded waterways.



Figure 27. The image at 45A, showing a fiery furnace with two devils emerging, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 28. The image at 46A, The Hydra with the Cup (or Chalice) and The Crow (or Raven) on its back, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving on to image at 45A (Fig.27), scholars in Table 5 described this as Ara The Altar and the image at 46A (Fig.28) as The Hydra. Aratus (c.315–240 BCE) in his *Phaenomena*, noted that Ara the Altar, a sacred place in the southern sky, was located below the ‘fiery

¹⁷ Gertrude Jobes and James, *Outer Space: Myths, Name Meanings, Calendars From the Emergence of History to the Present Day* (New York & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1964), p.194.

sting’ of the Scorpion ‘raised down south’.¹⁸ In classical times Ara was seen as the main signifier in weather forecasting for predicting storms:

Night is an old, old crone who pities us.
 She stuffs the Altar with conspicuous
 Advice, and all because her greatest care
 Is storm-beleaguered triremes. Everywhere
 Around it telling signs of every sort
 Guide sailors through rough seas and into port.¹⁹

The constellation Ara the Altar, however, is not visible in the sky for the latitude of Padua (Fig.29), therefore it is unlikely to be represented in the fresco scheme of the Salone. Furthermore, the head of the constellation The Hydra (in the green area below the yellow circle in Fig.29) rises and sets with the sun at this time of the year and the only part visible would have been Corvus the Crow on its back, seen briefly on the south–western horizon just after sunset, and the tail being seen into the mid–evening.

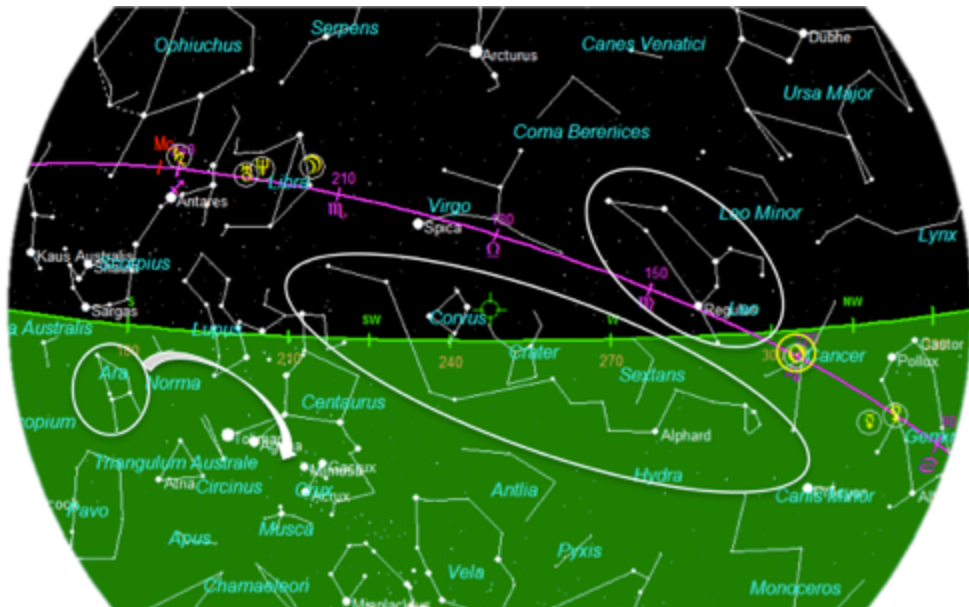


Figure 29. Sky map for Padua at sunset, Leo Ingress, July 1309 OS. The constellation of Ara the Altar is circled in white on the left. The arrow indicates its passage through the night. The sun, having just set below the horizon, is circled in yellow. The constellations of Leo the Lion and The Hydra (in white circles either side of the ecliptic, designated by the pink line) rise and set together with the sun at this time of the year. Hence all of Leo and only Corvus the Crow and the tail of the Hydra will become visible after sunset.

¹⁸ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, trans. Aaron Poochigian, Johns Hopkins New Translations from Antiquity (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p.17.

¹⁹ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, p.17.

Two points emerge from these observations. Since Leo the Lion and The Hydra straddle the ecliptic and are always seen to rise and set together in the sky (Fig.29), and since image 46A (Fig.28) is so clearly the constellation of The Hydra with the Cup (also known as The Chalice) and The Crow (also known as The Raven) on its back, it would appear that these two images were marking the period of time when the sun ingressed into the zodiac sign of Leo. The second point concerns the image at 45A (Fig.27). Close observation indicates that, rather than being an altar with fire, the image is, in fact, a cauldron with two devils emerging from the flames at the top. This suggests that one has to look further afield for an explanation. This explanation, I contend, comes from the realm of medical astrology.

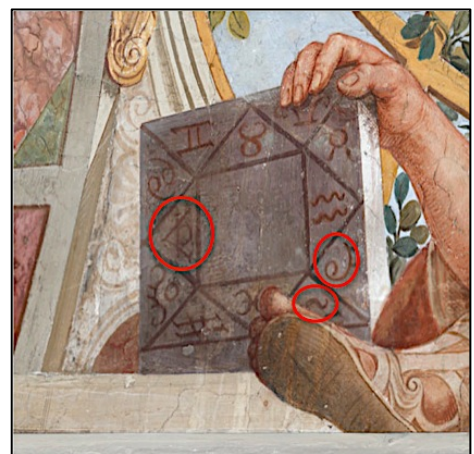
Medical astrology, as noted in chapter 1, is defined as that branch of astrology that deals with the health of the body using underlying astrological principles as laid down in the major technical treatises on astrology. Further information regarding this line of thinking can be gleaned from the image at 45C (Fig.30) of the man consulting a book seated in front of a circle with glyphs on it and with a flying devil or demon nearby. The scholars in Table 5 designated this image as ‘magic’ or ‘a necromancer’, perhaps due to the fact that the background circle portrays seemingly incomprehensible glyphs interspersed with crosses and that the winged creature resembles a devil. Another approach is to see the circle with the glyphs as representing an astrological horoscope and the crosses as the divisions of a horoscope. The line drawn horizontally across the centre of the circle thus represents the horizon and the letter ‘A’ on the centre left of the viewer represents the ‘Ascendant’ or place designated on the horoscope where the ecliptic cuts the horizon in the east. Referring to Ibn Ezra who designated the shapes of the glyphs in his book *The Beginning of Wisdom*,²⁰ I suggest that the glyphs within each segment are, anticlockwise, the Moon represented by the half circle, the Sun as a circle with a tail, Mercury, and Venus, with the rest being obscured. In this way, rather than being seen as an image connected with vice, the image can be viewed as a medieval medical astrologer consulting an ephemeris, a computation of planetary positions, along with the horoscope to ascertain the nature of the fever devil or demon of illness nearby.

