

Chapter 6

Jupiter rules Sagittarius and Jupiter rules Pisces

Introduction

Having investigated the parts of the wall described by the two luminaries, Mercury, Venus and Mars, this chapter considers the Salone fresco images connected with the ‘chapters’ of Jupiter. 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 Jupiter defined by Ibn Ezra and al-Qabīṣī, one would anticipate seeing in the narrative of the images in the two ‘chapters’ centred on Jupiter commonalities that apply to the planet and differences that are expressed in its rulerships of Sagittarius (the day sign) and Pisces (the night 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.

Jupiter rules Sagittarius

A foldout of the images for this ‘chapter’ can be found on page 269.

Table 13: The 9 columns of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘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)
80A	Ill-fated man.	Undisciplined. Bad outcome in enterprises. (Z)	A crippled or lame goat.
80B	Unstable man.	Instability. (Z)	A well. Instability.
80C	Pilgrim.	Pilgrim. (P)	Man with a dog who explores the terrain.
81A	The constellation of Boötes (Secundus).	Boötes. (P?)	Boötes (Secundus).
81B	The month of November		
81C	Woman working.	Women’s work. (P)	Woman who spins.
82A	Hunter.	Hunting. (M)	Hunting.
82B	Contemplation.	Contemplation.	An engrossed man. Contemplation.
82C	Preacher/Advocate.	? (NI)	Preacher/Advocate.
83A	The constellation of Centauris (repeated).	Centaur. (C)	Centaur.
83B	Benedictory bishop.	Benediction. (P)	Bishop – Blessing.
83C	Scholar.	Scholar. (P)	Scholar who studies.
84A	Young boy writing.	Writing. (P)	Person who writes. Writing.
84B	The zodiac sign of Sagittarius		
84C	Dignity.	Dignity. (P)	Man who advances.
85A	A man running wild.	Excess. (Z)	A galloping foal.
85B	The planet Jupiter.		
85C	Ruler.	Command. (P)	A man with a sceptre on a horse.
86A	The constellation of the Lyre.	Lyre. (C)	Lyre.
86BC	St Matthew?	St Matthew.	St Matthew.
87A	Strong man.	Force.(Z)	Dromedary.
87B	School.	Instruction. (P)	Teacher in the classroom. Instruction.
87C	Offer.	Offer. (P)	Encounter between two men.
88A	The Crown.	Crown. (C)	Crown.
88B	School.	Instruction. (P)	Instruction.
88C	Reconciliation.	Reconciliation. (P)	Reconciliation.

The Top Register of Constellation Images for Jupiter rules Sagittarius

Scholars in Table 13 described image 80A (Fig.2), a half-risen brown goat, as ‘Ill-fated man’, ‘undisciplined; bad outcome in enterprises’ and ‘a crippled or lame goat’. I contend that this image represents the constellation Capricornus the Sea Goat.



Figure 2. Image 80A of a half-risen brown goat, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The name derives from the fact that the constellation image was said to have been composed of two parts, the front being that of the Goat and the rear a fish's tail. These two parts were embedded in the Sumerian mythology of Ea, who transformed his home in the frozen waters underground into lush and abundant streams that regenerated the earth. In the spring Ea would roam the earth as a fertility god in the shape of a goat and when he travelled through the heavenly seas he developed a fishtail.¹ Imagery of the goat or ibex with the fish's tail is found as far back as the twelfth century BCE on a Babylonian planisphere.² Yet Allen has pointed out how both Aratus and Ptolemy referred to the constellation as Αἰγocéρως (Aegoceros), the Horned Goat, distinguishing it from Αἶξ, the Goat (now known by its Latin name Capella) found in the constellation Auriga the Charioteer, and distinct again from Αἰγίπαν (Aegipan) the Goat-Fish, suggesting the

¹ 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.138.

² Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), pp.137-138.

image was ‘a complete goat-like animal.’³ Ptolemy also described stars ‘on the end of the tail-fin’ in the constellation Capricornus,⁴ thus he understood the constellation to be a Goat-Fish. Nevertheless since image 80A sits in the constellational register of the fresco scheme and the since the word Aegoceros, meaning, ‘a complete goat-like animal’, as noted above, was used by Aratus and Ptolemy to describe Capricornus, I contend that the half-risen goat in image 80A is being used to depict the constellation of Capricornus.



Figure 3. Image 81A of a man with brown hair and a brown beard who holds in his right hand a scythe which rests on the ground, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 13 refer to image 81A (Fig.3), a naked man who holds a scythe that rests on the ground, as ‘Boötes secundus’, the name given by German astronomer Johann Bayer (1572–1625) to a fifth magnitude star that marks the fingertips of Boötes’ upraised left hand, east of the last star in the tail of Ursa Major.⁵ Bayer called this group of stars *Asellus primus, secundus* and *tertius* (*Asellus secundus* translates as ‘second donkey colt’).⁶ Rather than focusing on a small and tiny star on the edge of a constellation, however, the imagery is more in keeping with the representation and mythology of the whole constellation Boötes, the Hunter who now Farms. As cited in chapter 4, having been robbed of his wealth by his brother, and in destitution and suffering adversity, Boötes laboured as ‘a hunter, herdsman, and itinerant tiller of the soil.’⁷ In the

³ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, pp.135 and 138. See also A.W. Mair and G.R. Mair, *Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams, Lycophron, Aratus*, ed. C.P. Goold, trans. G.R. Mair, vol. 129, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), p.228.

⁴ Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, trans. G. J. Toomer (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p.376.

⁵ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.105.

⁶ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.105. According to Allen, the Arabs referred to this group of stars as the Whelps of the Hyaenas and depicted them as such on the earliest Arabic maps and globes

⁷ Jobes, *Outer Space: Myths, Name Meanings, Calendars*, p.128.

constellation image Boötes carries a crook in his right hand and a sickle blade in his left hand, a κολλόροβον, which is glossed by Toomer as ‘a kind of curved stick’.⁸ In image 81A, the man may be holding something in his left hand, however the image appears to have sustained damage. Nevertheless the description of Boötes’ destitution and adversity is reflected in image 81A, both through the man’s naked and emaciated body and in holding a scythe, which replicates in shape both an upside-down crook and the curved shape of a sickle blade.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 82A (Fig.4) as ‘a hunter’ or ‘hunting’. The image depicts a man wearing a yellow chaperon, a thigh length red tunic, a brown belt from which is slung a sword, pink hose, and brown shoes. He carries a staff in his left hand and he blows a hunting horn with his right hand. Two white dogs run by his right side. This image also suggests Boötes, carrying a crook in one hand and a ‘curved stick’ (the horn) in the other, with his hunting dogs.⁹ Since these two images at 81A and 82A are contiguous (Fig.5), one can argue that the painters and advisors of the scheme may have used the opportunity to depict the dual representation of Boötes as the Hunter (Fig.4) who now Farms (Fig.3). Furthermore, I contend that image 82A carries a dual function of representing a constellation and an activity, the latter of which forms a thread that flows diagonally from image 82A to image 81B, the labour of the month (feeding hogs), to image 80C (Fig.6), a hunter walking up rocky terrain with a small brown hunting dog, a deer hound or wolf hound, running beside him. Other examples of hunting depicted as the labour for the month occur in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc Jean de Berry*, 1412–1416 (Fig.7), although representative of December, a month later, indicative of the seasonal shift of a month for the higher latitudes of France. Another image of November can be seen in a Book of Hours, Egerton 1146, f. 12v, an illuminated manuscript from southern Germany (Worms?), c.1475–c.1485 (Fig.8) of a man hunting a wild boar. Hunting was also depicted for the month of November in the sixteenth-century series of the Labours of the Months painted by the workshop of Bonifazzio de’ Pitati, c.1487-1553 (Fig.9).

