

Chapter 7

Saturn rules Capricorn and Saturn rules Aquarius

Introduction

Having investigated the parts of the wall described by the two luminaries, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Jupiter, this chapter considers the Salone fresco images connected with the ‘chapters’ of Saturn. 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.

In considering these qualities of Saturn defined by Ibn Ezra and al-Qabīṣī, one would anticipate seeing in the narrative of the images in the two ‘chapters’ centred on Saturn commonalties that apply to the planet and differences that are expressed in its rulerships of Capricorn (the night sign) and Aquarius (the day sign).



Figure 1. Aerial view of the Palazzo della Ragione from Google Earth showing the fresco scheme of the first floor Salone and its division into ‘chapters’ by rulership.

The Saturn ‘chapters’ – An Anomaly

As can be seen from Figure 1, the Saturn ‘chapters’ cover the end of the north wall and the beginning of the east wall. Since Saturn rules two signs — Capricorn and Aquarius — the placement of images on the walls between one sign and the next means they form a continuous run and it becomes clear that the artist and his advisors have painted the scheme slightly differently to the other ‘chapters’ which, in their day and night rulerships, have all been separated by other planetary ‘chapters’. In the Saturn ‘chapters’ the image for the planet Saturn, image 94B (Fig.2), and the image for the saint, image 95C (Fig.3) are shared across both ‘chapters’. The Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ contains an image for the Labour of the Month (89B), an image for the zodiac sign of Capricorn the Goat (91B), an image for the planet Saturn (94B), and an image for the saint (95BC). The Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’, however, contains only an image for the Labour of the Month of January (96B) and an image for the zodiac sign of Aquarius the Water Bearer (101B). In terms of position within the ‘chapter’ and considering the size of the square in which a planetary image has been depicted in other ‘chapters’, the place where one would anticipate an image for the planet Saturn in its rulership of Aquarius would be at image 99B, and yet it is filled with a young angel (Fig.4). The Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’ (columns 96–103) is also unique in that, within this sequence of images, there are no building windows. This may be coincidental, or it may have been architecture directly planned by the artist to emphasise that this is the dark time of the year in the northern hemisphere.

Before looking at these meanings of Saturn and how that is being expressed in the imagery, there is more to say with regard to the image of the young angel at 99B (Fig.4) nimbed and with an aureole (a glory), with shoulder length blonde hair parted in the centre and wearing a long-sleeved red tunic edged in yellow under a yellow mantle lined in grey. His spread wings are parti-coloured red and blue. In his right hand he holds a bishop’s crosier, the crook terminating in a spray of leaves, and in his left hand he holds a chapel. He stands in contrapposto pose facing the viewer, yet gazing into the distance to the viewer’s left. In the Salone there is another image in which a rayed planet holds a building and this is Mars in its rulership of Aries, discussed in chapter 5, holding a crenelated civic structure at image 8B (Fig.5).



(Left) Figure 2. Image 94B of the planet Saturn, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 3. Image 95BC of the saint for the Saturn rules Capricorn and Saturn rules Aquarius 'chapters', bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



Figure 4. Image 99B of a nimbed and rayed angel holding a bishop's crosier and a model of a chapel, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



Figure 5. Image 8B of the planet Mars holding a crenelated building, Mars rules Aries ‘chapter’, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Three other images in the Salone depict churches or chapels as part of the internal narrative of the illustration: image 16C (Fig.6), a pilgrim walking up a rocky path to a building that may be a chapel; image 82B (Fig.7), a friar holding a falcon on a rocky outcrop near a red stone church or chapel; and image 75B (Figs. 8 and 9), a naked woman in the river in front of a double-arched bridge beyond which can be seen the castle and tower of a hilltop village, and possibly a church with a cross.



(Left) Figure 6. Image 16C of a man who may be a pilgrim walking up a rocky path to a building that may be a chapel, bottom register, south wall, Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

(Right) Figure 7. Image 82B of a friar holding a falcon who stands on a rocky outcrop behind which is red stone church, Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



Figure 8. Image 75B (*left*) of a naked woman in the river in front of a double-arched bridge beyond which can be seen the castle and tower of a hilltop village, possibly a church with a cross, and (*right*) detail of church, Mars rules Scorpio Taurus ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

Of these, the building in image 82B (Fig.7) most resembles the one held by the angel in image 99B, thus the building in 99B may simply be a depiction of generic ‘chapel’ or ‘church’. It is tempting, however, to see the distinctive red-brick, stand-alone shape of the chapel held by the angel as the Arena Chapel (Fig.9), built by Enrico Scrovegni, the owner and commissioning patron, and clearly portrayed on the interior of the chapel’s west wall (Fig.10). At the time Giotto was painting both the Arena Chapel frescoes and the Salone frescoes the Arena Chapel was not a stand-alone chapel (Fig.11). Nevertheless that is how Enrico Scrovegni chose to have it portrayed in the Arena Chapel and thus it is worth considering the link, if any, between the Palazzo della Ragione and the Arena Chapel via Enrico Scrovegni.



(*Left*) Figure 9. Exterior Arena Chapel, Padua, Italy. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(*Right*) Figure 10. Giotto di Bondone (c.1267-1337), *Life of Christ, Last Judgement*, c.1302–1305, Arena Chapel, Padua. Detail of the model of the Arena Chapel being offered by the donor, Enrico Scrovegni, to the Virgin Mary, interior of the west wall of the Arena Chapel. Photo: ARTstor.

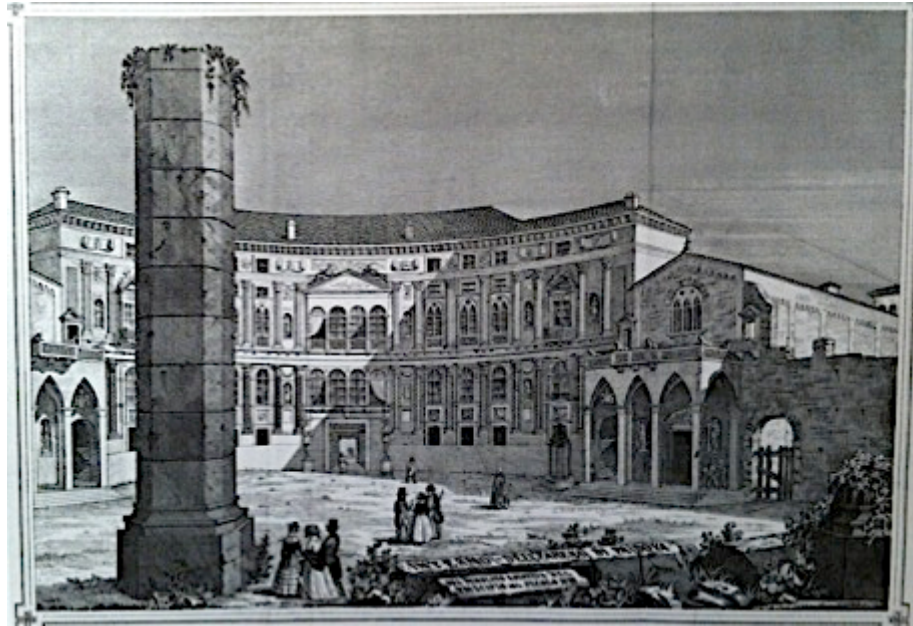


Figure 11. Scrovegni Palace, with the Arena Chapel visible on the right. From *Cenni storici sulle famiglie di Padova*, ed. Alessandro de Marchi (Padua, 1842), plate 25. Reprinted in: Derbes, Anne, and Mark Sandona. *The Usurer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008, p.4.

A Paduan statute from 1278 described the civic expression of the Feast of the Annunciation, the *fèsta* and *sacra rappresentazione* of the Annunciation. It began in two places: first, in the chapel of the Palazzo della Ragione, where two small boys were ceremoniously dressed as the Virgin, and the Angel Gabriel, who was winged and carrying a lily; second, at the Duomo, where the bishop of Padua met with the secular and regular clergy of the city, and the *capitano del popolo* and then processed with crosses from the Duomo to the chapel of the Palazzo della Ragione to meet up with the two small boys.¹ Amidst a crowd led by trumpeters, and now swollen in size with the addition of the *podestà*, knights, judges, doctors, notable citizens of Padua, and officials from the goldsmiths' and merchants' guilds, the two boys were then carried to the Arena Chapel on elaborately adorned chairs. The *sacra rappresentazione* took place in the open air in front of the Arena Chapel, the Angel Gabriel saluting Mary and both of them, it is thought, greeting the bishop of Padua.² This was a sumptuous annual civic religious ritual, and benefactors were required to maintain the clothing and props of the *fèsta*, yet the 1278 statute stipulated that the commune, guilds, and *podestà* were only to cover the

¹ Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008), pp.33-34.

² Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p.34.

costs of the trumpeters and security. The cathedral chapter financed the *sacra rappresentazione*.³

Enrico Scrovegni had systematically linked the Arena Chapel with the Feast of the Annunciation via its dedication ceremony in 1303, and its consecration ceremony performed on the Virgin's feast day in 1305. Such actions Laura Jacobus described as Enrico's 'constant ambition to build a church of more than domestic or local significance.'⁴ A papal bull of 1 March 1306 encouraged people to visit the Arena Chapel on the Feast of the Annunciation, and offered Enrico Scrovegni the opportunity to create a seamless weave between the ritual procession and the cult event of the *fèsta* and the chapel. In 1309, documents listed Enrico Scrovegni as the *fèsta*'s main financial backer.⁵ Jacobus interpreted this behaviour as Enrico 'buying his way into the *fèsta*'.⁶ Although it is speculation, this date is too coincidental with the dates of the painting of the Salone fresco scheme to not suggest the possibility that Enrico may also have been 'buying his way' into the Salone as a donor.

The idea of donors, such as Paduan Guilds, contributing to the payment of the images in the Salone and in turn having their Guilds portrayed within these three registers of the Salone, in ways similar to the portrayal of the trades in the stained glass windows of Chartres Cathedral, reveals a fruitful path for future investigation, since the pursuit of it falls outside the sphere of this thesis. Nevertheless if the building rendered in the hand of the angel at image 99B (Fig.4) *was* a representation of the Arena Chapel, one could argue that it was a specific type of donor portrait where the chapel was substituted for the man. Additionally the image is painted in the north-east corner of the Salone, the corner that is closest physically to the Arena Chapel, and oriented towards the direction of the chapel (Fig.12).

³ Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p.34.

⁴ Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p.33.

⁵ Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p.xi.

⁶ Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p.35.

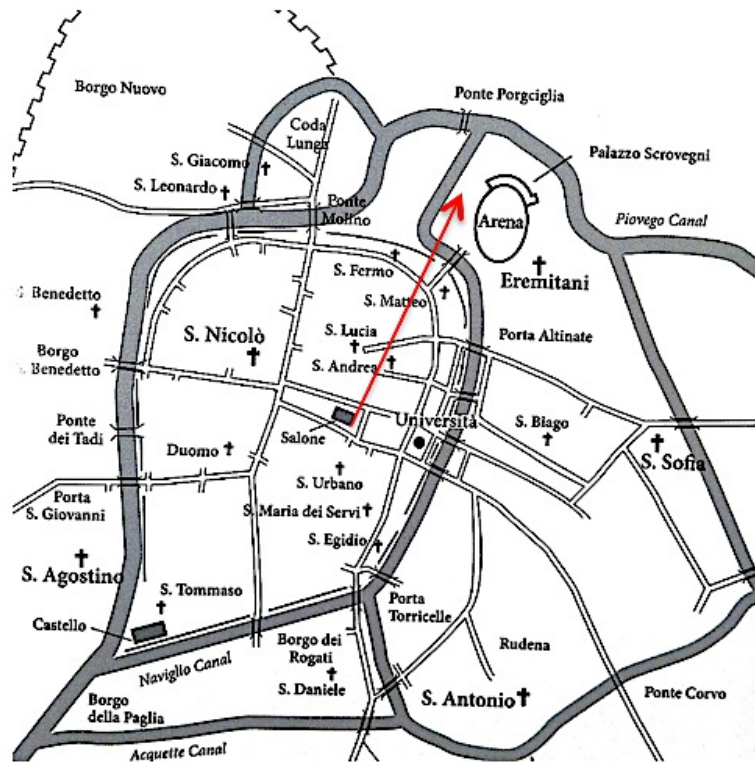


Figure 12. Map of Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405, showing the orientation of the Palazzo della Ragione in relation to the Arena Chapel. Map adapted from Benjamin G. Kohl and published in Derbes, Anne, and Mark Sandona. *The Usurer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008, p.3.

Building on this suggestion, I also contend that the angel in image 99B (Fig.4) is the Angel Gabriel, who featured, through one of the small boys dressed up for the part, in the *fèsta*. Although the image depicts an angel holding a crosier, an attribute of St Scholastica, as well as being the pastoral staff carried by a bishop or head of church, the volute terminates in three leaves (Fig.13), one of the attributes of Gabriel referring to the Tree of Life in Paradise.⁷ In two other crosiers of a slightly earlier time period, both depicting scenes of the Annunciation, one of the volutes contains a similar leafy branch (Fig.14), and the other depicts the archangel Gabriel holding a sceptre shaped like a lily (Fig.15).

⁷ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art*, trans. Janet Seligman, vol. 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), p.40.



Figure 13. Detail of image 99B of the bishop's crosier with the fleur-de-lys, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



(*Left*) Figure 14. Crosier with the Annunciation. The volute of this crosier resembles a dragon with a long curving neck covered with blue enamel scales, its head biting at a leafy branch, on either side of which stand the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel in a scene of the Annunciation, champlevé enamel on copper with gilding and semiprecious stones, 28.8 x 15 x 7.1 cm 28.8 x 15 x 7.1 cm, Limoges, France. *Image: The Walters Art Museum.*

(*Right*) Figure 15. Crosier with the Annunciation, The archangel Gabriel holds a sceptre shaped like a lily, champlevé enamel on gilt copper, c. 1260-1290. 33 x 11.5 x 7 cm, France, *Image: The Walters Art Museum.*

If this image at 99B is the Angel Gabriel, then it might also be read as a heavenly blessing for Enrico. The Arena Chapel was open to the public and the general populace was encouraged to visit the Chapel on all four annual Marian Feasts. The Salone was also open to the public. Since the thirteenth century, statutes instructed that the four main doors into the Salone had to remain open at all times (*Hostia vero domus potestatis pateant*).⁸

⁸ A. Gloria, *Statuti del Comune di Padova dal secolo XII all'anno 1285* (Padua 1873), p.27. The doors into the Salone and the great exterior staircases that led up to them were accessed from the squares to the north and south of the building.

Viewers familiar with the image on the west wall of the Arena Chapel of Enrico offering the small painted version of the chapel to the Virgin Mary may then have read image 99B as the completion of the narrative: an acceptance and blessing of Enrico's chapel by the Angel Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation and in glory, connected with the Virgin Mary.

Saturn rules Capricorn

A foldout of the images for this 'chapter' can be found on page 321.

Table 15: The 8 columns of the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter', North 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)
88A	The constellation of The Crown.	Crown. (C)	Crown.
88B*	School.	Instruction. (P)	Instruction.
88C*	Reconciliation.	Reconciliation. (P)	Reconciliation.
<i>* 88B and 88C are part of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius 'chapter'.</i>			
89A	The constellation of The Eagle.	Eagle. (C)	Eagle.
89B	The month of December.		
89C	A man who throws firewood on a fire.	Collection of wood. (M)	Man who feeds the fire.
90A	Hunter with a falcon.	Bird-catching. (M)	Hunter with a falcon.
90B	Scene of cruelty.	Infanticide. (P)	Infanticide.
90C	Angel.	? (W)	Angel.
91A	The constellation of the Serpent.	Serpent. (C)	Serpent.
91B	The zodiac sign of Capricorn.		
91C	Mendicant.	Mendicant. (P)	Pilgrim.
92A	Hunting.	Hunting. (M)	Fowling.
92B	Peasant.	Rustic scene. (P)	Waggoner.
92C	A man who hoes.	A person who hoes. (P)	A man who hoes.
93A	Smith.	Mechanical arts. (P)	Smith.
93B	?	? (NI)	A man who hoes.
93C	Bust.	? (P)	Man in a cave.
94A	A shameless woman.	The lovers. (Z)	The lovers.
94B	The planet Saturn.		
94C	Sadness.	Sadness. (P)	A man who reads.
95A	A solitary place.	Loneliness. (P)	A barren mountain.
95BC	The apostle Saint Peter.		

The Top Register of Constellation Images for Saturn rules Capricorn

Scholars in Table 15 described the images along this top register of the Salone as follows: image 88A (Fig.16) as the constellation of The Crown; image 89A (Fig.17) as the constellation of the Eagle; image 90A (Fig.18) as a hunter with a falcon; image 91A (Fig.19) as the constellation of the Serpent; and image 94A (Fig.22) as a shameless woman, or the lovers.

The constellations visible in the sky after sunset on a clear night in Padua (Fig.23) reveal the following: Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown (correlating with image 88A), visible along the horizon to the north west; the constellation of the Eagle (correlating with image 89A), seen in the sky vertically above the point on the horizon where the sun has set in the west; a young boy with swarthy-skin wearing a white turban on his head, a red tabard with dagged hems and edged in white around the neck, a broad black belt and green soled hose is, I suggest, the constellation Boötes whose bright alpha star, Arcturus, ‘the star between the thighs’,⁹ had already set, thus leaving the top half of the constellation image visible as a seated figure (correlating with image 90A). As discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 6, the constellation Boötes is classically portrayed as a young man equipped with either weapons of the hunt or with agricultural implements.¹⁰ I suggest this is another representation of Boötes whose weapon of the hunt is the falcon.

Image 91A (Fig.19) is of a coiled serpent. There are several constellations that contain serpents in the sky: Draco the dragon, circling the North Pole; the Hydra with the Raven and the Chalice on her back; and Ophiuchus the Serpent Holder. Ptolemy distinguished them as Draco the big snake, Hydra the water snake, and Serpens, which translates literally from the Greek Οφιούχος as ‘of the snake of the snake-holder’.¹¹ Two images have already been proposed for Draco in the top register of constellation images in the Salone — image 63A along the north wall in the Venus rules Libra ‘chapter’, and image 109A along the east wall in the Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’ — and one for the Hydra — image 46A in the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’. Whilst this image at 91A could represent

⁹ Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, trans. G. J. Toomer (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p.347.

¹⁰ 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.129.

¹¹ Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, p.355.

Draco, its coiled shape suggests instead the serpent of the constellation Ophiuchus the Serpent Holder. Aratus described this constellation as ‘His shoulders shimmer/ Even at mid-month moon’ meaning the stars could be seen even when the moon was full and flooding the sky with light, and continued that ‘His hands grapple the Snake that binds his waist’,¹² suggesting a coiled snake. The Greeks knew Ophiuchus as Serpentarius the Healer, or Asclepius, the Greek deity of healing and son of the sun god, Apollo. Asclepius was educated in the art of healing from the centaur Chiron, who taught him how to use herbs to treat ailments and how to work with oracular serpents as a way of knowing which curative plants to pick. As a result, Asclepius’ symbol became the snake coiled around a stick, today used to represent modern western medicine. Asclepius was the ship’s surgeon on the voyage of the Argonauts and he became so skilled that he could even bring the dead back to life. When Hades complained that his underworld domain would eventually become depopulated, Asclepius was killed. Out of compassion Zeus placed the great healer and his serpent in the sky as Ophiuchus.¹³

The constellation Ophiuchus rises and sets with the sun at this time of the year, yet it is a large constellation which stretches north of the ecliptic from the head of Hercules (The Kneeler) down to the ecliptic near the constellation of Scorpio (Fig.23). Although Ptolemy separated the constellation into the Serpent Holder, and the head and tail of the Serpent, Hyginus (c.64 BCE – 17 CE) treated them as one constellation¹⁴ (Fig.20) and they have remained woven together in name ever since.¹⁵ I suggest therefore that the coiled nature of the serpent in image 91A (Fig.19) appears to be more in keeping with ‘the Snake that binds his waist’ than with either Draco or the Hydra.