²⁰ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Book of Nativities and Revolutions*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Berkeley Springs: ARHAT, 2008), pp.91-104.



Figure 30. Image at 45C showing a seated man reading a book with a circle of glyphs behind him and a flying fever devil to his side, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

In her PhD thesis on the astrological horoscope of Pope Gregory XIII painted on the west wall of the Sala Bologna in the Vatican Palace, Rome, Emily Urban found the same glyphs apparently representing the Ascendant Sun and Moon (Figs.31 and 32).²¹



(Left) Figure 31. Lorenzo Sabatini (figure) and Ottaviano Mascherino (*quadratura*). *Marcus Manilius*, detail of west wall, Sala Bologna, Vatican Palace, Rome. Commissioned in 1575 by Pope Gregory XIII. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Vaticani.

(Right) Figure 32. Horizontally rotated close up of astrological chart being held in Fig.29 with the astrological glyphs ringed in red. Photo: Archivio Fotografico, Musei Vaticani.

²¹ Emily Urban. 'The Sala Bologna in the Vatican Palace: Art and Astronomy in Counter Reformation Rome.' Rutgers University, 2013. Images used with her permission.

Summer was the time for fevers. Ibn Ezra described the nature of the Sun as ‘hot and dry because he gives heat and dryness’.²² Of Leo, the sign through which the sun travels along the ecliptic at this time of the year when it is summer Ibn Ezra wrote: ‘Its nature is burning and destructive heat. Its beginning is a little warm, its middle is very destructive and producing sickness, and its end produces winds.’²³ Al-Qabīṣī wrote of the Sun that, ‘Of illnesses, those that are hot and dry and visible (external) on bodies.’²⁴ Roger French considered that,

Central to both medicine and astrology were the doctrines of growth and decrease – the physician’s job being, in Abū Ma‘shar’s view, to supply deficiencies, remove excesses, block external influences and preserve a tempered state. This intervention was not merely corrective but preventative. For example, the prognosticating doctor knew that when the summer came there would be fevers; as Abū Ma‘shar notes, he therefore let blood and used the cupping-glass to try to prevent putrefaction and apostemes which were among the cause of fevers.²⁵

To continue with this line of thinking, there are a number of other images that appear to represent activities connected with medicine and dealing with illnesses of heat: the image at 43B (Fig.33) of a medieval pharmacy with a woman buying herbs or medicine; the image at 43C (Fig.33) of a man wearing gloves and gathering and smelling herbs that would protect against illness; the image at 44C (Fig.34) of a physician attending a patient and holding up a specimen of urine; and the image at 46C (Fig.35) of a seated man wearing a turban and a red cloak holding a wooden pyramid and facing a fever devil. Thus rather than image 45A (Fig.27) representing a non-visible constellation for the latitude of Padua, I contend that it depicts instead fever devils that bring illness in the heat of summer. Furthermore, regarding the juxtaposition of the two images at 44C (Fig.34), the physician inspecting urine, and 45C (Fig.30), what I contend is the medical astrologer, French

²² Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons, Se'fer Ha'Te'Amim*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein, vol. Project Hindsight Hebrew Track Volume 1 (Berkely Springs: The Golden Hind Press, 1994), p.38.

²³ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Reston: ARHAT Publications, 1998), p.41.

²⁴ Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano, eds. *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction to Astrology*, Warburg Institute Studies and Texts. London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2004, pp.72-73.

²⁵ Roger French, ‘Foretelling the Future: Arabic Astrology and English Medicine in the Late Twelfth Century’, *Isis* 87, no. 3 (1996), 453-480, p.456.

observed firstly that, ‘Uroscopy was the characteristic activity of the doctor; the image of him inspecting the flask of urine holding it to the light is widespread in medieval manuscripts. In such actions the doctor is publicly showing his skill in a partly ritual way.’²⁶ French also observed that, via the new Arabic astrology, a doctor now had at his disposal the technical means to increase the accuracy of his prognosis, thus offering greater assurance to the patient, knowing that using such an accomplished system as astrology enhanced his status.²⁷



Figure 33. The image at 43B (upper) of a medieval pharmacy and a woman buying herbs; and the image at 43C (lower) of a man gathering herbs, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



(*Left*) Figure 34. The image at 44C of a physician holding up a urine specimen, lower register, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



(*Right*) Figure 35. The image at 46C of a seated man facing a fever devil, lower register, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

²⁶ French, ‘Foretelling the Future’, p.454.

²⁷ French, ‘Foretelling the Future’, p.454.

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The image at 42B (Fig.36) of a man using a flail to separate the grains of seeds from the straw, is the image for the Labour of the Month for July. Beneath this is the image at 42C (Fig.37) of a man winnowing the grain. Both of these images represent occupations that occur in the warmth and heat after the grain harvest.



Figure 36. The image at 42B of the Labour of the Month of July, a young man uses a flail to separate the grains of seeds from the straw, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 37. The image at 42C, where a young man winnows the grain, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 38. The image at 45B of a Bishop riding with his falcon and assistant, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 5 described the image at 45B (Fig.38) as ‘a falcon hunter’, ‘hunting’ and a Bishop hunting with his falcon’. A bishop hunting with a falcon appears to be an anomaly. A group of nobles out hawking was a practice of the Middle Ages, even though images of the Labours of the Months in twelfth century France and England depict the month of May, rather than July, with a rider with a falcon. In the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc De Berry, an illuminated manuscript created in the early fifteenth century by the Limbourg brothers, the month of August depicts such a grouping (Fig.39).²⁸

Al-Qabīṣī wrote of the Sun that it ruled ‘the greatest authority’ and in this he included religion and that it ruled ‘shooting arrows and hunting’.²⁹ Yet strictures against members of the church taking part in hunting and falconry were first laid down in the sixth century at the Synod of Agde and at the Council of Epaon. By the twelfth century clerical disapproval against this activity was codified as part of Gratian's *Decretum* (dated between 1139 and 1142).³⁰ Church objections included the bearing of arms by clergy, disturbance of the contemplative life by animals, and the costs involved.³¹

²⁸ Raymond Cazelles and Johannes Rathofer, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Très Riches Heures Du Duc de Berry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), p.42.