⁸ Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, p.346, footnote 118.

⁹ The asterism of the two hunting dogs of Boötes were once part of the whole constellation of Boötes, although Ptolemy included them as stars that were under Ursa Major. They were separated from Boötes by Hevelius in 1690 and named Canes Venatici. Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.114-115. Gertrude Jobs 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.134.

If this reading of the images is correct, we start to get a sense, as has been apparent in other chapters, that the images contain multiple visual readings. Dante (1265–1321) emphasised to his patron, Cangrande della Scala, in his preface to the *Commedia* (Epistola X): ‘It should be understood that there is not just a single sense in this work; it might rather be called polysemous, that is, having several senses’,¹⁰ suggesting this was the more fulfilling way of approaching the work. This reinforces my previous suggestion in chapter 3 that such a polysemous reading is also embedded into these Salone fresco images.



Figure 4. Image 82A of a hunter with horn and two white dogs, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 5. The first three columns and registers of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’ with the images of hunting (in white) and farming (in yellow) highlighted, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

¹⁰ Dante Alighieri, *Dante, Divine Comedy, Hell*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (London: Penguin, 1949), pp.14-15.



Figure 6. Image 80C of a man hunting with his dog, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 7. Painted by Pol de Limbourg and finished by Jean Colombe, *December: Vincennes Castle and boar-hunt*, folio 12 v, *Très Riches Heures du Duc Jean de Berry*, begun 1409, completed 1479, Musée Condé. Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 8. A nobleman spearing a snared boar, from the calendar for November, *Book of Hours, Use of Worms*, with elements of a Breviary, Egerton 1146, f. 12v, illuminated manuscript, southern Germany (Worms?), c.1475–c.1485, Latin. Image: British Library.



Figure 9. Workshop of Bonifazzio de' Pitati (c.1487-1553), *The Labours of the Months: November*, c.1580, oil on canvas, 13.3 x 10.2 cm. *Image*: National Gallery London.



(*Left*) Figure 10. Image 83A of a centaur, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.



(*Right*) Figure 11. Image 84B of the zodiac sign of Sagittarius the Archer, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 83A (Fig.10) of a centaur with cropped brown hair, a pointed brown beard, and pointed ears, holding a green-branched staff and galloping past a leafy tree, as the constellation Centauris. Yet the constellation Centauris is a southern constellation, and whilst it skims the horizon in a semi-arc towards the north-east, at this time of the year it rises at sunrise, and is thus swept up in the sun's light, and sets in the early afternoon and hence is invisible from sunrise onwards. Image 84B (Fig.11) of the zodiac sign Sagittarius is also that of a centaur, holding the more traditional bow and arrow. The representation of both in form and orientation is the same,

yet since one image has been placed in the constellational register (Fig.10) and the other in the middle register which depicts zodiac signs (Fig.11), I am suggesting that rather than image 83A (Fig.10) being the constellation Centauris, it is instead the constellation of Sagittarius the Archer (Figs.17 and 18) seen setting in the west after sunset at the Sagittarian ingress.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 84A (Fig.12), a youth in a red tunic sitting on rocky terrain, as a young man writing. The young boy is, however, manoeuvring a compass or a pair of dividers on an open book. Dividers and compasses are the basic instruments that have been in circulation since antiquity to measure distances, transfer lengths from one drawing to another, and draw circles. Euclid (fl. 300 BCE) completed all his work in his *Elements of Geometry* using only an unmarked straight edge and a compass.¹¹ Encapsulated in Bible Historiale MS.Royal 19 D. III, fol.1, 1411 (Fig.13) is the Aristotelian image of God creating the world by measuring it with a pair of dividers. Thus I suggest image 84A (Fig.12) portrays the idea of measurement, represented in the sky by the constellation Triangulum, described by Aratus as ‘a bright isosceles’,¹² a triangle composed of bright stars along the short side and less bright stars forming the two long sides and visible in the sky after sunset in the east.

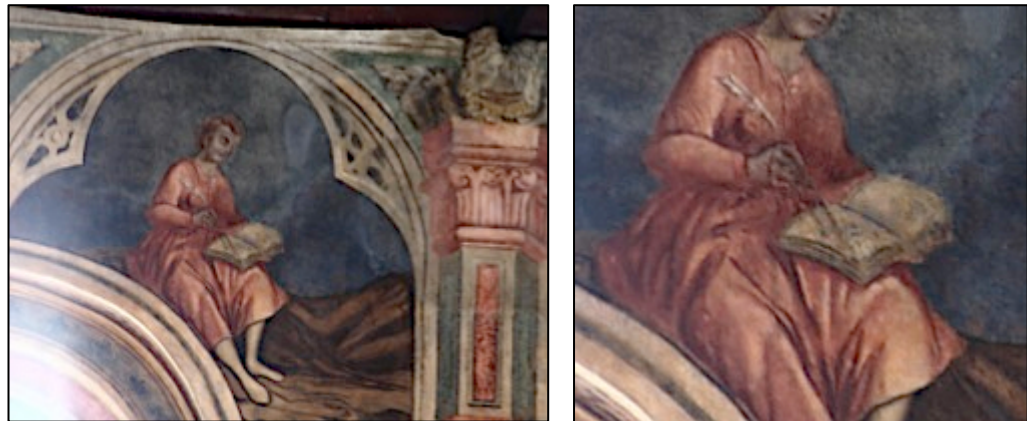


Figure 12. Image 84A of (left) a young boy with a compass and a book, and (right) close up detail, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

¹¹ National Museum of American History, http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/object-groups/dividers-compasses?ogmt_page=dividers-compasses-introduction - accessed 23 October 2013.

¹² Aratus, *Phaenomena*, trans. Aaron Poochigian, Johns Hopkins New Translations from Antiquity (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p.10.



Figure 13. (*Left*) God creating the world using a pair of dividers, and (*right*) detail, Bible Historiale, *Genesis to the Psalms*, MS. Royal 19 D. III, vol. 1, fol.3, 1411, British Library. Image: ARTStor.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 85A (Fig.14), a galloping horse, as ‘a man running wild’, ‘excess’ and ‘a galloping foal.’ The image of a galloping horse without a rider suggests the idea of speed and in the sky, the constellation Triangulum is located next to the constellation Pegasus, the Flying Horse. Since the image of the young boy measuring (Fig.12) and the galloping horse (Fig.14) are placed next to each other in the Salone and in the sky, I contend that image 85A represents the constellation Pegasus, the Flying Horse.