¹² Aratus, *Phaenomena*, trans. Aaron Poochigian, Johns Hopkins New Translations from Antiquity (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p.3.

¹³ Gertrude and James Jobes, *Outer Space: Myths, Name Meanings, Calendars From the Emergence of History to the Present Day* (New York & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1964), p.213.

¹⁴ Caius Julius Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicum* (Venice: Ratdolt, 1485). Online at: http://www.lindahall.org/services/digital/sa_hyginus.shtml

¹⁵ Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p.297.



(Left) Figure 16. Image 88A of a crown, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 17. Image 89A of an eagle with her chicks, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 18. Image 90A, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 19. Image 91A, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

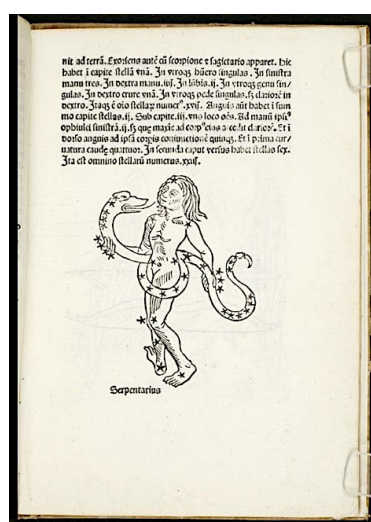


Figure 20. The 1485 Erhard Ratdolt publication of Caius Julius Hyginus' *Poeticon Astronomicon* showing (left) the page with Ophiuchus the Serpent Holder and (right) detail. Image: Linda Hall Library of Science, Engineering & Technology.

Moving onwards, image 94A (Fig.22) depicts two lovers on the lower half of the image and a courtesan in the top half of the image. When Barzon undertook his survey of these images in 1924, this image at 94A was over-painted with the image of the courtesan (Fig.21). The restoration of the Salone fresco images that occurred in 1963, as described in the Introduction, revealed the image of two lovers lying together on the ground. Barzon categorised the courtesan as ‘a shameless woman bound to abominable love and whom society then despised’ and declared that the sign of Capricorn favoured such inclination.¹⁶ Rigobello and Autizi stated that two naked lovers symbolised passion, and that since erotic scenes like this were rare in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the choice revealed the ideological freedom of the Salone frescoes.¹⁷ Yet a consideration of the sky after sunset reveals the constellation Gemini the Twins, rising in the east, oriented horizontally, just as the couple in image 94A are lying on the ground together (Figs. 25 and 26). Thus the sky map for the Capricorn Ingress at sunset reflects these five images from the top register of the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter.’



(Left) Figure 21. Image 94A as depicted in Antonio Barzon’s 1924 work, *Gli Affreschi Del Salone in Padova* of a courtesan.

(Right) Figure 22. Image 94A after restoration, revealing a pair of naked lovers lying on the ground, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

¹⁶ Antonio Barzon, *Gli Affreschi del Salone in Padova* (Padova: Libreria Gregoriana, 1924), p.177.

¹⁷ M. Beatrice Rigobello and Francesco Autizi, *Palazzo della Ragione di Padova. Simbologie degli astri e rappresentazioni del governo* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2008), p.209.

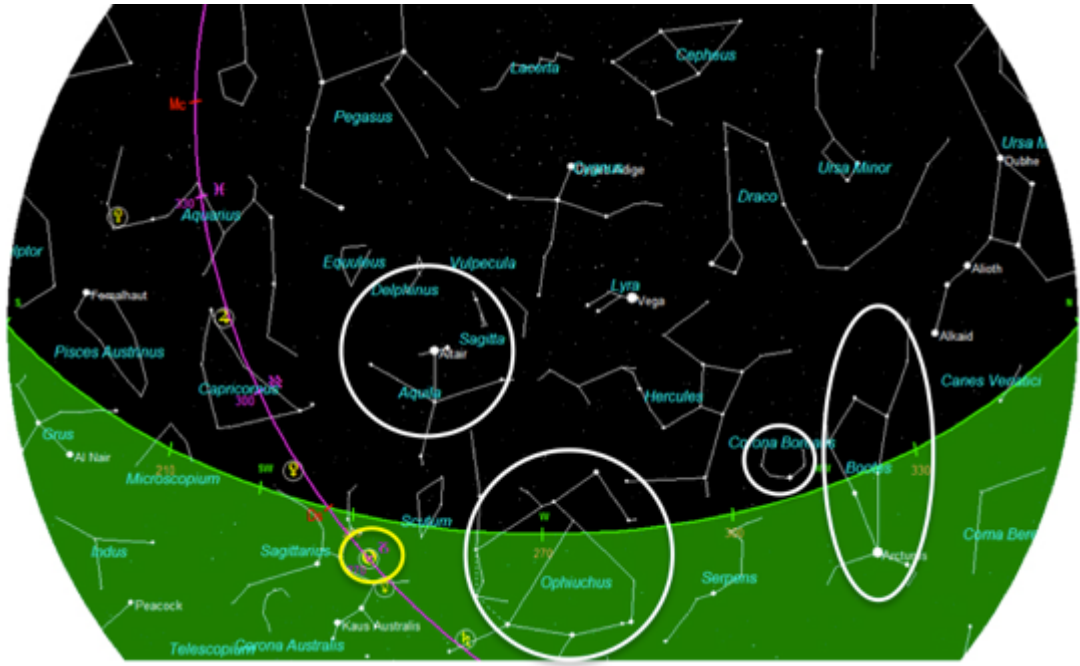


Figure 23. Sky map sunset west Capricorn Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations (from left) Aquila the Eagle vertically above the sun (ringed in yellow), Ophiuchus the Serpent Holder in the centre along the horizon, Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown, and Boötes the Hunter, all visible along the western horizon.



Figure 24. Sky map sunset west Capricorn Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of Aquila the Eagle (89A), Ophiuchus the Serpent Holder (91A), Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown (88A), and Boötes the Hunter (90A) all visible along the western horizon.

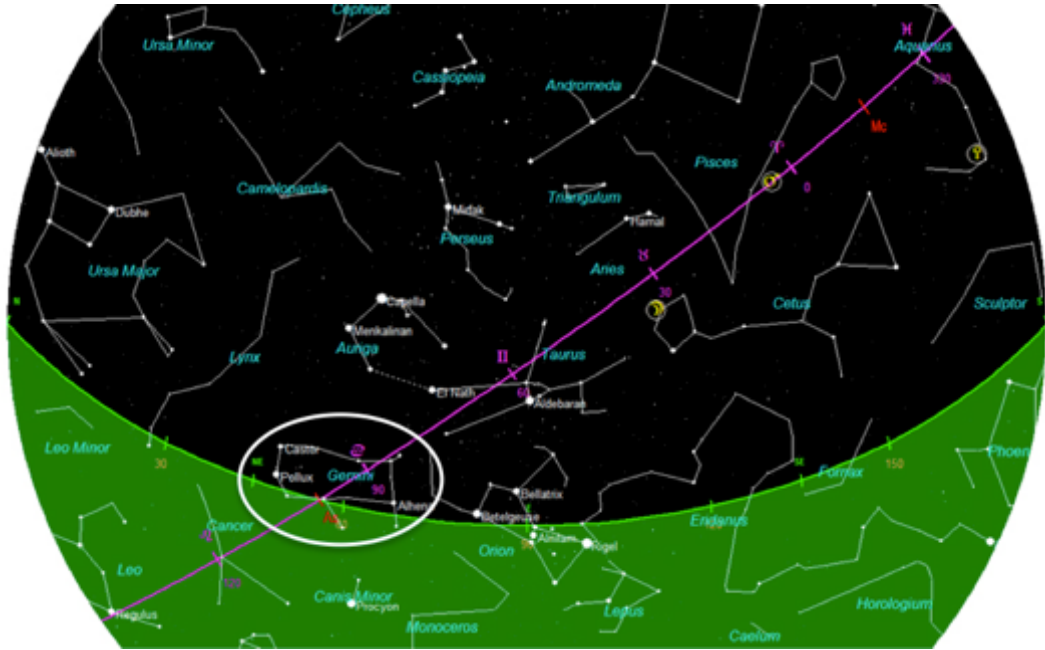


Figure 25. Sky map sunset east Capricorn Ingress 1309 OS with the constellation of Gemini the Twins visible along the eastern horizon.

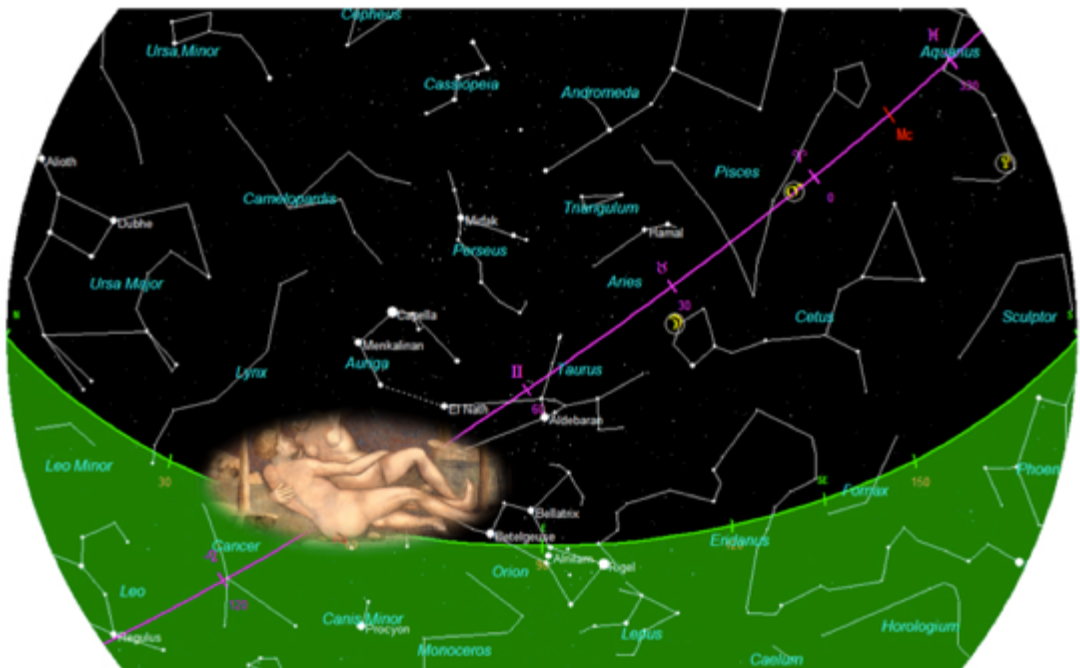


Figure 26. Sky map sunset east Capricorn Ingress 1309 OS showing the artist's impression of the sky and the correct orientation of Gemini the Twins (94A), visible rising along the eastern horizon.