²⁹ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitus). The Introduction*, p.71.

³⁰ Marcelle Thiébaux, ‘The Mediaeval Chase’, *Speculum* 42, no. 2 (1967), 260-274, pp.263-265.

³¹ Thiébaux, ‘The Mediaeval Chase’, p.264. Nearly three hundred and fifty years later, the accounts of James IV of Scotland's (1473–1513) Lord High Treasurers revealed the nature of these expenses: ‘falconer's wages, horses and clothing; the purchase of dogs, nets, hawk-bells, arrowheads, leashes; the building of a mews;... payment to beaters; the carriage of the King's bed from the capital to his hunting lodge.’ John M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), pp.66-71, 77-79.



Figure 39. Painted by Pol de Limbourg and finished by Jean Colombe, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, folio 8 v., *August: Castle d'Etampes*. Started in 1409, finished 70 years later. Musée Condé. Image: ARTstor.

John of Salisbury (c.1120–1180) articulated a clerical concern when he noted that ‘the exhilaration of the hunt was likely to arouse the passions’, exemplified by the hunt in the story of Aeneas and Dido, which revealed their adulterous love.³² Of the three realms of medieval society (the oratores, the defensores, the laboratores), the business of the clerics (the oratores) was the spiritual welfare of the community; protection, which also included courtly love, and hunting with hawks and hounds, was the business of the warrior class (the defensores).³³ Hunting was seen as part of the education of a knight, and monarchs across Europe maintained a comprehensive team of mounted falconers and falconers on foot, along with the accoutrements which served them. Nevertheless, as Marcelle Thiébaux explained, ‘a significant number of the higher clergy were noblemen, trained in the arts of war and hunting.’³⁴ In England, the royal Forest Charter of 1215-17 essentially granted archbishops, bishops and barons the right to hunt.³⁵ Bishops bore their falcons to church and only set them aside when they approached the altar.³⁶ Gace de la Buigne (1305?–

³² Thiébaux, ‘The Mediaeval Chase’, p.264.

³³ The third realm, the laboratores, belonged to those who spent their days in pursuit of tilling the soil and animal husbandry (the laboratores).

³⁴ Thiébaux, ‘The Mediaeval Chase’, p.264.

³⁵ D.M. Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages, 1066-1307* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952), pp.106,113.

³⁶ William H. Forsyth, ‘The Noblest of Sports: Falconry in the Middle Ages’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, no. 9 (1944), 253-259, p.253.

1384?) first chaplain of John II the Good, wrote *Le Roman des Déduis* (*The Pleasures of Hunting*) between 1359 and 1377 as a blend of hunting advice and ethical instruction for John's youngest son, the future Philip the Bold of Burgundy.³⁷ Gaston III/X of Foix-Béarn (also known as Gaston Fébus or Gaston Phoebus) (1331–1391) in his *Livre de chasse*, written between 1387 and 1388, observed that ‘a good huntsman can never be prey to the Seven Deadly Sins’, for his mind was focused on strategy by day and physically exhausted by night.³⁸ The image at 45B (Fig.38) suggests an amalgamation of the power and authority of the church, along with their right to bear falcons and, at the same time, offers another aspect of the labours of the month of July of the rider with the falcon.

Given the emphasis on medicine and medical astrology which, I suggested, dominated the images in columns 43-46 of this Sun ‘chapter’, and which Thomas Aquinas ruled was essential to maintaining a healthy body, I now suggest there follows a sequence of images regarding knowledge and faith. Ibn Ezra wrote of the Sun that ‘of human nature it has knowledge, intelligence’, as well as ruling ‘constitutions and laws,’³⁹ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of the Sun that ‘if Jupiter mixes with it, it indicates decisions concerning religious issues, and judgments between people and concerning injustices.’⁴⁰ I have emphasized the connection with Jupiter as the Salone was the place where justice was administered. The sub-narrative of images are as follows: image 46B (Fig.40), a hatless man in a green tunic and red cape gesticulating with his pointed right hand in front of two men, one dressed in yellow and the other in red, both wearing chaperons and with arms crossed, which scholars in Table 5 described as ‘scholars disputing’; image 47BC (Fig.45), the Sun in its rulership of the zodiac sign of Leo, man with a red-gold mandorla-shaped aureole, with a tall crown on his head and a golden-coloured tunic, seated on a four-wheeled chariot, holding an orb in his right hand, and with rays emanating from his body; image 48B (Fig.41), a clean-shaven man seated on a rock wearing a brown turban and brown tunic, which scholars in Table 5 described as ‘a hermit’, ‘mediation’ and a solitarily person’; image 49B (Fig.42), a man in a red tunic and gold mantle pointing towards a golden orb in his left, which scholars in Table 5 described as ‘a prince’ and ‘power’; and image 49C (Fig.43), a man in

³⁷ John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), p.1.

³⁸ Count of Foix Gaston Phoebus, ‘Livre de chasse’, ed. Gunnar Tilander (Karlshamn: E. G. Johnassons Boktryckeri, 1971), pp.52-53.

³⁹ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom (Reshith Hochma)*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Reston: ARHAT Publications, 1998), p.99.

⁴⁰ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.78.

a red coif and a green gown holding a scroll, which scholars in Table 5 described as ‘a man with a cartouche’ and ‘necromancy’.