Figure 14. Image 85A of a galloping brown horse without a rider, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 86A (Fig.15) as the constellation the Lyre. The image depicts two lyres —the lyre in the background is a Greek Lyre (as comparator see Fig.16); the lyre in the foreground is a Celtic harp. Although is unclear as to why two images of a harp have been painted in this image, the constellation of Lyra the Lyre is

visible in the skies of 1309 above the point on the horizon where the sun has set in the west (Figs.17 and 18).

Scholars in Table 13 described image 88A (Foldout Fig.18) as the constellation The Crown. Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown, is located in the sky between the constellations of Boötes, Serpens, and The Kneeler and would have been visible next to the constellation Boötes, along the horizon in the northwest after the sun has set. Yet since Arcturus, the very bright (first magnitude) alpha star of the constellation Boötes, had not yet set and would have been seen as brilliant and obvious along the horizon, rather than including Corona Borealis as part of this ‘chapter’s’ sky map, I suggest that it may in fact be part of the sky map imagery for the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ instead.



(Left) Figure 15. Image 86A of two harps, one Greek and one Celtic, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 16. Female Figure Playing a Lyre, c. 300-280 BCE, limestone, 55.5 cm high, from Larnaca, Cyprus. Image: ARTstor.

Taking all of the above into account and considering the constellations that are visible in the sky for when the sun ingresses into the sign of Sagittarius, Padua, 1309, after the sun has set, the seven images from the top register of the Salone (Foldout Fig.18) correlate with the six constellations that are visible in the sky at this latitude: image 80A (Fig.2) the constellation Capricornus the Sea Goat; images 81A (Fig.3) and 82A (Fig.4), the constellation of Boötes, the Hunter who now Farms; image 83A (Fig.10), the constellation Sagittarius the Archer; image 84A (Fig.12), the constellation Triangulum, the Triangle; image 85A (Fig.14) , the constellation Pegasus, the Flying Horse; and image

86A (Fig.15) the constellation Lyra the Lyre. Whilst the sequencing of images along the top register of the Salone is not exact, the collection of the seven images forming this set are indeed the images of the six constellations for that month seen in the sky after the sun has set (Figs.17–18).



Figure 17. Sky map for sunset, west, Sagittarius Ingress 1309 OS with the constellations (from left) Capricornus the Sea Goat, Sagittarius the Archer, Lyra the Lyre vertically above the sun (ringed in yellow), and Boötes the Hunter, visible along the western horizon.



Figure 18. Sky map for sunset, west, Sagittarius Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation from left: Capricornus the Sea Goat (80A), Sagittarius the Archer (83A), Lyra the Lyre (86A), and Boötes the Hunter (82A) who now Farms (81A), visible along the western horizon.



Figure 19. Sky map, sunset south east, Sagittarius Ingress 1309 OS with the constellations (*from left*) Triangulum, Pegasus the winged horse, Capricornus the Sea Goat, and Sagittarius the Archer.



Figure 20. Sky map, sunset south east, Sagittarius Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of (*from left*) Triangulum (84A), Pegasus the winged horse (85A), Capricornus the Sea Goat (80A) and Sagittarius the Archer (83A).

The Middle and Lower Registers —

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

Image 81B (Fig.12), a man beating acorns from a tree with a stick for two black hogs by his feet while a young boy nearby watching him, depicts the image for the Labour of the Month for November.



Figure 21. Image 81B of a man beating acorns from a tree for two hogs, symbolising the Month of November, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

According to Webster, whose listing for the Labours of the Months is by no means exhaustive, feeding hogs by beating acorns from a tree is rare in Italian sculptural cycles, although it appears on the reliefs on the west porch of the Basilica di San Zeno Maggiore in Verona c.1135 (Fig.22) just under fifty miles west of Padua and two days' walk away. Given the proximity of Verona to Padua, as cited in chapter 2, this activity may have been relevant for the micro climate of this area of northern Italy. Giotto may also have seen this image on the west porch San Zeno and adapted it to the Salone walls.



Figure 22. Detail of reliefs depicting the Labours of the Months for September (crushing grapes for wine), October (feeding hogs by knocking acorns from a tree) and November (slaughtering the pigs) on the west porch, c.1135. Basilica di San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, Italy. *Photo: Holly Hayes.*



Figure 23. Image 81C of a woman using a lucet to make cords and braids, bottom register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Scholars in Table 13 described image 81C (Fig.23) as ‘a woman working’, ‘women’s work’ and ‘a woman who spins’. The image is of a woman wearing a yellow chaperon and a green gown with red and white striped sleeves, seated next to a brown wooden bucket from which she pulls thread. She works the thread on a long, two-pronged instrument to form a coil of cord on her lap. Although the prongs depicted here are longer than what we would understand of the instrument today, I suggest this instrument may be a lucet or thread-maker. The lucet, made of bone, horn or wood, was thought to date back

to the Vikings¹³ and was used to make cord or lace in the period before buttons were common or too expensive. Thread was wrapped around the two prongs in a figure of eight and then twisted over itself to form a knot, in the same manner as French knitting. Clothes in the medieval period were frequently fastened by a long cord which was used to lace bodices, to fasten sleeves into armholes, to close sleeves at the wrist, and to hold up hose.¹⁴ They were used as drawstrings for purses and to hang items from belts. Cord for clothing, as Elizabeth Birbari has pointed out, was knotted at one end and then laced in a continuous process from one end to the other, often leaving a length of cord dangling, either at the top or the bottom of the opening where the lacing completed.¹⁵ The hunter's tunic in image 82A (Fig.24) is an example of clothing fastened with a single continuous cord.

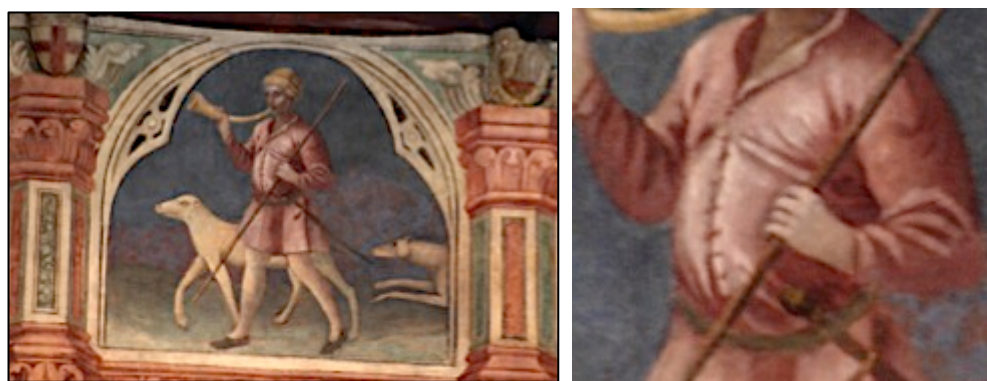


Figure 24. Image 82A of the hunter (*left*), showing the lacing that fastens the front of his tunic and (*right*) detail, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Whilst neither Ibn Ezra nor al-Qabīṣī included the occupation of cord-making when writing about the qualities of the planet Jupiter, in this part of the scheme this is the only occupation depicted by a woman, in contrast with other ‘chapters’ where woman are shown engaged in various activities. Placed beneath the Labour of the Month for November suggests the activity of making sure there was enough cord to fasten clothes, hose, shoes, and items attached to belts in preparation for the cold months that lay ahead represented a labour equal in importance to fattening hogs.