**The Middle and Lower Registers —
The Astrology Reflected in the Daily Lives of the Paduan Community
for when Saturn was travelling through the zodiac sign of Capricorn**

Image 89B (Fig.27), a man in the act of disembowelling a hog hanging upside down over a wooden box to catch its blood, is the image for the Labour of the Month for December. A woman standing by his side holds a black bucket filled with the blood. At her feet is an earthenware pot. The theme of killing hogs is one that is commonly depicted for the Labour of the Month for December.



Figure 27. Image 89B of a man disembowelling a hog, symbolising the Month of December, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Also connected with this season is the peasant who cuts or gathers wood for the fires and image 89C (Fig.28), a man carrying a bundle of cut logs over his left shoulder and standing in front of a lit fire, is placed directly underneath the image of the man killing hogs, linking the two labours for the month of December.



Figure 28. Image 89C of a man carrying a bundle of cut wood over his shoulder to fuel the burning fire, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Ibn Ezra wrote that Saturn ruled ‘old people, and farmers and builders, ... ditch and grave diggers, and undertakers.’ These qualities are reflected in images 91C (Fig.29) ‘old people’, 92B (Fig.30) ‘farmers’, 92C (Fig.31) ‘grave diggers’, and 93B (Fig.32) ‘ditch diggers’.



(*Left*) Figure 29. Image 91C of an old man with a staff and a sack in the act of walking, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

(*Right*) Figure 30. Image 92B of a man in a cart driving a bull, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



(Left) Figure 31. Image 92C of a gravedigger, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 32. Image 93B of a man digging a ditch, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 33. Image 93A of a man at a forge, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 34. Image 71B of two men smithing in a forge, the Mars rules Scorpio 'chapter', middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

Image 93A (Fig.33), a man wearing a white sack hat, a red tunic, and grey soled shoes, hammering a long thin blade on the anvil, appears in the constellation register, yet there is no constellation that refers to a forge or blacksmith. A forge was depicted at image 71B (Fig.34) in the Mars rules Scorpio 'chapter', linked with professions that worked metal. Thus a more likely suggestion for image 93A is that it depicts Ibn Ezra's description of the metals ruled by Saturn, 'In his share of the metals of the earth are black lead and rusty iron, and black stones, and those that are blue and black, and the magnet stone, and every heavy black rock' which the blacksmith then used to fabricate implements.



Figure 35. Image 90B of a man leaving a swaddled child in the forest, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving to image 90B (Fig.35), scholars in Table 15 described this as ‘a scene of cruelty’ and ‘infanticide’. Infanticide was depicted in image 7A (Mars rules Aries ‘chapter’). Image 90B, a well-dressed man with a grey chin curtain beard, wearing a white draped headdress and a white tunic, kneeling next to his white horse with red reins and a red saddle blanket, and brown hound, does not portray the same violence. Indeed the man appears to place the swaddled baby onto the forest floor with care. Rather than representing infanticide, therefore, I suggest this image 90B portrays a man in the act of offering a child up to its fate via *expositio*, a term John Eastburn Boswell clarified as meaning ‘putting out’ or ‘offering’, and which he identified as ‘the most widespread form of abandonment in the ancient world.’¹⁸ Boswell noted that *expositio* was a process that enabled ancient and medieval families ways of adjusting the size and balance of their family structures, yet it is one that is barely recognised by scholars as occurring in medieval Europe.¹⁹ As Boswell amplified, the child was offered up

to the kindness of strangers, to the mercy of the gods, to public welfare, to a better fate (than the natal parent could offer), or simply to his chances.

Expositio provided a means of removing a child from the family's responsibility, not from life. Parents gave the child to the world; if the world

¹⁸ John Eastburn Boswell, ‘Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family’, *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (1984), 10-33, p.12.

¹⁹ Boswell, ‘Expositio and Oblatio’, p.12.

rejected him, he died, but the family did not kill him. *Expositio* was an *alternative* to infanticide.²⁰

This image also portrays the qualities of Saturn described by Ibn Ezra as ‘fathers and grandfathers, the deceased, crying and separation, wandering, poverty, humiliation, ...’²¹ Furthermore it tells us how the medieval world saw the idea of fate through *expositio*: the man is providing the child with an unambiguous path for it to meet its fate — it will live or it will die.²² None of the astrological texts of the time specifically connect Saturn with fate in this way, yet one could argue for this connection by the very fact that the image has been placed into this Saturn ‘chapter’. Saturn the (then) furthest planet from the Sun, created an edge between life and death through its qualities of ‘cold and dry and his nature is evil and harmful. He indicates destruction, and ruin, and death, and mourning, and weeping and crying’.²³ This opens up a fruitful area for further research to which I will return.

Image 93C (Fig.36) of an older man with a full grey beard and moustache, wearing a grey coif, grey cape and grey habit staring out of the mouth of a cave suggests a hermit and this image, along with image 95A (Fig. 37) and image 96A (Fig.38), are in keeping with Ibn Ezra’s description of Saturn that ‘In his share [of places] of the earth are the caves, and wells, and pits, and prisons, and every dark and uninhabited place, and the cemeteries’²⁴ and ‘distant bad roads where danger lurks.’²⁵

²⁰ Boswell, ‘Expositio and Oblatio’, p.13.

²¹ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom (Reshith Hochma)*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Reston: ARHAT Publications, 1998), p.92.

²² This pathway is the same as that described in the myth of Paris of Troy whose mother, Hecuba, dreamed she gave birth to a flaming torch and was advised to kill the baby or bring ruin to Troy. Unable to take such action, Hecuba gave Paris to a herdsman to kill but the herdsman was also unwilling to commit infanticide and instead left the baby exposed on the slopes of Mt Ida where it was found and nurtured by a she-bear. The same idea of *expositio* occurs in the Old Testament (Exodus 2:1–10) in connection with Pharaoh’s decree that all new-born male Hebrews were to be drowned at birth. Unable to commit infanticide, Moses’ mother placed him in a papyrus basket coated with tar and pitch and cast him into the Nile river reeds.

²³ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91.

²⁴ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91.

²⁵ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.



(Left) Figure 36. Image 93C of a hermit in a cave, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 37. Image 95A of a barren rocky hill, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 38. Image 96A of a barren rocky mountain, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The two images located either side of the saint at 95BC are of an older man and woman in apparent despair. The man at image 94C (Fig.39) with a grandfather beard, pink coif, long black cloak and hood, and pink tunic, sits on a wooden chest and holds his head in his right hand. On his lap is a book. The woman in image 96C (Fig.40) wearing a white hood, brown cloak and black dress mirrors this body language. Ibn Ezra noted of Saturn: ‘In his share of the human nature is the contemplation, little talk, astuteness, isolation from people, ...deep thought..., fear, worry, ...’²⁶ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of Saturn: ‘Of the complexions of the bodies it indicates melancholy It indicates profundity of thought and much silence...’²⁷ These qualities are observable in these images 94C and 96C.

²⁶ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.

²⁷ 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, p.63.



(Left) Figure 39. Image 94C of a man in a state of despair, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 40. Image 96C of a woman in a state of despair, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 41. Image 92A of a disembodied hand holding a dove, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 15 described image 92A (Fig.41), a disembodied right arm in a long red sleeve holding a dove, as ‘hunting’ and ‘fowling’. Situated in the constellation register, it is tempting to consider this image as representative of the constellation Columba the Dove. However, for an observer at the latitude of Padua, Columba is a constellation that lies far to the south and furthermore consists of dim stars and thus is an unlikely candidate for the symbolism of this image.

Being a right hand and arm in the celestial register suggests ‘the right hand of the Lord’.²⁸ Yet the isolated hand of God in medieval art, Barasch observed, effected ‘a clearly definable action — grasping the outstretched hand of the ascending Christ, holding a wreath or a crown above, or placing it on the head of an emperor, putting a scroll in Moses’ hands’ — or else with the palm fully open, symbolically represented ‘God’s unimpeded presence.’²⁹ Located between the months of December and January this image might be construed as being connected with the Nativity. However, the hand of God releasing a dove as the Holy Spirit was always associated with the Annunciation and the conception of Christ, not with the Nativity.

There is, however, another possibility for the dove held in a male hand in this way and this is the sacrifice connected with purification at Candlemas, one of the twelve Great Feasts of the liturgical year held forty days after the Nativity and whose day count begins at the Nativity. If this is correct, then the image would be placed in the seasonally correct area of the Salone frescoes.

Candlemas is a blend of several rituals initially described in the Gospel of Luke (2:22-40): *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, the rite of the Purification of the Mother, the Holy Family meeting with Simeon, and witnessed by Anna the prophetess. *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple* is, in the Old Testament, the ceremony of the Pidyon Ha'Ben, the ‘redemption of the first born son’ that took place when a baby was at least thirty-one days old (Exodus 13:1-2, and Numbers 18:15). This was conflated with the rite of the Purification of the Mother, a cleansing ritual which took place forty days after the birth of a child (Leviticus 12:6). It was in this Purification of the Mother ceremony that a pigeon or a turtle-dove was sacrificed as part of the ritual of purification. In Luke’s Gospel the Holy Family met Simeon (Luke 2:25) who, through the Holy Ghost, recognised the Christ child as the Saviour sent by God, and Anna, the prophetess, witnessed the meeting. These events slowly coalesced into a Feast, adopted in the west from the sixth century onwards and celebrated on 2 February, forty days after the Nativity (25 December). From the tenth century onwards, when the blessing of candles was included in the celebration, it was termed Candlemas (*festum luminis* or *candellarum*)

²⁸ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art*, trans. Janet Seligman, vol. 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), p.43.