(Left) Figure 40. The image at 46B of two men in authority listening to a third, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 41. The image at 48B of a man seated on a rock, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 42. The image at 49B, a man dressed in gold with a gold cape and pointing to an orb in his left hand, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 43. The image at 49C of a man holding a banderol or scroll, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The image at 48B is distinctive. A comparator is the fresco by Andrea di Bonaiuti (flourished c.1346–died after 16 May 1379), *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, painted 1365–c.1367, in the Spanish Chapel at Santa Maria Novella, Florence, with the image of Averroës (1126–1198) beneath the feet of St Thomas Aquinas (Fig.44). Averroës was an Andalusian Islamic polymath known for his medical and legal writings, along with his detailed commentaries on the works of Aristotle, earning him the title ‘The Commentator’

in the Latin West.⁴¹ Averroës was a rationalist who argued against the Islamic determinism (God's providence) of al-Ghazali (1058–1111).⁴² Working as a judge in Seville, Averroës fell out of favour with the ruler, Yaqub al-Mansur (1160–1199) and Averroës' philosophy was treated as controversial and criticised by Islamic jurists. Averroës was banished from Spain, yet his work was so impactful on European thought that he was considered to be the founding father of rational thought in the West.⁴³ Harold Stone pointed out how Italy and in particular Venice 'was the centre for the publication of Averroës' commentary on Aristotle'.⁴⁴ The Salone fresco images were painted in an age that was grappling with the relationship between faith and reason and Averroës' position championed a strict Aristotelian model of knowledge based on demonstrative reasoning, above theology, 'which does not yield knowledge properly speaking'.⁴⁵



Figure 44. Andrea di Bonaiuti (flourished c.1346–died after 16 May 1379) *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, detail of St Thomas Aquinas seated above Averroës (left) and detail of Averroës (right), 1366–1368, fresco, west wall chapter-house (now known as the Spanish Chapel), Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Italy. Image: ARTstor.

⁴¹ Jorge J.E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone, eds. *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, pp.182–183.

⁴² Gracia and Noone, eds., *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p.186.

⁴³ Majid Fakhry, *Averroës (Ibn Rushd): His Life, Works and Influence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2001), p.196.

⁴⁴ Harold Stone, 'Why Europeans Stopped Reading Averroës: The Case of Pierre Bayle', *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, no. 16 (1996), 77–95, p.78.

⁴⁵ Gracia and Noone, eds., *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p.4.

Thomas Aquinas accepted the Aristotelian model, and respected how Averroës' commentaries 'informed his appreciation of the Philosopher'.⁴⁶ Yet Aquinas argued that knowledge came in different ways and used different pathways to understanding, such as optics, which takes its principles from geometry; furthermore, Aquinas argued, some truths could only be known by faith, some by reason, and some by faith or reason.⁴⁷ If this image at 48B (Fig.41) is a depiction of Averroës, then it represents the rationalist Aristotelian approach to knowledge amongst images portraying arguments and disputations (46B), knowledge of constitutions and laws, as signified by Ibn Ezra in relation to the Sun as luminary (47BC), knowledge of the world through faith, since the man in image 49B is holding the golden orb of the world, rather than measuring it with a compass or divider (49B), and the imprimatur of Old Testament knowledge using the attribute of the scroll (49C).⁴⁸ This is an area for future research to which I will return.



Figure 45. The image at 47BC of the Sun in its rulership of the zodiac sign of Leo, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving further along this 'chapter', the image at 49A (Fig.46) portrays a rugged, barren, mountainous environment with a lone tree bent by strong winds. This may represent the

⁴⁶ Stone, 'Why Europeans Stopped Reading Averroës', p.78.

⁴⁷ Gracia and Noone, eds., *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p.5.

⁴⁸ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1974), pp.275-276.

clima of the Sun. The seven climata were belts of latitude related to the length of the longest day and each of the signs was assigned one of the seven climes (clima) based on the ruler of the sign. In the case of the Sun, Ibn Ezra wrote that

Of the regions in its share is the fourth [clima], and Baghdad, and Persia, and Turkey as far as the inhabited places, and Nisbur, and Tarsus, and every place that is difficult to climb, and every rugged place, and palaces of kings, and strong fortresses, and every tall and steep mountain, and every place of open air.⁴⁹

Whilst there is no clear depiction of a place that could be considered to be Baghdad, Persia, or Turkey depicted amongst the Sun ‘chapter’ images, the image at 49A may be a depiction of the fourth clima as described by Ibn Ezra.



Figure 46. Image at 49A, a ‘place that is difficult to climb... rugged’, a ‘tall steep mountain’ and ‘a place of open air’, west wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The apostle at 50BC – St Jude

The image at 50BC (Fig.47), of a man with short curly brown hair and close cropped beard and moustache wearing a green mantle with red lining over a loose-sleeved gold tunic edged at the neck with gold trim and tab, is consistent with that of St Jude in the Arena Chapel frescoes (see Appendix 5). The apostle carries a thick book with a brown leather cover affixed with two grey metal clasps in his right hand. His left hand rests across his chest in the folds of his cape, suggesting that he holds or carries something precious close to his chest. This valued item may be intended to be understood as the letter written by

⁴⁹ ibn Ezra, ‘The Beginning of Wisdom’, pp.41-42.

Jesus and carried by St Jude to Abgar the leper which, when it was rubbed over his face, instantly cured him of leprosy.⁵⁰



Figure 47. The image at 50BC of the saint along the west wall completing the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Visual summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean (47A and 48A), in addition to the four anchor points of the Labour of the month (42B), the zodiac sign of Leo the Lion (44B), the image of the Sun in its rulership of Leo (47BC) and the saint of the chapter (50BC), a visual summary of this Sun ‘chapter’ (Fig.48) shows the following themes emerging: the skymap images for sunset at the Leo ingress (circled in blue); the image of the Labour of the Month and associated labours (circled in red); the image of fountains in connection with lions (circled in pink); the theme of medical astrology

⁵⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, trans. Christopher Stace (London: Penguin, 1998), p.286.

(circled in yellow); the theme of knowledge and its connection with justice (circled in purple); and the clima (circled in green).



Figure 48. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Sun rules Leo 'chapter' of the Salone fresco images. *Image:* D.Gunzburg.

The Moon rules Cancer

A foldout of the images for this ‘chapter’ can be found on page 110.