¹³ James Graham-Campbell and Dafydd Kidd, *The Vikings* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1980), p.193.

¹⁴ C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Mediaeval Costume With illustrations by Barbara Phillipson* (London: Faber & Faber, 1952), p.36. Elizabeth Birbari, *Dress in Italian painting 1460-1500* (London: J. Murray, 1975), pp.74-79.

¹⁵ Birbari, *Dress in Italian painting 1460-1500*, p.74.

Moving on to the religious theme visually apparent in image 80B (Fig.25), a baptismal font, and image 83B (Fig.26), a bishop, seated on a gold bench in the act of benediction, Ibn Ezra wrote that Jupiter ruled ‘houses of prayer and worship of God’ and ‘those who serve God, the modest, the pious, the generous and the righteous’.¹⁶



(Left) Figure 25. Image 80B of a baptismal font, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 26. Image 83B of a bishop in the act of benediction, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 27. Image 82B of a friar with a falcon, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 28. Image 82B as depicted in Antonio Barzon, *Gli Affreschi del Salone in Padova*, 1924, p.163 of a friar, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.

Less clear is image 82B (Fig.27), a friar with a falcon in front of what looks like a small church or chapel. As cited in chapter 2, archbishops and bishops were allocated the right to hunt and bishops bore their falcons to church. Apart from the fact that it is difficult to ascertain whether the intention was to portray a Dominican friar (the black hood) or a

¹⁶ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom (Reshith Hochma)*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Reston: ARHAT Publications, 1998), pp.94,95.

Franciscan friar (a brown gown), the representation of a friar with a falcon seems out place, both within the bounds of the imagery of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’ and within late medieval society. When Barzon wrote of this as a ‘friar in contemplation’ in 1924, the image was damaged and the bird obliterated (Fig.28). This image requires further research to which I will return at a future date.

Ibn Ezra wrote of Jupiter that it ruled ‘Scholars’ and those seeking ‘knowledge of the laws and jurisprudence’¹⁷ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of Jupiter: ‘Of professions, involvement in religious law, such as judging, passing sentences’.¹⁸ This scholarly-legal-religious theme is visually apparent in image 82C (Fig.29), a preacher wearing a black hood and black habit preaching from a pulpit. Monastic preachers wearing hoods may be rare, yet the painting of Franciscan friar, Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) preaching (Fig.30) by Giovanni di Ser Giovanni Guidi (1406–1486), although from a slightly later time period, reveals that it did occur.



(Left) Figure 29. Image 82C of a friar pointing, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 30. Giovanni di Ser Giovanni Guidi, called Lo Scheggia, 1406-1486, *Saint Bernardino of Siena Preaching*, c.1450, tempera on panel, 24.5 x 23.6 cm, Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, USA. Image: ARTstor.

The scholarly-legal-religious theme is also apparent in the mini-narrative of image 83C (Fig.31) depicting a scholar, in a red chaperon and gown, at his desk. The narrative

¹⁷ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, pp.94,95.

¹⁸ Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano, eds. *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitus). The Introduction to Astrology*, Warburg Institute Studies and Texts. London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2004, p.65.

continues in image 87B (Fig.32) with the scholar now in his role as a judge teaching civil law to pupils dressed in black pleated tabards over red tunics. A similar portrayal of a judge and his pupils, in similar apparel and teaching arrangements, can be seen in the slightly later sculptural images by Cellino di Nese and a Sienese sculptor (Figs.33 and 34) on the tomb of highly esteemed Italian jurist and poet Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336/7), a contemporary of Giotto. The narrative concludes with image 88B (Fig.35), with the man passing on his knowledge to three young adults in a less formal situation.



(Left) Figure 31. Image 83C of a scholar studying, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 32. Image 87B of a teacher with his pupils, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 33. Cellino di Nese and a Sienese sculptor, base of the tomb of Cino da Pistoia, c.1337, marble, Duomo, Pistoia. Photo: Alinari.



Figure 34. Cellino di Nese and a Siennese sculptor, base of the tomb of Cino da Pistoia, c.1337, detail of the classroom, marble, Duomo, Pistoia. Photo: Alinari.



Figure 35. Image 88B of a teacher with his pupils, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 84C (Fig.36) as ‘dignity’ and ‘a man who advances’, image 87C (Fig.37) as ‘an offer’ and ‘an encounter between two men’, and image 88C (Fig.38) as ‘reconciliation’. Ibn Ezra wrote of Jupiter that, ‘In his share of human nature is esteem, justice, peace, faith, modesty, good name, generosity of the heart’¹⁹ and al-Qabīṣī wrote of Jupiter that it ruled ‘reconciliation between people, and spreading the good’.²⁰ This expression of generosity is visually apparent in images 84C (Fig.36) and 87C (Fig.37), a mini-narrative of man in a grey chaperon and overgown, over a red tunic walking towards and then greeting a second man. From their clothing, this appears to be a meeting of two judges. Separate to these two images, the bowed head of the man on the right in image 88C (Fig.38) suggests he is asking forgiveness.

¹⁹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.95.

²⁰ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitus). The Introduction*, p.65.



(Left) Figure 36. Image 84C of a man walking, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 37. Image 87C of the man in 84C meeting up with another man in greeting, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 38. Then image at 88C of one man asking forgiveness from another, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 39. Image 87A of a dromedary, top register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 13 described image 87A (Fig.39), a dromedary, as ‘a strong man’, ‘force’ and ‘a dromedary’. Three other dromedaries are depicted in the Salone fresco scheme: image 13B (Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’) which I suggested represented dyeing; image 72A (Mars rules Scorpio ‘chapter’) which I suggested represented either the third clima or region, or the kneeling camel of Cassiopeia, or both; and image 106A (Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’) which has yet to be discussed. This image 87A may represent the second clima, as ibn Ezra noted: ‘Of the regions in his share is the second region which is the land of Yemen or Sheba, and the land of al-Haziz that is Assyria, and Meisha’,²¹ lands where the dromedary was a main source of travel and food.

²¹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.94.

Image 85B (Fig.40), the planet Jupiter in its rulership of Sagittarius, is portrayed as a king with short hair and a short greying beard and moustache, green eyes and a ruddy complexion. He wears a gold crown, a red cloak edged in gold and with green lining, caught at the neck with a round gold brooch over a long sleeved blue tunic. He holds a trefoil-tipped sceptre in his right hand and a golden orb in his left hand. Rays indicate that he personifies a planet. Ibn Ezra did not write of kingship in connection with Jupiter. He did, however, write that Jupiter was ‘the best of the planets, indicating life and increase of beneficence and fruitfulness’ as well as indicating ‘good fortune, grace and honour’ and that in rulership, a position of strength, ‘he brings by nature every honourable thing’.²² It is understandable how this image of a king might be selected to represent these qualities of Jupiter in its daytime rulership of Sagittarius.



Figure 40. Image 85B of the planet Jupiter in its role as ruler of Sagittarius, middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.