²⁹ Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* Cambridge studies in the history of art (Cambridge University, 1987), p.26.

and became one of twelve Great Feasts of the liturgical year.³⁰ Paintings of *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple* depict Mary carrying the Child in her arms, Joseph, Anna, and Simeon, and the sacrificial dove (Figs.42 and 43, and details). Thus I contend that this image at 92A marks the beginning of the count of forty days from Nativity to Candlemas, celebrated in early February in the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’.



Figure 42. Giotto (c.1267–1337), *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, c.1305 (left) and detail of the two doves held by Joseph (right), fresco, Arena Chapel, Padua. Image: ARTstor.



Figure 43. Ambrogio Lorenzetti (c.1290–1348), *The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, 1337-1342 (left) and detail of the dove held by the officiating priest (right), fresco, Galleria degli Uffizi. Image: ARTstor.

³⁰ Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art*, p.90.



Figure 44. Image 94B of the planet Saturn, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione.
Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Image 94B (Fig.44) depicts the planet Saturn, a man with long brown hair, beard and moustache and a gold crown on his head, wearing a white tabard over a red tunic, white hose, and knee high boots with crossed cords. The man stands on grey cobbled stones against an orange mandorla. Rays signify he is a planet. He holds a standard bearing the letter 'S'. Barzon noted that although this figure wore a crown, this was the only attribute that indicated his rulership as a king, for his robe was a simple tunic belted at the waist, with an apron. Furthermore Barzon described his gesture as a man ‘biting the fingers of his left hand, in the attitude of a bewildered man who has lost all that was fine.’³¹

Rather than biting and loss, however, the action of the hand raised to the mouth was thought to be a medieval gesture of communication. Whilst several images in medieval manuscripts depict figures pointing to their mouths, this specific action of raising the arm with bent elbow appears to be rare. One instance of it, however, can be found on the Cup of San Marco (Fig.45), a Byzantine gilded and painted glass cup with silver gilt originating in Constantinople in the tenth century and currently held in the Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy. Ioli Kalavrezou described one of the medallions on the cup as a seated warrior who ‘wears a helmet, carries a spear and a quiver or scabbard, and his shield rests on the ground next to him. His right arm is held bent with the hand before his

³¹ Barzon, *Gli Affreschi del Salone in Padova*, p.174.

mouth, a gesture either of speech or thought.³² In many ways the figure in the image of Saturn at 94B also reflects this same iconography as the Cup of San Marco: a spear (the standard with the letter 'S'), shield (the mandorla), and helmet (the crown). Whilst speculative, this is a fruitful area of research to which I will return as to how and why Byzantine iconography might have come to be frescoed onto the walls of the Salone in the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter'.



Figure 45. Cup of San Marco on which the middle visible medallion depicts the image of seated warrior with arm raised and bent towards his mouth, gilded and painted glass and silver gilt, Constantinople, c.950, Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice. *Image*: Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World.

The apostle at 95BC – St Peter

The apostle at image 95BC (Fig.46), a man with grey thinning hair, grey and white beard, a white tunic with gold embroidery at the neck, a yellow mantle, and sandals, is St Peter, identified by the golden key, the *Traditio clavum*, the keys of Heaven, in his right hand. It also corresponds with the images of St Peter in the Arena Chapel (Appendix 5). St Peter is the saint who completes the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter', and thus he completes the Salone cycle seasonally, in winter, and symbolically, with the birth of Christ at the Capricorn ingress/the winter solstice. The figure's forward facing posture indicates that St Peter is the one apostle who serves two zodiac signs.

³² Ioli Kalavrezou, 'The Cup of San Marco and the "Classical" in Byzantium', in *Late antique and medieval art of the Mediterranean world*, ed. Eva Rose F. Hoffman (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 273-284, p.278.



Figure 46. Image 95BC of (*left*) the saint at the end of the north wall completing the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter' and (*right*) close up detail of the key in his right hand, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.
Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Visual Summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter'

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean, a visual summary of this Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter' (Fig.47) reveals the following themes emerging: the Labour of the Month and associated labours of December (circled in blue); the zodiac sign of Capricorn the Goat (circled in purple); the planet Saturn and the qualities of Saturn rules Capricorn (circled in red); sky-map constellations for the Capricorn ingress (circled in green); images associated with Candlemas in relationship the Nativity (circled in yellow); the saint of the chapter (circled in white); the 'theme-changing' angel (circled in black); and the idea of Saturn as fate (circled in pink).

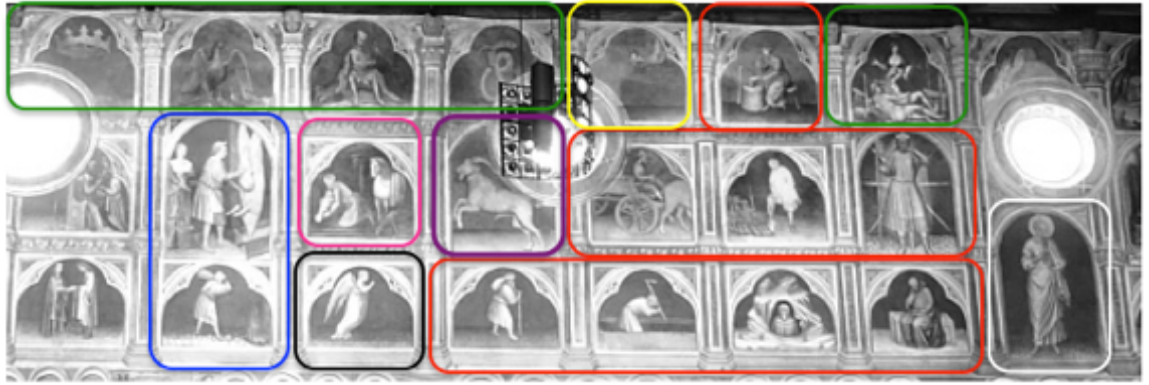


Figure 47. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images. *Image*: D.Gunzburg.

Saturn rules Aquarius

A foldout of the images for this 'chapter' can be found on page 342.

Table 16: The 8 columns of the Saturn rules Aquarius 'chapter', North and East Walls, 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)
96A	Solitary place.	Solitude. (P)	A barren mountain.
96B	The month of January.		
96C	Sadness.	Sadness. (P)	A sad person.
97A	Constellation?	? (C)	A man with two trees.
97B	Worker of skins.	Leather merchant. (P)	Skinner, tanner.
97C	Stretcher of skins.	Skinner, tanner. (P)	Leather merchant.
98A	The constellation Cygnus.	Swan. (C)	Cygnus.
98B	Shoemaker.	Shoemaker. (P)	Shoemaker.
98C	Stone mason.	Joiner, carpenter, woodworker. (P)	Stone mason.
99A	The constellation Fluvius (The River).	River. (C)	Fluvius (The River).
99B	The Angel of Religion.	The Angel of Religion.	The Angel of Religion.
99C	Knife-grinder.	Knife-grinder. (P)	Knife-grinder.
100A	Old fool.	Dishonesty. Folly. (Z)	Man hanging from a wooden structure.
100B	Contemplation.	Contemplation. (P)	Seated friar.
100C	Manufacturer of boats.	Ship-builder. (P)	Manufacturer of boats.
101A	The constellation of Canis latrans.	Canis latrans. (C)	Canis latrans.
101B	The zodiac sign of Aquarius.		
101C	Joiner, carpenter, woodworker.	Joiner, carpenter, woodworker. (P)	Joiner, carpenter, woodworker.
102A	The constellation of the Hen.	Hen. (C)	Hen.
102B	Peasant, farmer.	Peasant, farmer resting. (P)	Farmer who rests.
102C	Hiding treasures.	Hiding treasures. (P)	Man who hides or searches for treasure.
103A	The constellation of Leopardus.	Leopard. (C)	Leopard.
103B	Pruner.	Pruning. (M)	Man who prunes a tree.
103C	Contemplation.	Contemplation. (P)	Hermit in a cave.

The Top Register of Constellation Images for Saturn rules Aquarius

Scholars in Table 16 described the images along this top register of the Salone as follows: image 97A (Fig.48) as ‘a man with two trees’; image 98A (Fig.49) as the constellation Cygnus the Swan; image 100A (Fig.53) as ‘an old fool’, ‘dishonesty and folly’ and ‘a man hanging from a wooden structure’; image 101A (Fig.50) as the constellation of Canis latrans; image 102A (Fig.51) as the constellation of the Hen; and image 103A (Fig.60) as the constellation of Leopardus.



(Left) Figure 48. Image 97A of a man standing between two poles, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



(Right) Figure 49. Image 98A of an ostrich, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



(Left) Figure 50. Image 101A of a baying dog, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*



(Right) Figure 51. Image 102A of a Hen, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Beginning with image 97A (Fig.48) of a turbaned man standing between two wooden posts with leaved finials, which scholars in Table 16 described as ‘a man with two trees’, I contend that this represents another expression of the constellation of Cepheus the King, encountered in image 11A (Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’) and image 70A (Mars rules Scorpio ‘chapter’). These images were compared in chapter 5. Cepheus has always been seen as a king in royal robes with one foot on the north celestial pole, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre in his left hand and his robe on his shoulder in his right hand.

Moving on to image 98A (Fig.49), rather than a swan, as scholars in Table 16 have described it, Jobes and Allen both noted several Arabic references to ostriches, specifically the asterism supporting the left foot of Orion at the head of the constellation Eridanus, the great river in the sky, known as Al Kursiyy al Jauzah by the Arabs.³³ Considering the constellations in the night sky after sunset for the Aquarian ingress, however, the constellation of Orion itself is much more visually impactful than a minor asterism near his foot and which, as I shall argue shortly, is painted amongst this top register of frescoes in the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’. Another option for the depiction of an ostrich occurs in the constellation Aquila the Eagle where the asterism Al Thalimain, from the Arabic meaning The Two Ostriches, is formed by two stars, with apparent visual magnitudes of 3.43 and 4.36, meaning the asterism is visible with the naked eye.³⁴ At this time of the year, however, both stars set at the same time as the sun and hence are not visible. Ibn Ezra pointed out that Saturn ruled ‘every large bird with a long neck, like the ostrich.’³⁵ Taking all of this into account, image 98A (Fig.49) may denote part of a constellation representing ostriches. It may also serve a dual purpose of also depicting a male ostrich as a quality of Saturn. I contend, however that it is not Cygnus the Swan.