Table 6: The 8 columns of the Moon ‘chapter’, South Wall, using Barzon numbering and collating image designations.			
Image	Barzon (1924)	Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000) C: constellation; Z: influence of zodiac sign; P: influence of planet; M: occupation of the month; NI: a figure they are unable to interpret; W: a winged figure; R: a religious scene.	Rigobello and Autizi (2008)
34A	Rural occupation?	? (M)	Scything grass.
34B	The month of June.		
34C	A bearer of sheaves and corn.	Harvest. (M)	Harvest
35A	<i>(In 1924 this image was damaged).</i>	? (NI)	
35B	Small heads of angels?	Heads of angels?	Heads of angels – Duplicity.
35C	Grain-bearer.	Grain-bearer (M)	Grain-bearer.
36A	<i>(In 1924 this image was damaged).</i>	? (NI)	Eastern (oriental) architecture.
36B	?	? (NI)	Pairs (of people) back- to-back.
36C	Swimming.	Water. (P)	A figure that swims.
37A	Constellation of The Centaur.	Alpha Centauri. (C)	Alpha Centauri.
37B	Cancer		
37C	Navigation.	? (P)	A boat with sailors.
38A	A woman standing.	? (NI)	A woman with a spindle.
38B	A winged spirit.	Spirit of water.	Spirit of water.
38C	Green trees.	Trees in bloom. (M)	Fruit trees.
39A		? (NI)	?
39BC	The Moon		
40A	<i>(In 1924 this image was damaged).</i>	? (NI)	A grazing bull.
40B	A young man on horseback.	Youthful practice, horse riding. (P)	A young person galloping.
40C	Travellers.	Travel. (P)	Travellers.
41A	?	? (NI)	Male figures.
41BC	The apostle S.Matteo (Saint Matthew)?		

The Top Register of Constellation Images for the Moon rules Cancer

The constellation images along the top register at the end of the south wall begin with image 37A (Fig.50), designated by scholars in Table 6 as ‘The Centaur’ and ‘Alpha Centauri’.



Figure 49. The image at 37A of what appears to be a centaur carrying a branch, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The Centaur is a southern constellation and it rises briefly above the horizon after sun has set before it, too, sets (Fig.55). Furthermore its brightest star Alpha Centauri or Toliman, in the tip of the right foot of the Centaur, is never visible at this latitude. A stronger suggestion is the constellation Sagittarius the Archer, which rises on the eastern horizon after the sun has set and continues to be visible throughout the night.

Scholars in Table 5 described image 38A (Fig.51), a woman with her right arm raised as if holding something in it and holding a staff in her left hand, as ‘a woman standing’ and ‘a woman with a spindle’. The constellation Virgo the Maiden is generally depicted as a woman holding a palm branch in her right arm and a wheat sheaf in her left hand. In the sky over Padua after the sun has set, the constellation Virgo reaches culmination, the highest point along the ecliptic.



Figure 50. The image at 38A of a woman holding a staff in her left hand, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 5 described image 40A (Fig.53), an unyoked bull in a ploughed field next to the wheels of a cart, as ‘a grazing bull’. Richard Hinckley Allen noted that one of the names for the constellation Auriga, the Charioteer, was the Ploughman with his Oxen.⁵¹ In the sky after the sun has set, the constellation Auriga, and its brightest star Capella, is visible along the horizon. If this is the case, one can relook at the damaged image to the left of it at 39A (Fig.52). It is possible to see within this image what may be the head and body of a bird, possibly a swan. Accordingly this may have been referring to the constellation Cygnus the Swan, which as a summer constellation, would have been visible.



(Left) Figure 51. The image at 39A, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 52. The image at 40A of an unyoked bull in a ploughed field next to the wheels of a cart, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

⁵¹ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.85.

Scholars in Table 6 described image 41A (Fig.54), two men seated side by side on rocky terrain, one facing forward and dressed in a simple sleeveless brown undertunic with a tall mitre-shaped chaperon, the other naked, with long grey hair and full beard, turned to one side and reading, as ‘male figures’. The constellation setting in the west after the sun has set along the ecliptic is Gemini, The Twins (Fig.57). Allen noted that ‘the conception of a sky couple for these stars has been universal from remote antiquity’ and although there are many variations within the mythology of cultures, they remained Twins, devoted to each other.⁵²



Figure 53. The image at 41A of two male figures seated side by side, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

⁵² Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, pp.222-229.