Finally, scholars in Table 13 described image 85C (Fig.41) as ‘ruler’, ‘command’ and ‘a man with a sceptre on a horse’. Image 85C depicts a swarthy-skinned man with blond hair, wearing a grey tunic with a scalloped skirt and sleeves with arm slits over a red chemise, long black side-buttoned boots, and spurs. The young man rides a brown horse

²² ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, pp.94,95.

with a white mane, a white tail gathered into a mud knot, a red bridle with gold studs, and a black saddle with silver studding. The countryside is grey rocky terrain with little vegetation. This image may be representative of the hunting season, as mud knots on horse's tails were said to have developed as a way to keeping the tail out of the mud during the hunt. The image, however, is not one that is easily recognisable as a quality of Jupiter and requires much further research to which I will return at a later time.



Figure 41. Image 85C of a man riding a horse, lower register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle at 86BC — St Matthias

The apostle at 86BC (Fig.42) has brown hair parted in the centre, and a soul patch or mouche, a patch of beard grown under the lower lip. He wears a red tunic under an orange mantle with green lining, and sandals. The attribute of the staff defines him as a pilgrim and he is only one of two apostles in the Salone scheme to be depicted with a staff. This apostle at 86BC, however, is the only one to be depicted standing in an ogee arch. Apart from St Peter at 95BC, who is placed under a Romanesque arch, all other apostles are placed within a square lintel, or a scallop shell. The ogee arch was amongst the cornucopia of visual ideas and knowledge that Venetian merchants brought back to Venice from their encounter with the Islamic world where the ogee arch was found on both secular and religious buildings.²³ The ogee arch was incorporated into the window arches of San Marco, Venice, around 1250. It was distinctly different from its Roman predecessor, the rounded arch, yet was used as a decorative element only, as

²³ Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: the impact of the Islamic world on Venetian architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p.142.

geometrically and formally it was unable to bear a load.²⁴ The ogee arch emerged in England in the 1280s and 1290s, also as an enhancing motif around door and window openings, and eventually characterized the Decorated style and influenced the rest of Europe.²⁵ As a new style of architecture, this difference, I suggest, is indicative of the fact that St Matthias was the ‘new’ apostle who was selected to replace Judas Iscariot. Although the facial features are not entirely consistent with the image of the apostle with the full brown beard and moustache of the Arena Chapel frescoes (Appendix 5), the oval face, brown hair parted in the centre, and red tunic offer a link.



Figure 42. Image 86BC of the saint along north wall completing the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

²⁴ D. H. Gye, ‘Arches and Domes in Iranian Islamic Buildings: An Engineer's Perspective’, *Iran* 26(1988), 129-144, p.136.

²⁵ Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.43-44.

Visual Summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean (the images at 82B and 85C), a visual summary of this Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’ (Fig.43) reveals the following themes emerging: the Labour of the Month and associated labours of November (circled in dark blue); the zodiac sign of Sagittarius the Archer (circled in purple); the planet Jupiter (circled in lavender); the religious qualities of Jupiter rules Sagittarius (circled in aqua); the scholarly-legal-religious qualities of Jupiter rules Sagittarius (circled in yellow); the benevolent qualities of Jupiter rules Sagittarius (circled in red); the region or clima (circled in black); sky-map constellations for the Sagittarius ingress (circled in lime); and the saint of the chapter (circled in white).



Figure 43. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’ of the Salone fresco images. *Image: D.Gunzburg.*

Jupiter rules Pisces

A foldout of the images for this ‘chapter’ can be found on page 291.

Table 14: The 9 columns of the Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’, East 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)
104A	Juggler.	Game. (Z)	Knight who plays.
104B	The planet Saturn.	Saturn.	Saturn.
104C	Friar in meditation.	Meditation. (P)	Monk in meditation.
105A	Lazy man.	? (P)	A man who lifts another.
105B	The month of February.		
105C	Scholar who reads.	Severity. Religiosity.	Scholar who searches for the truth.
106A	Winged monster.	Winged monster.	Winged dromedary.
106B	Coronation of an abbot.	Authority. (P)	The appointment of an abbot.
106C	People who reason.	Reasoning.	Sages.
107A	The constellation of the Altar.	Altar. (C)	Altar.
107B	Investiture of an abbot.	Authority. (P)	Religious authority.
107C	Action of charity.	Charity. (P)	Gift of the mantle.
108A	The constellation of Pegasus.	Pegasus. (C)	Pegasus.
108B	The zodiac sign of the Fishes.		
108C	Action of compassion.	Charity. (P)	Woman who helps an old man who vomits.
109A	?	The Serpent. (P)	The Serpent.
109B	Unstable man.	Instability. (Z)	Flour mill.
109C	Woman frightened by a lion.	? (P)	Woman frightened by a lion.
110A	The constellation of Capricorn.	Goat – Auriga. (C)	Goat – Auriga.
110B	Jupiter.		
110C	Ecstasy.	Ecstasy. (Z)	Astrologer.
111A	The constellation of ‘Navis’	Ship. (C)	The Ship.
111B	Nuncio.	Political power. (P)	Political power.
111C	Dignity.	Administrative power. (P)	Administrative power.
1A	Heron.	Heron. (NI)	Heron.
1BC	The apostle St Andrew.		

The Top Register of Constellation Images for Jupiter rules Pisces

Scholars in Table 14 described the images along this top register of the Salone as follows: image 106A (Fig.44), ‘a winged monster’ or ‘a winged dromedary’; image 107A (Fig.45), ‘the constellation of the Altar’; image 108A (Fig.46), ‘the constellation of Pegasus’; and image 109A (Fig.47), ‘The Serpent’.

Beginning with image 107A (Fig.45), a man who attends to an open fire placed on top of a white stone fireplace mantle, whilst the image may suggest the constellation Ara the Altar, Ara is a southern constellation and hence is not visible at this latitude. Therefore although the meaning of this image is not entirely clear — it could, for example, be symbolic of the cold, although it is unusual to have the fire on top of the fireplace rather than in the fireplace — its meaning as the constellation Ara the Altar can be ruled out.



(Left) Figure 44. Image 106A of an amalgam of animals, the body of a lion and possibly, the head of a sea monster, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 45. Image 107A of a man attending to an open fire on top of a white fireplace mantle, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The images at 106A, 108A and 109A appear to be amalgamations of animals: image 106A (Fig.44), a dromedary's head, a lion's body and red wings; image 108A (Fig.46), a flying horse with red, yellow and green wings and a fish's tail; image 109A (Fig.47), two entwined serpents with fish in their mouths.



(Left) Figure 46. Image 108A of a winged horse with a fish's tail, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 47. Image 109A of the constellation of The Fishes of Pisces, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Considering the constellations that are visible in the sky for when the sun ingresses into the sign of Pisces in Padua, 1309, after the sun has set (Fig.50), a visual phenomenon becomes apparent. Visible in the west are three constellations clustered either side of the ecliptic on the western horizon: the constellation of the Fishes of Pisces along the ecliptic, the constellation of Cetus the Sea Monster appearing to rise up vertically on its tail south of the ecliptic, and the constellation of Pegasus the Flying Horse appearing to rise up vertically north of the ecliptic. Thus I suggest that image 108A of a Flying Horse with a fish tail may be a fusion of two constellations — Cetus the Sea Monster and Pegasus the Flying Horse, both 'standing' either side of the two Fishes of Pisces (Fig.47) and creating the amalgamated image at 108A (Figs.50 and 51).