The scholars in Table 16 described image 99A (Fig.52) as the constellation Fluvius (The River). Although badly damaged, I suggested in chapter 2 that this may have been the

³³ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.218. Jobes and James, *Outer Space*, pp.177, 237, 303, 316, 326. Earlier in time Arab nomads had seen Al Kursiyy al Jauzah as the Ostrich’s Nest. The principal star in this asterism has an apparent visual magnitude of 2.796 hence is visible with the naked eye. In addition to considering Eridanus as a great river, the Arabs also thought of them as young and old ostriches, together with their eggs and nests.

³⁴ Jobes and James, *Outer Space*, p.303.

³⁵ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91.

location in the Salone fresco scheme for one of four images of Ursa Major, the Great Bear, as a visual celestial seasonal timing device.



Figure 52. The damaged image at 99A at the end of the south wall, top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

The scholars in Table 16 described image 100A (Fig.53), a man with a bald pate, curly grey hair, grey beard and moustache, wearing a white tunic and a red mantle and sitting in a square frame, as ‘an old fool’, ‘dishonesty and folly’ and ‘a man hanging from a wooden structure’. Rigobello and Autizi added: ‘A man who, hung from a wooden structure, tends to rise above things and move away from reality, verging at times on folly and madness.’³⁶ Rather than a foolish man, I suggest that this image represents the constellation Orion. Aratus called him ‘Mighty Orion’ and that ‘his stars shine brightest in the sky. Spread high/ And broad, his cluster dominates the sky’³⁷ and Allen noted that the stars of Orion are ‘admired in all historic ages as the most strikingly brilliant of the stellar groups.’³⁸ The constellation is formed from two stars that create Orion’s shoulders, Betelgeuse and Bellatrix, a star in his left foot, Rigel, and the three stars that form his belt (Fig.54). Whilst representative of a man, the stars also appear to form a great square (Fig.55). A combination of these two phenomena renders a man seated inside a great square, as seen in image 100A (Fig.53). The constellation Orion is most readily visible as a winter constellation in the northern hemisphere from January to March, hence its appearance on the walls of the Salone in the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’ is apt.

³⁶ Rigobello and Autizi, *Palazzo della Ragione di Padova.*, p.215.

³⁷ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, p.13.

³⁸ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.303.



Figure 53. Image 100A of a seated man in a wooden frame, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

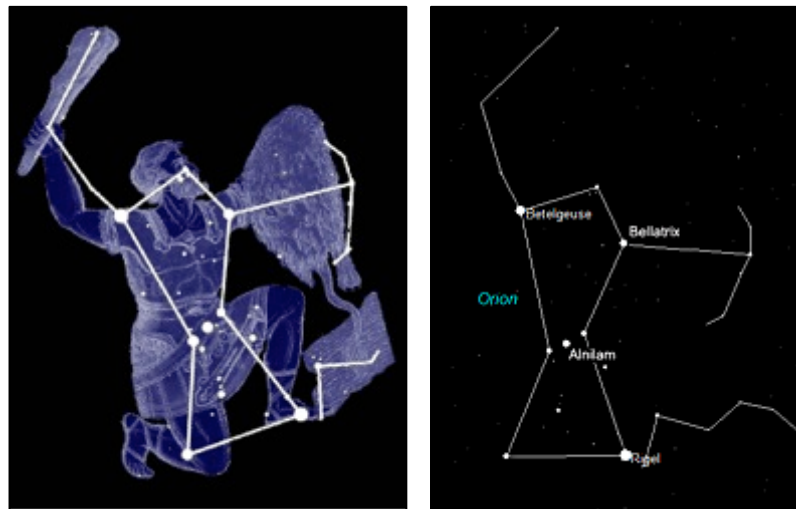


Figure 54. Two views of the stars of Orion: (*left*) the stick figure drawing of Orion overlaid with the modern image interpretation of Orion from Starlight software and (*right*) the stars that make up the constellation showing the square shape and the distinctive belt.



Figure 55. Two views of the stars of Orion: (*left*) the stars that make up the constellation showing the square shape and the distinctive belt, and (*right*) a deep sky image of the Orion constellation from a photo by Hubble, ESA, Akira Fujii, showing the same square shape and belt.

Scholars in Table 16 described image 101A (Fig.50) as the constellation of Canis latrans, or Barking Dog, the name Ibn Ezra gave to Boötes (Hebrew: kelebh hannabah) through a translation of Boötes meaning ‘clamorous’, referring to Boötes’ hunting dogs.³⁹ The constellation Boötes sets before the sun at this time of year. Near the right foot of Orion, however, is the constellation of Canis Major containing the brightest star in the sky, Sirius. I have previously argued for Sirius as a white dog for image 15A (Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’) and argue now that this image at 101A (Fig.50) is another expression of Sirius. Located contiguously with Orion in the sky (Fig.56), the images 100A and 101A are also located next to each other in the Salone images.

Scholars in Table 16 described image 102A (Fig.51) as the constellation of The Hen. The Pleiades, the asterism of seven stars in the shoulder of Taurus the Great Bull, was called ‘a Hen with her Chickens’ due to an association of the Pleiades with flocking birds.⁴⁰ This image is, however, of a single hen, and it was the constellation Cygnus the Swan (102A) that was called *opvις* by the Greeks, the meaning of which Allen glossed as ‘a bird of some kind, more particularly a Hen’ which was also how the Arabs knew it.⁴¹ Ibn Ezra referred to Cygnus as a Hen when he listed the fixed stars in *The Beginning of Wisdom*.⁴² Thus I contend that image 102A is Cygnus the Swan.

In summary, the constellations visible in the sky after sunset, which would have been easily calculated by Pietro d’Abano using an astrolabe, and easily seen on a clear night in Padua (Figs.56 and 58), reveal the following constellations: the constellation Cepheus the King (97A), the constellation Cygnus the Swan (102A), the constellation Orion (100A), and the constellation Canis Major (101A).

³⁹ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.93. ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.6.

⁴⁰ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.399.

⁴¹ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.192.

⁴² ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.7.

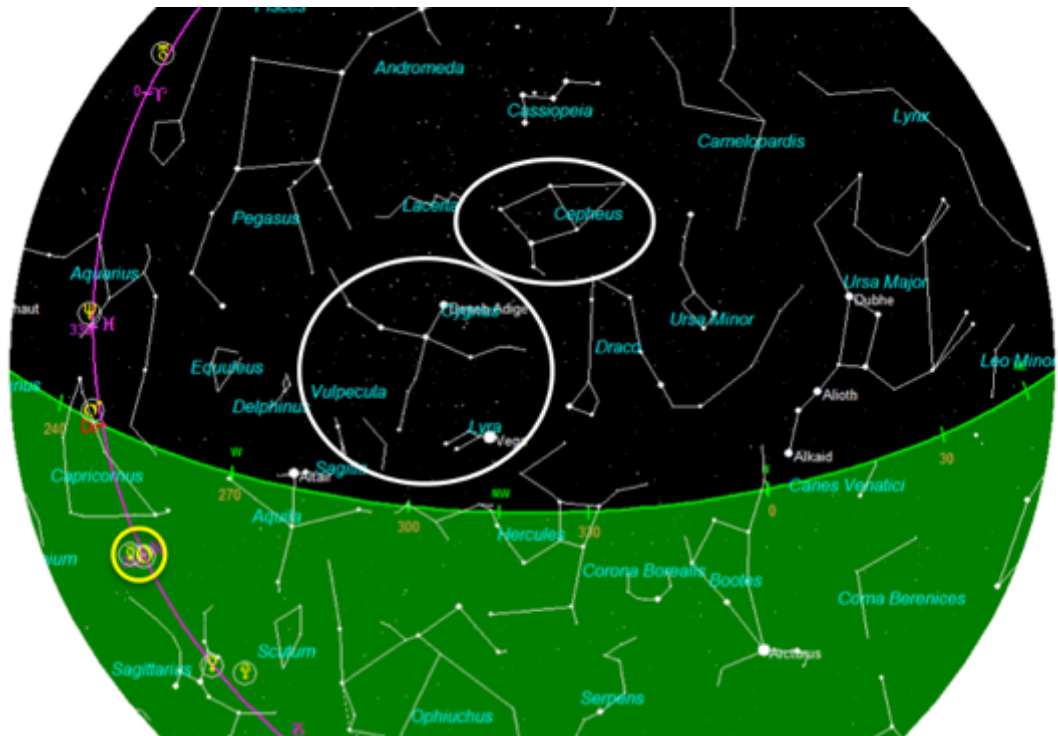


Figure 56. Sky map sunset west Aquarius Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations Cepheus the King and Cygnus the Swan/the Bird/the Hen, both visible after the sun has set (ringed in yellow), visible in the north-western sky.



Figure 57. Sky map sunset west Aquarius Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of Cepheus the King (97A) and Cygnus (102A) visible in the north-western sky.