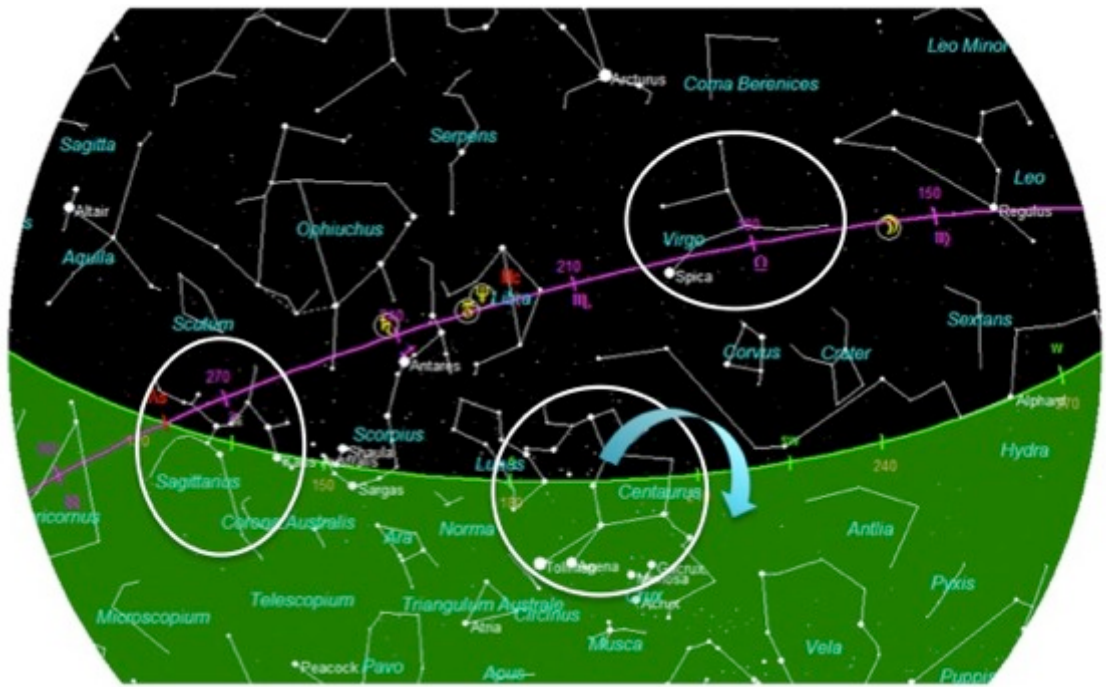


Figure 54. Sky map for sunset Cancer Ingress June 1309 OS, showing the constellations from left: Sagittarius the Archer rising in the east along the ecliptic, the constellation Centuarus about to set along the horizon, described by the blue arrow, and the constellation Virgo culminating along the ecliptic overhead, all ringed in white. The black area represents the night sky and the green area represents the constellations that have set or are never seen below the horizon. The pink line is the line of the ecliptic.

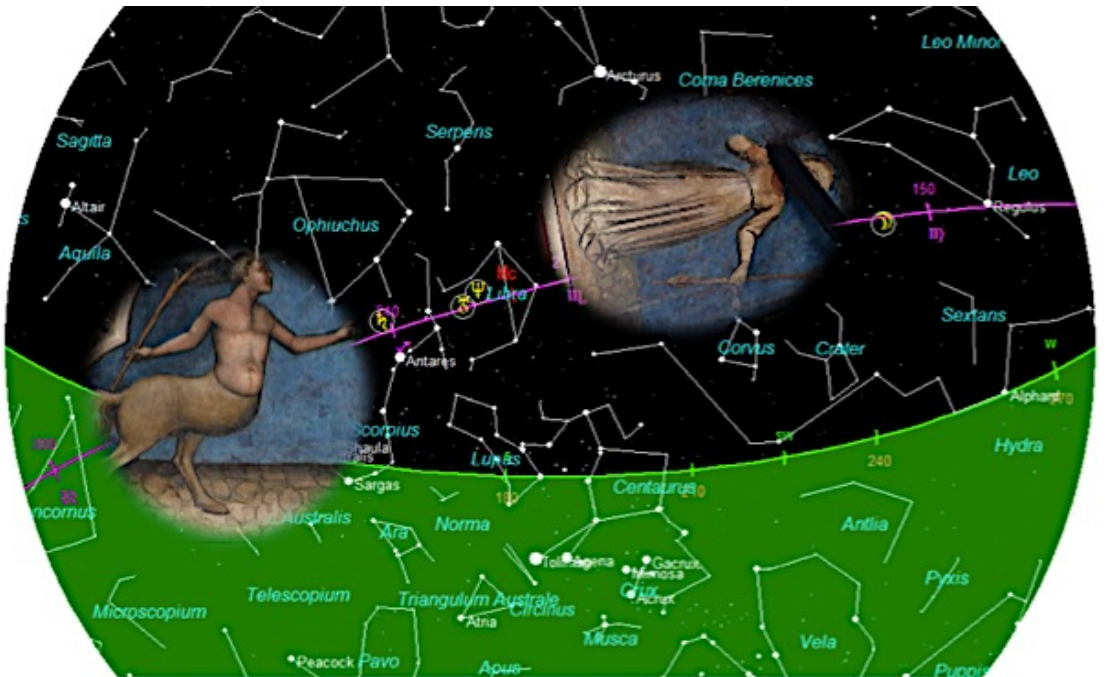


Figure 55. Sky map for sunset Cancer Ingress June 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of Sagittarius the Archer (37A) and Virgo the Virgin (38A).

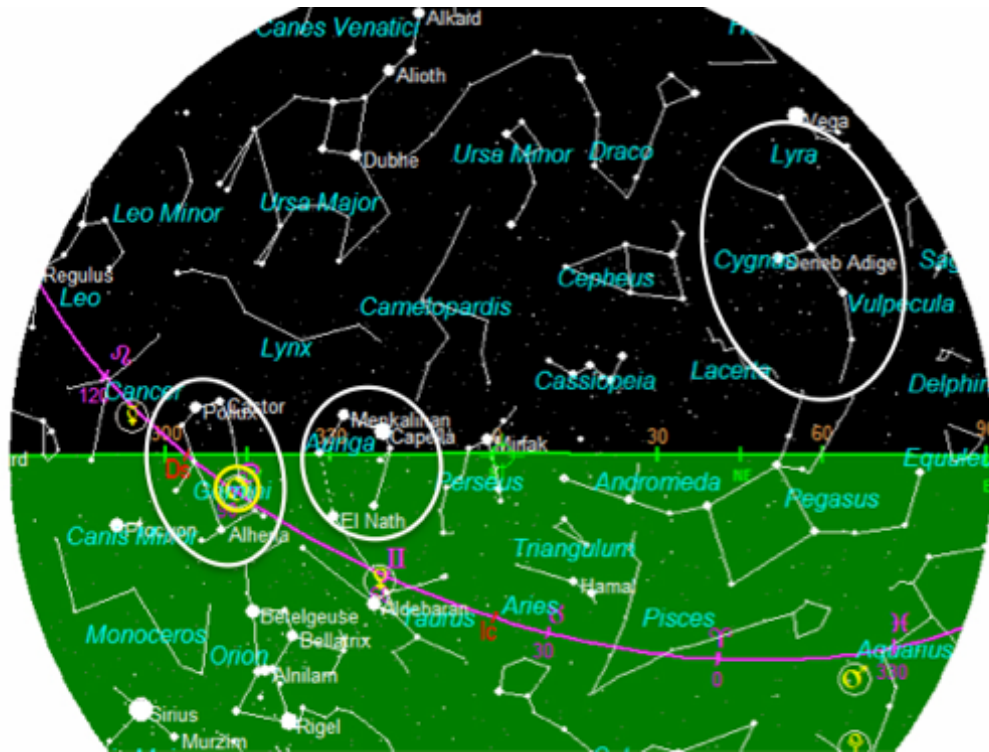


Figure 56. Sky map for sunset Cancer Ingress June 1309 OS, showing the constellations from left: the constellation Gemini setting in the west, ringed in white, with the sun having set and now below the horizon and ringed in yellow, Auriga the Charioteer with its bright alpha star Capella visible along the horizon, and the constellation of Cygnus the Swan, both ringed in white.