Similarly on the eastern horizon after the sun has set, two constellations appear parallel and side-by-side: the constellation of Leo the Lion, visible on the ecliptic; and together with it, appearing to rise vertically and 'stand' upright alongside Leo is the constellation Hydra the Serpent. As noted in chapter 2, the constellations of Leo and The Hydra rise and set together. In comparing the wings of Pegasus in image 108A (Fig.46) with the wings of the creature in 106A (Fig.44), one could argue that the wings in the latter are not wings at all but are instead more serpent-like. If so, then this leads to my suggestion that image 108A may be a fusion of the body of a lion and what the artist may have envisaged as the head and body of Hydra the Serpent (Figs.52 and 53).



(Left) Figure 48. Image 110A of a long-haired, long-horned black goat, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 49. Image 111A of a man steering a wooden row boat, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 14 have suggested that image 110A (Fig.48) of a long-haired long-horned black goat is ‘the constellation of Capricorn’ and ‘Goat-Auriga’. In observing the sky after the sun has set, however, the constellation of Capricornus is not visible and is only visible before the sun rises. The constellation that is clearly visible culminating overhead is Capella, the Goat, in the constellation Auriga the Charioteer (Figs.52 and 53).

Scholars in Table 14 described image 111A (Fig.49), a bent, balding, barefoot man in a yellow-brown tunic, rowing a small boat with a single oar, as ‘the constellation of Navis’ and ‘Ship’, meaning ‘Argo Navis’ or The Argo, a group of stars once seen as representing a giant mythical ship that sailed across the Milky Way. Greek tradition described this as the ship that carried Jason and his Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece, or simply the first ship to sail the ocean.²⁶ The constellation is fully encompassed within the southern hemisphere. This means that from the perspective of northern latitudes, when it rises it appears to sail along the horizon as it journeys from east to west. In 1309 what would have been visible in the sky along the horizon in the southeast after sunset for Padua was the constellation Puppis, the deck or stern of The Argo. Although it depicts only one man navigating in a wooden rowboat, I suggest image 111A (Fig.49) may be representative of The Argo in the sky (Figs.52 and 53).

²⁶ Allen, *Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning*, p.65.

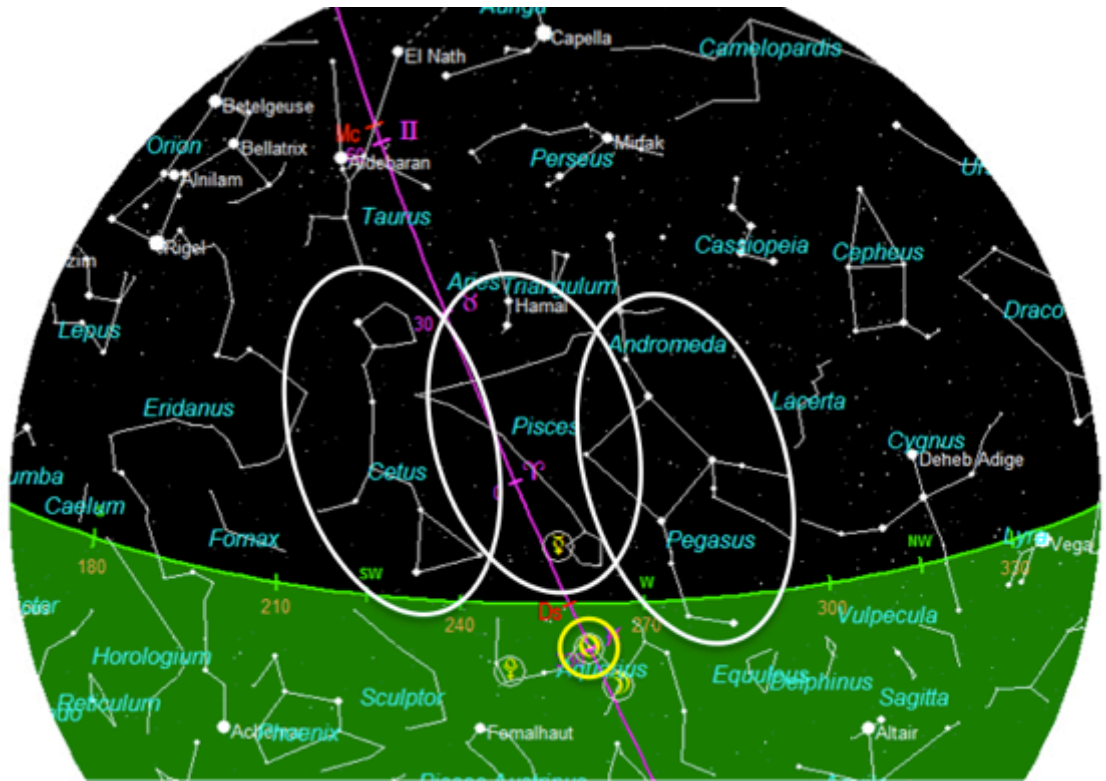


Figure 50. Sky map for sunset, west, Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations (*from left*) Cetus the Sea Monster, The Fishes of Pisces, and Pegasus the Winged Horse ‘standing’ vertically above the sun (ringed in yellow), all visible along the western horizon.

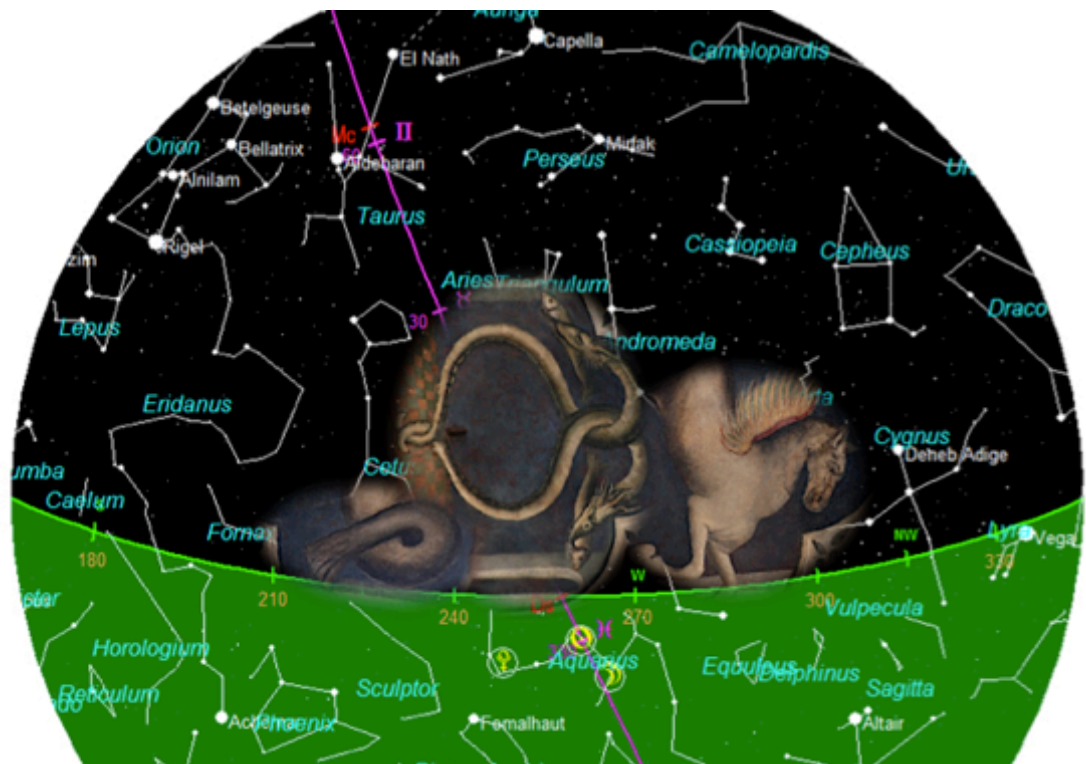


Figure 51. Sky map for sunset, west, Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist’s impression of the sky and their correct orientation of (*from left*) Cetus the Sea Monster (108A), The Fishes of Pisces (109A), and Pegasus the Winged Horse (108A) ‘standing’ vertically above the sun and visible along the western horizon.