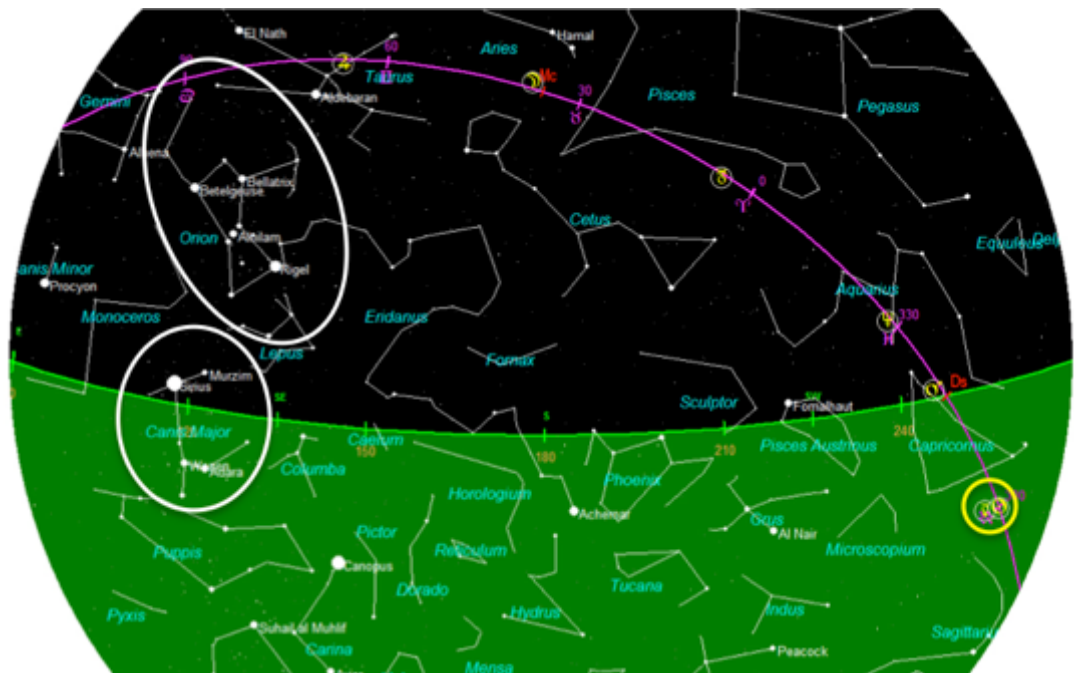


Figure 58. Sky map sunset west Aquarius Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations Orion, and Sirius in Canis Major both visible after the sun has set (ringed in yellow), visible in the south-eastern sky.



Figure 59. Sky map sunset west Aquarius Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of Orion (100A) and Sirius in Canis Major (101A) visible in the south-eastern sky.

The scholars in Table 16 described image 103A (Fig.60) as the constellation the Leopard, and Ibn Ezra listed the Leopard when he listed the fixed stars in *The Beginning of Wisdom*.⁴³ Epstein, citing Ptolemy, clarified that Ibn Ezra's Leopard referred to Lupus or the Beast. This may have come from a translation that Ibn Ezra made from an Arabic source, for Allan noted that the Arabs named a constellation 'Al Fahd', meaning 'leopard' or 'panther' and that this was subsequently translated erroneously by other astrologers as 'Lupus, the Wolf'. Aratus simply referred to it as 'The Beast' squeezed in the grip of the Centaur.⁴⁴ Ptolemy, and the Romans who followed him also defined the meaning of these stars as 'the "beast" (θηρίον) held by its hind legs in the right hand of Centaurus.'⁴⁵ Thus when Giusto de'Menabuoi painted *The Beast That Comes Out Of The Sea* in the Paduan Baptistery, he did so giving it the body of a leopard (Fig.61).



(Left) Figure 60. Image 103A of a leopard, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Left) Figure 61. Giusto de'Menabuoi (1320–1397), *The Beast That Comes Out Of The Sea*, 1376, fresco, Paduan Baptistery. Image: ARTStor.

At the latitude of Padua, there is a window of two months, January and February, when Lupus rises before the sun rises, travels through a shallow arc of visibility north of east along the horizon and sets before the sun rises (Figs.62–65). In so doing a curious visual phenomenon occurs: the Beast appears to walk along the earth in these dark months of the year. A similar phenomenon was noted with the orientation of the Great Bear (Ursa

⁴³ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.6.

⁴⁴ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, p.18.

⁴⁵ Ptolemy, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, p.396.

Major) in the Sun ‘chapter’ when it appeared to walk along the earth in summer when the earth was green. This visual phenomenon of the Beast/Lupus the Wolf may then have become linked with the ferocity of wolves at this time of the year seeking food when the earth was cold and frozen.

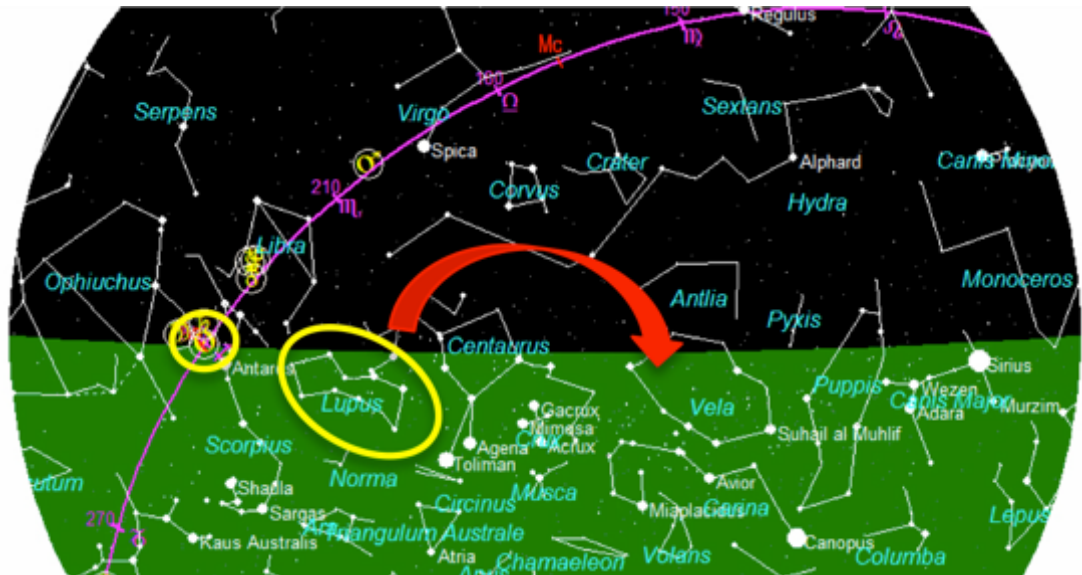


Figure 62. Sunrise, Padua, November 1308 OS, east, the constellation Lupus rises with the sun and is thus invisible.

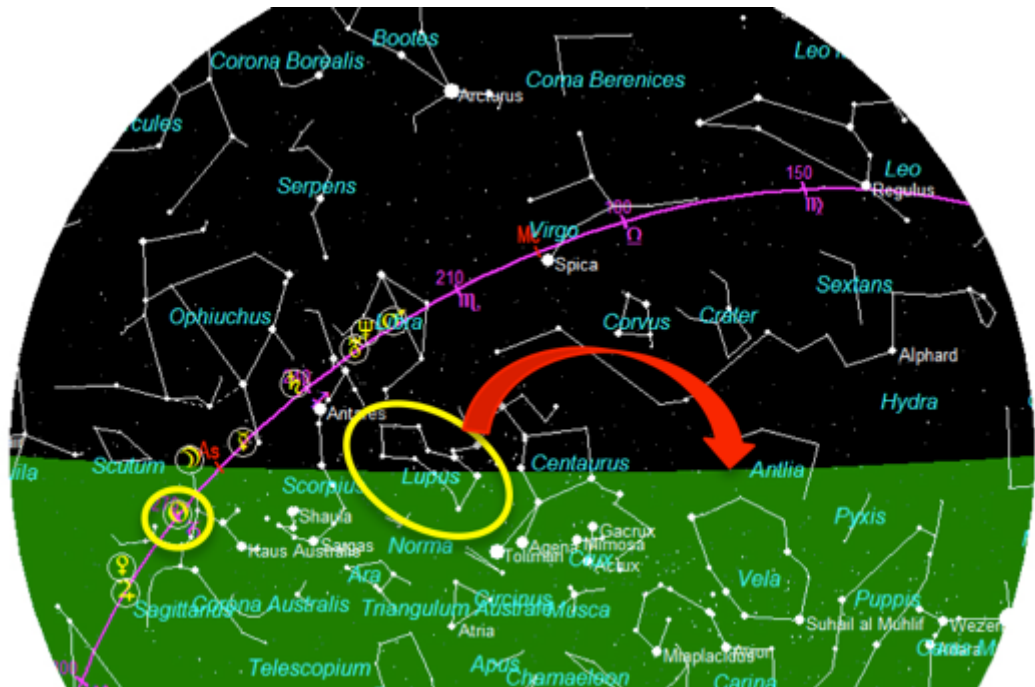


Figure 63. Predawn, Padua, December 1308 OS, east, the constellation Lupus briefly rises before the sun and then becomes invisible when it is caught in the sun’s light shortly after rising.



Figure 66. Aquarius Ingress, sunrise, east, 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and the correct orientation of Lupus / the Leopard (103A) visible walking along the earth in the north of eastern sky.

The Middle and Lower Registers —

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

Image 96B (Fig.67), a man in a red gown and white sack hat and coif seated in front of a fire over which hangs a metal bucket on a chain, and touching the cheek of a small boy, is the image for the Labour of the Month for January. Spare logs lie by the fire near a cat and dog. A woman in a white closed veil and a red dress carries in extra wood.



Figure 67. Image 96B of a man, hatted and robed, seated in front of a roaring fire, caressing a small boy's cheek, symbolising the Month of January, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Hoeing and pruning, labours that were necessary as the weather began to warm, are placed towards the end of this 'chapter' along the east wall. Image 102B (Fig.68) depicts a young man with short brown curly hair wearing a white chemise under a green knee length tunic with buttons at the neck and cuffs. The cuffs are unbuttoned and the tunic is open at the neck. He is barefoot. He stands with his weight on his right leg, his head in his left hand and left leg propped around the hoe. Observing the buttons on the tunic in this image raises questions regarding sumptuary laws in Italy. As discussed in chapter 6, Birbari found that, since the thirteenth century, single-cord lacing was the prevailing

fastening used on a garment,⁴⁶ along with buttons made of precious metals as closures set in rows.⁴⁷ Jonathan Alexander stressed that ‘buttons were a sign of wealth and status’ and accounted for a shepherd wearing a buttoned garment in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (1410) in the *Tres Riches Heures*, fol.48, Chantilly, Musée Condé, as ‘wearing a cast-off and thus ridiculously aping his betters.’⁴⁸ Alexander also recorded how sermon literature of this time censured peasants for ‘dressing above their station.’⁴⁹ Future research work, to which I intend to return, may reveal a greater understanding of this image at 102B.