Figure 57. Sky map for sunset Cancer Ingress June 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of Gemini the Twins (41A), Auriga the Charioteer/ the Ploughman with his Oxen (40A) and Cygnus the Swan (39A).

The Middle and Lower Registers —

The Astrology Reflected in the Daily Lives of the Paduan Community for when the Moon was travelling through the zodiac sign of Cancer

Image 34B (Fig.59), a man bending to a crop of wheat and holding a scythe, is the Labour of the Month for June. Webster found that labours in Italy for June were illustrated by reaping and of July by threshing, yet in France, at a higher latitude labours of July are illustrated by reaping and by threshing in August. Webster pointed to the iconography of the reliefs of the twelfth-century architrave of the porch of San Zeno at Verona (restoration from earthquake begun in 1138 and completed in 1398) as exemplifying the unique characteristics of the Italian Labours of the Month. Verona's proximity to Padua (43 miles) would have afforded easy accessibility and viewing for Giotto, if he required a starting point for his own understanding of the activity. The parallel iconography of the Labour of the Month for July on the porch of San Zeno (Fig. 60) with that in the Salone at 34B (Fig.59) is apparent.



(Left) Figure 58. The image at 34B of the Labour of the Month of July, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo:* D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 59. The Labour of the Month of July, west porch, c.1135 Basilica di San Zeno Maggiore, Verona. *Photo:* Holly Hayes.



Figure 60. Image at 34A, of a man sheaving wheat, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo:* D.Gunzburg.

In this area of the scheme there are a number of images (34A, 34B, 34C and 35C) that represent activities connected with the harvest. Scholars in Table 6 described image 34A (Fig.61) as a ‘rural occupation’ or ‘scything grass’ and whilst the image has sustained damage, there is enough of it left to suggest that this is a man in the act of sheaving wheat. Thus one could suggest that these images focused around the Labour of the Month embellish the story of harvest at this time of the year: scything the wheat, sheaving it, then carrying it away for sale or storage (Fig. 62).

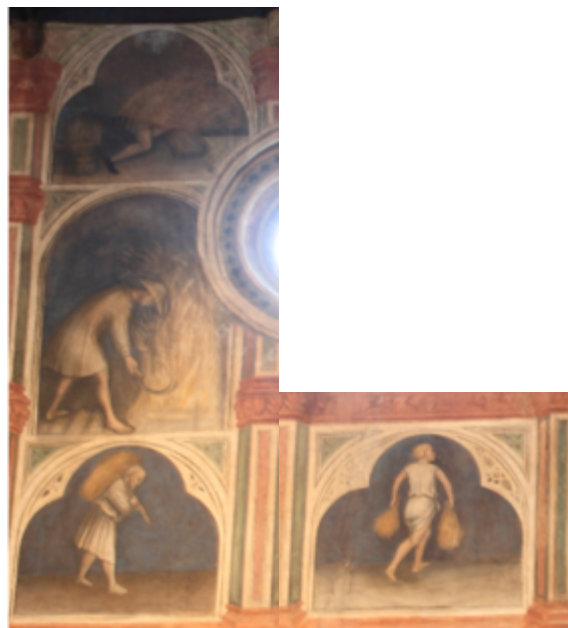


Figure 61. Images at 34A, 34B, 34C and 35C, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo:* D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 62. The image at 36A of what appears to be Central Asian architecture, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 63. Samanid Mausoleum, Bukhara, Uzbekistan. Image: Dmitriy A. Pitirimov, *Wikimedia Commons*.

Scholars in Table 6 described image 36A (Fig.63), a triple domed machicolated edifice, as ‘eastern (oriental) architecture’. Elisabetta Antoniazzi Rossi defined this as ‘an edifice inspired by the mausoleum of Ismail the Samanide at Bukhara in Uzbekistan’.⁵³ The Samanid mausoleum, located in the historical urban centre of the city of Bukhara, and built between 892 and 943, was the final resting place of Ismail Samani, a powerful and influential amir of the Samanid dynasty, one of the Persian dynasty to rule in Central Asia, which held the city in the ninth and tenth centuries, and was considered to be one of the most revered sights of Central Asian architecture. Ibn Ezra noted that ‘in her [the Moon’s] share of the regions is the seventh, which is the limit of the inhabitable world’⁵⁴ and qualified this as ‘the seventh, and the land of Armenia Minor which is beyond Muqan and Adrianan, and eastern Kourassa, and Tazin, and parts of Africa, and Balkh.’⁵⁵ Thus this image 36A may have been chosen for its distinctive and easily-recognised architecture in order to represent the seventh clima.

Ibn Ezra further observed that the Moon ruled ‘sailors, travellers, messengers, and servants’ and that ‘in her share are the seas, the rivers, the ponds’, as well as ‘river willows and peach trees’,⁵⁶ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of the Moon that, ‘of activities, the post, messages,

⁵³ Elisabetta Antoniazzi Rossi, ed. *Il Palazzo della Ragione a Padova*, Guide Skira. Milano: Skira, 2007, p.45.

⁵⁴ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.103.

⁵⁵ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.37.

⁵⁶ ibn Ezra, ‘The Beginning of Wisdom’, p.103.

disclosure, opening up of lands, and activities concerning water according to its good and its bad fortune'.⁵⁷ This may explain the activities of images 36C (Fig.65), 37C (Fig.66), 38C (Fig.67), 40B (Fig.68) and 40C (Fig.69) whilst at the same time acknowledging that the details of these images require much further research at a later time.



(Left) Figure 64. The image at 36C of a naked person lying face down in water, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 65. The image at 37C of a man in a boat with two crewmen hoisting the sail, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 66. The image at 38C of a three trees, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Centre) Figure 67. The image at 40B of a rider on a white horse carrying what appears to be some sort of vegetation, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 68. The image at 40C of a three travellers, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

⁵⁷ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.83.