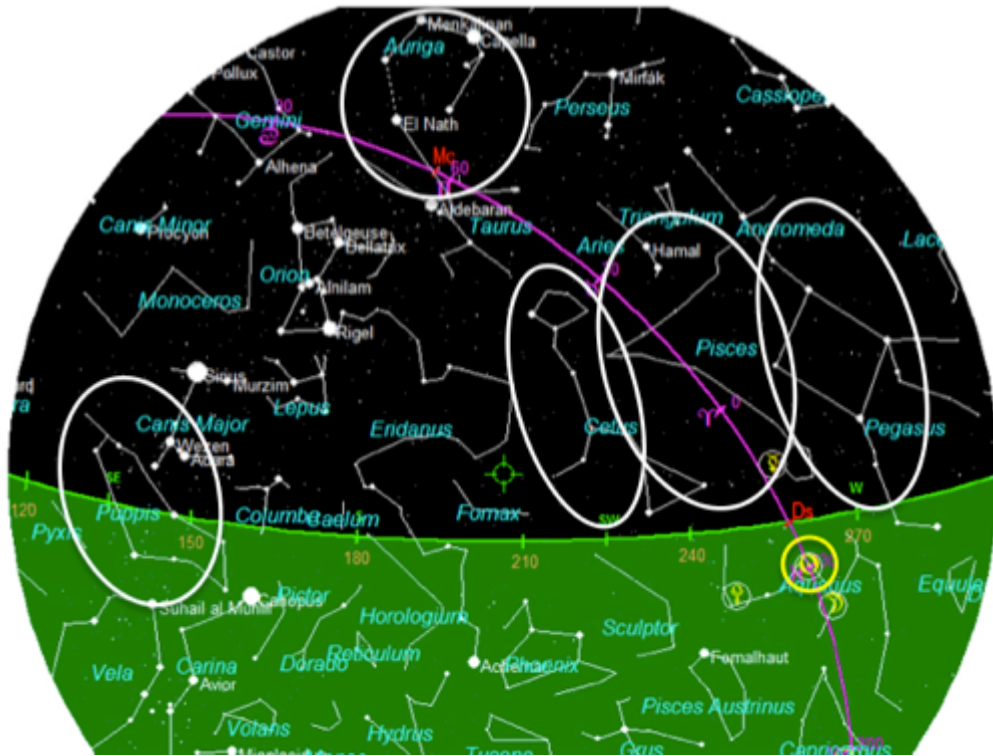


Figure 52. Sky map for sunset, west and south Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations (*from left*) Puppis, the deck of The Argo, Capella The Goat in the constellation Auriga the Charioteer culminating overhead, Cetus the Sea Monster, The Fishes of Pisces, and Pegasus the Winged Horse ‘standing’ vertically above the sun (ringed in yellow).

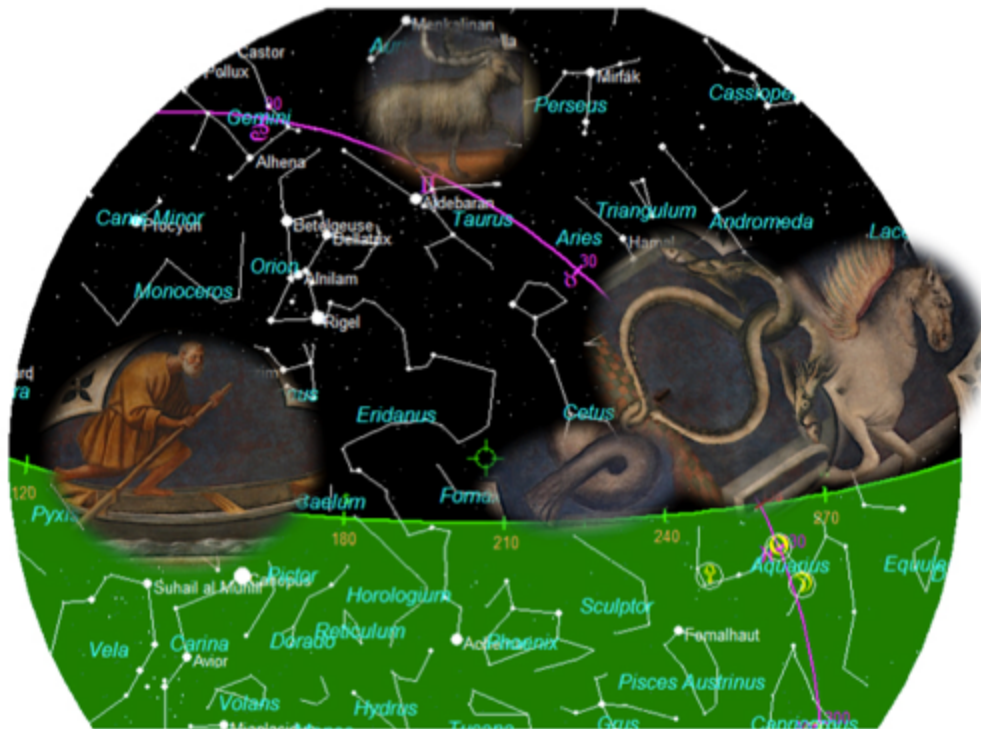


Figure 53. Sky map for sunset, west and south Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of the constellations (*from left*) Puppis, the deck of The Argo (111A), Capella The Goat (110A) in the constellation Auriga the Charioteer culminating overhead, Cetus the Sea Monster (108A), The Fishes of Pisces (109A), and Pegasus the Winged Horse (108A) ‘standing’ vertically above the sun.