Contrasting in action and clothing, image 103B (Fig.69) depicts a man with short brown hair wearing a red waisted knee length tunic, white hose corded under the knees, white shoes with buckles, and a utility pouch around his waist, in the act of pruning trees. A wooden ladder leans against a tree to his left. Dead branches lie on the ground. Situated next to each other, these two images may represent two side of Saturn: diligence and hard work (103B) versus ‘no success in all undertakings’⁵⁰ (102B).



(Left) Figure 68. Image 102B of a young man leaning on his hoe, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 69. Image 103B of a man pruning dead branches from a tree, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Birbari, *Dress in Italian painting, 1460-1500* (London: J. Murray, 1975), p.74.

⁴⁷ Birbari, *Dress in Italian painting, 1460-1500*, p.78.

⁴⁸ Jonathan Alexander, ‘Labeur and Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor’, *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (1990), 436-452, p.445.

⁴⁹ Alexander, ‘Labeur and Paresse’, p.445.

⁵⁰ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.

Ibn Ezra wrote that Saturn ruled tanners,⁵¹ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of Saturn: ‘Of jobs it indicates leather-working. If it is on its own in its indication, without being mixed with any of the planets, then it indicates leather-working for shoemaking.’⁵² This process of working with skins can be seen in image 97B (Fig.70) of a man in the process of scudding, scraping the animal hide free of hair; image 97C (Fig.71) of a man stretching hides; and image 98B (Fig.72) of a shoemaker who turns the leather into objects for wear.



(Left) Figure 70. Image 97B of a man scarping hair and fur from the skin of an animal, middle register north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 71. Image 97C of a man stretching skins on a round wooden stretcher, middle register north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 72. Image 98B of a shoemaker, middle register north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 73. Image 98C of a stonemason chiselling a block of white stone, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

⁵¹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91. In *The Book of Reasons*, the book that followed *The Beginning of Wisdom*, Ibn Ezra elaborated on the fact that Saturn produced a great deal of moisture expressed through water and the seas, and thus ruled tanners because they worked with water to produce parchment. Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons (Sefer Ha'Te'Amim)*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein, vol. Project Hindsight Hebrew Track Volume 1 (Berkeley Springs: The Golden Hind Press, 1994), p.42.

⁵² Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.63.

Ibn Ezra further wrote of Saturn that ‘His occupation is every work that is exhausting and of little reward, and all inferior work, such as quarrying stones’. This is reflected in image 98C (Fig.73) where a swarthy man in a green knee length tunic and pillbox hat dresses stone with a chisel and a mallet. A carved capital lies on the floor to his right. Another block of white stone lies on the floor to his left.

Image 99C (Fig.74) depicts an instrument grinder and his assistant. The owner straddles the machinery and holds a chisel on top of the grinding wheel from which water sprays. His assistant turns the heavy wheel. An anvil on an upturned section of tree trunk and a bucket of water stand on the ground nearby. Since this image is contiguous with image 98C (the stone-mason), I suggest image 99C forms part of the stone-mason’s workshop, depicting the workers who keep the stone-mason’s tools sharp. The knife-grinders at image 8C (Mars rules Aries ‘chapter’) (Fig.75) express a quality of Mars – sharpening tools for destruction — rather than a quality of Saturn – sharpening tools for structuring, shaping, and building.



(Left) Figure 74. Image 99C of a knife grinder and his assistant sharpening tools possibly for the stone mason at image 98C, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 75. Image 8C in the Mars rules Aries ‘chapter’ of a knife grinder and his assistant, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D. Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 76. Image 100C of a man caulking the hull of a wooden boat, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 77. Image 101C of a carpenter working a length of wood, possibly for the boat repairer at image 100C, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

Ibn Ezra wrote that Saturn signified ‘captains or sailors’⁵³ as well as ‘all filthy work’.⁵⁴ In image 100C (Fig.76) a turbaned man in a black knee length tunic, grey hose and black shoes, dry hull caulks a wooden boat supported on wooden props. The man uses a caulking iron to fill the boat’s seam with cotton that is fed from a ball that rests near the man’s feet and he taps in the cotton with a mallet. On the floor to his right is a pot with putty and possibly a pallet knife. Adjacent to this, at image 101C (Fig.77), is a man dressing wood with an axe. Near him are his tools: a ball of red twine and what could be a bowl of beeswax on the bench top, a set-square, an augur, a hammer on the floor near his feet, and a saw standing up against the table. The man wears a white chaperon on his head, a white tunic and half apron, grey hose and grey shoes. Again, since these two images 98C and 99C are contiguous, they suggest connected workshops of the same trade of boat building.

Image 100B (Fig.78) of a Dominican friar resting his head in his right hand, whilst gazing upwards, may reflect the qualities of Saturn Ibn Ezra described as ‘contemplation, little talk, astuteness, isolation from people’ and ‘deep thought, knowledge of secrets and the worship of God.’⁵⁵ A Dominican, rather than a Franciscan, may have been chosen since the Order of Preachers was devoted to teaching and preaching⁵⁶ and became, as John Van Engen noted, ‘the most significant teaching and pastoral arm of the medieval

⁵³ ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons, Se’fer Ha'Te'Amim*, p.42.

⁵⁴ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.

⁵⁵ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.

⁵⁶ William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: a short history* (New York: Dominican Publications and Alba House, 1975), pp.9-15.

church.⁵⁷ According to Ibn Ezra, Saturn also signifies cloaks and heavy garments and the colour black⁵⁸ and these may also have contributed to the choice of a Dominican friar in exemplifying these attributes.



Figure 78. Image 100B of a Dominican friar who sits in an ornate wooden stall in contemplation, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.



Figure 79. Image 102C of a man on his knees digging in the earth, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 16 described image 102C (Fig.79), a man with a full white beard and moustache, a red chaperon and white coif and a red gown over a grey tunic, on his knees digging a hole in the earth, as ‘hiding treasures’ and ‘a man who hides or searches for treasure’, and although Ibn Ezra wrote that Saturn indicated ‘seeking hidden treasures’,⁵⁹ the object in front of the man in this image looks wrapped in a shroud. Where image 90B

⁵⁷ John Van Engen, ‘Dominic and the Brothers: Vitae as Life-forming exempla in the Order of Preachers’, in *Christ among the medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the texts and images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery Jr and Joseph Wawrykow. Vol. 7, *Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies* (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 7-25, p.8.

⁵⁸ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, pp.92, 94.

⁵⁹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.92.

(Fig.35) portrayed *expositio* — leaving the neonate in the forest to its fate — this image at 102C is much more poignant and suggests the burial of a dead child, reflecting the qualities of Saturn that Ibn Ezra noted were ‘death, and grief, and mourning, and weeping and crying’.⁶⁰

Ibn Ezra wrote of Saturn that ‘In his share [of places] of the earth are the caves, and wells, and pits, and prisons, and every dark and uninhabited place, and the cemeteries’,⁶¹ and a positive expression of this is image 103C (Fig.81), the bearded hermit in a cave wearing a brown cloak with a hood over a red long sleeved tunic reading an open book, and praying. This contrasts with image 93C (Fig.80), observed earlier as part of the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’, of a hermit in a cave. Although speculative, I suggest that these may be two ends of a process of religious separation, isolation, and contemplation, begun at Christmas (93C) and completed towards the middle or end of February (103C).



(Left) Figure 80. Image 93C of a hermit in a cave in the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 81. Image 103C of a hermit in a cave, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D. Gunzburg.

⁶⁰ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91.

⁶¹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.91.

Visual Summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean, a visual summary of this Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’ (Fig.82) reveals the following themes emerging: the Labour of the Month of January and other labours connected with January (circled in blue); the zodiac sign of Aquarius (circled in red); the trades associated with Saturn rules Aquarius (circled in yellow); sky-map constellations for the Aquarius ingress (circled in green); attributes of Saturn rules Aquarius (circled in white); and the ‘planetary angel’ (circled in purple).

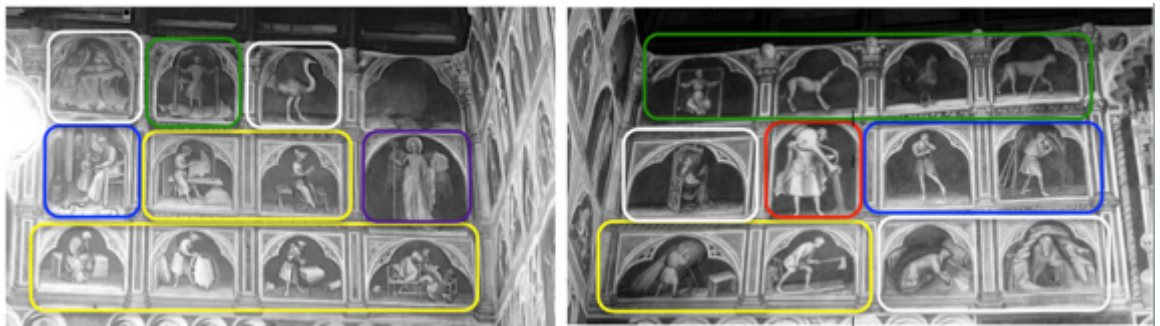


Figure 82. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images. *Image*: D.Gunzburg.

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on an examination of the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ and the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images. It examined 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 sky map for sunset for the Capricorn Ingress in the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’, and for the images in the sky map for sunset for the Aquarius Ingress in the Saturn rules Aquarius ‘chapter’.

The themes represented in the middle and lower registers for the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ began with the seasonal work of killing hogs, and storing food for winter whilst at the same time making sure there was plenty of fuel for fires. The attributes of Saturn were also apparent in terms of old people, grave diggers and ditch diggers, along with the metals of the earth fabricated into implements. The theme of fate was made apparent in

this 'chapter' with the idea of *expositio*, the image of the man leaving the child on the forest floor. Caves, wells and dark and uninhabited places and the quality of despair and melancholy were also a theme for Saturn, yet amongst the darkness shone the promise of Candlemas.

The themes for the Saturn rules Aquarius 'chapter' began with the seasonal work of pruning dead wood, tanning skins to produce shoes, dressing stones for masonry, and maintaining boats. Another theme was that of death and mourning associated with the death of children, perhaps from disease rather than intention.

The next chapter examines the set of religious images placed along the south wall at columns 19-25, located between the Venus ruling Taurus 'chapter' and the Mercury rules Gemini 'chapter'.

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