Figure 69. The image at 39BC of the Moon in its rulership of the zodiac sign of Cancer, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The image of the Moon at 39BC (Fig.70), the other luminary in the sky, is depicted as a crowned woman seated on a four-wheeled chariot dressed in a green gown with a white cloak with a red lining wrapped loosely around her waist. In her right hand she holds an orb with a coifed face depicted on it, which also resembles a crescent moon. In her left hand she holds a tree. She has rays to indicate she is a luminary and is seated on a four-wheeled chariot to emphasise the only way the moon was seen to travel in the sky, which was by direct motion. In medieval cosmology the Moon was the planet that combined and mixed the energies of the other planets as they filtered down through the spheres, hence ibn Ezra wrote that the Moon ‘corrupts all bodies and putrefies them. When she is opposite the Sun, she will ripen all fruits, and in her share is the power of productivity.’⁵⁸ One can suggest that the productivity and ripening are symbolised by the green gown and the tree, and that the white cloak may symbolise the light the moon reflects from the sun. Whilst it is speculative, since the moon rules mothers,⁵⁹ one can also suggest the possibility that the red lining to the white cloak may even be symbolic of menstrual blood. This however, requires much further research to which I will return.

⁵⁸ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.103.

⁵⁹ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.83.



Figure 70. The image at 36B, possibly of the eight contemporary influential men of the Commune, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Scholars in Table 6 described image 36B (Fig.71) as ‘pairs (of people) back to back’. The image is not immediately recognisable as a quality of the Moon. Al-Qabīṣī wrote that the Moon indicated ‘authority’⁶⁰ and it may be that this image represented the eight influential men of the Commune at the time the Salone was being painted /repainted.



Figure 71. The image at 41BC of (left) the saint along the south wall completing the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’ and (right) a close up detail of the words written on the wall behind him, *Jacobus Minor*, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

⁶⁰ Al-Qabīṣī wrote that the Moon indicated ‘authority when it has a dignity in respect to one <of the places> indicating authority and is fortunate and has a good aspect in respect to the Sun’. Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.83.

The apostle at 41BC – St James the Less

The apostle at 41BC (Fig.72) is depicted as a young beardless man with short blond hair wearing a green round-necked tunic edged in gold under an orange mantle. The words ‘Iacobus Minor’ are written behind him. *The Golden Legend* noted that James the Less was called ‘brother of the Lord’ because he was said to look so much like Christ that he was often mistaken for him.⁶¹ This image at 41BC does not offer a visual coherence with the image of Christ on the Cross at image 22A, more of which will be written in chapter 8. *The Golden Legend* offered other explanations for the term ‘brother’, however, such as the Jewish tradition of calling two males related by blood ‘brother’, or the fact that James the Less, also known as James the Just, possessed extraordinary righteousness, which resulted in him being ordained bishop of Jerusalem above all the other apostles.⁶² The image at 41BC is consistent with that of St James the Less in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Appendix 5), the young beardless apostle with a square face with short gold-brown hair, wearing a red-green mantle over a red-green tunic.

Visual Summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean (35B and 38B), in addition to the four anchor points of the Labour of the month (34B), the zodiac sign of Cancer the Crab (37B), the image of the Moon in its rulership of Cancer (39BC) and the saint of the chapter (41BC), a visual summary of this Moon ‘chapter’ (Fig.73) shows the following themes emerging: the skymap images for sunset at the Cancer ingress (circled in blue); the image of the Labour of the Month and associated labours (circled in red); the theme of ‘sailors, travelers, messengers, and servants’ (circled in pink); and the clima (circled in green).

⁶¹ de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, p.125.

⁶² de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, pp.125-126.

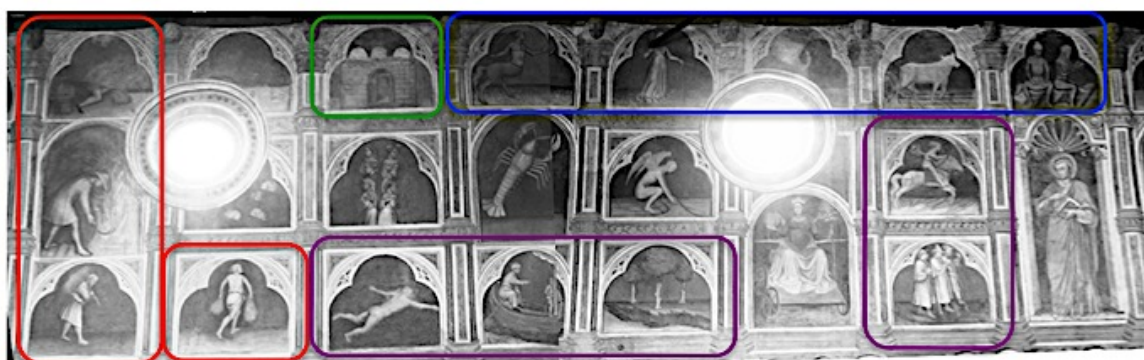


Figure 72. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images. *Image:* D.Gunzburg.

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on an examination of the Sun and the Moon ‘chapters’ of the Salone fresco images. It surveyed the top register of constellation images and evaluated the celestial cartography that was described by those fresco images. In so doing, it found a fit for the images in the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’ in the sky map for pre-dawn for the Leo Ingress, and for the images in the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’ in the sky map for sunset for the Cancer Ingress. The themes represented in the middle and lower registers for the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’ were those connecting fountains and lions, and the value and necessity of water at that time of the year. Another theme considered the labours of separating the wheat from the chaff after harvest. A further theme was that of medicine and ways of handling illness that were hot, dry, and visible, the destructive summer heat being the time for fevers. This revealed a connection with medical astrology. Balancing this was a theme of arguments and disputations regarding knowledge and what I contend is the rationalist approach to astrology, expressed by the (possible) image of Averroës. The themes represented in the middle and lower registers for the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’ were the labours of scything the wheat, sheaving it, and carrying it away for sale or storage. Water and travel also featured as images in this ‘chapter’ of the wall.

The next chapter examines the Mercury rules Gemini ‘chapter’ and the Mercury rules Virgo ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images.

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