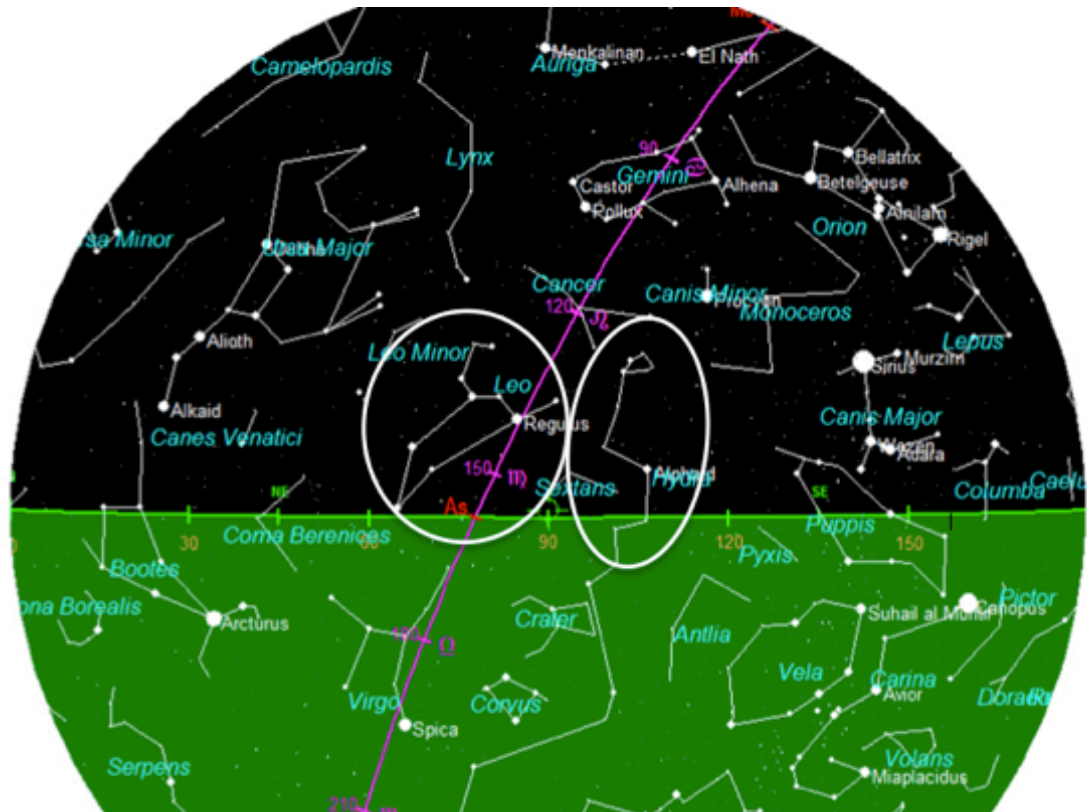


Figure 54. Sky map for sunset, east, Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, with the constellations (from left) Leo the Lion and the head of the Hydra, both visible along the eastern horizon.



Figure 55. Sky map for sunset, east, Pisces Ingress 1309 OS, showing the artist's impression of the sky and their correct orientation of the constellations (from left) Leo the Lion (106A) and the head of the Hydra (106A), both visible along the eastern horizon.

The Middle and Lower Registers —

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

Image 105B (Fig.56), a man wearing a straw hat with two brown feathers, and a brown knee-length tunic, and holding a small broad axe in his right hand with which he prunes trellised vines, is the image for the Labour of the Month for February, a commonly depicted theme for this month.



Figure 56. Image 105B of a man pruning vines, symbolising the Month of February, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Scholars described image 104A (Fig.57) as ‘a juggler’, ‘game’, and ‘a knight who plays’ and image 105A (Fig.58) as ‘a lazy man, and ‘a man who lifts up another.’ Image 104A (Fig.57) depicts a medieval jester, a bare-headed man in a green thigh length tunic with puffed ribbed sleeves, and white cuffs, a golden cloak, and grey soled hose, holding a dummy on a base with a fool's cap and frill. Image 105A (Fig.58) depicts two male acrobats, one of whom swings the other and who articulate the same red-green colour coding cited in chapter 4: the acrobat on the left wears a green acorn hat, a red knee length tunic edged in white at the hem and, red hose and black shoes; the acrobat on the right wears a red acorn hat and a green thigh length tunic, grey hose and black shoes.

There are no constellations in the sky that suggest entertainment or depict such imagery. At this time of the year, however, entertainment in the form of Carnevale was an important celebration representing seasonal change, a time of festive misrule, of dancing and merry-making preceding the forty-day Lenten season of the liturgical church calendar prior to Easter. With Carnevale being a moveable feast dependent on the date of Easter and falling anywhere between early February and early March, these two images, located in this Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter', correlate time wise with the beginning of Lent. Thus I contend that they depict Carnevale.



Figure 57. Image 104A of a medieval jester with a dummy, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 58. Image 105A of two young boys dancing, top register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

If my suggestion is correct, then I also contend that this Lenten narrative continues with image 104B (Fig.59). All three scholars in Table 14 described image 104B as the planet Saturn. In addition Rigobello and Autizi maintained that this image has been displaced from the month of January and incorrectly placed into the area of Jupiter and, furthermore, that the iconography of Saturn with the scythe was descended from Nergal, the Babylonian god of the afterlife.²⁷ Since only planets that represent the zodiac sign appear to be depicted along this middle register, I suggest that this image of an emaciated man with long curling grey hair and a grey moustache and long beard, resting in contrapposto pose on his left leg and observing himself in a mirror, and leaning not on a scythe but on a hoe — a farm implement used, amongst other things, for removing weeds — represents the idea of Lent, the forty-day season of reflection, prayer, penance, and strict religious fast, both from foods and festivities, as reflected in Christ's forty-day fast in the desert (Matthew 4:1–2, Mark 1:12–13; and Luke 4:1–2), thus moving the narrative from Carnevale (images 104A and 105A) to abstinence.



Figure 59. Image 104B of a near naked man resting on a hoe and looking into a mirror, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars described image 108C (Fig.60), a woman wearing a red turban, a red gown with gold braid and embroidery around the neck and short sleeves with a wide pink cuff, holding an old man who spews blood onto the pavement as ‘an act of compassion’, ‘charity’ and woman who helps an old man who vomits’. Of Jupiter and illness Ibn Ezra

²⁷ M. Beatrice Rigobello and Francesco Autizi, *Palazzo della Ragione di Padova. Simbologie degli astri e rappresentazioni del governo* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2008), p.220.

wrote that it rules ‘the liver, because it is the source of blood which is warm and moist’²⁸ and ‘all the blood’ or ‘blood vessels’,²⁹ and al-Qabīṣī wrote: ‘Of illnesses it indicates what comes from blood by an increase of its quantity which is not excessive nor accompanied by burning or changing blood’.³⁰ One could argue that, along with these qualities of blood and illness, this image also signifies the qualities of generosity and kindness, and that this is a righteous act of care on the part of the woman. For Ibn Ezra wrote of Jupiter that ‘In his share of human nature is ... generosity of the heart’ as well as being ‘a person who has a kind soul, benevolent nature’.³¹

These qualities of generosity are also depicted in image 107C (Fig.61), whom scholars in Table 14 described as ‘action of charity’ and ‘Gift of the mantle’. In this image a portly man wearing a red chaperon with a long liripipe, a red tabard, grey gown, grey hose and black ankle boots, offers a garment to a thinly-clad man.



(Left) Figure 60. Image 108C of a woman holding an old man spewing blood onto the pavement, lower register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 61. Image 107C of a prosperous merchant offering a white garment to a man, lower register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The same acts of benevolence, albeit within a religious setting, occur in the images at 104C (Fig.62), 106B (Fig.63) and 107B (Fig.64). Image 106B (Fig.63) is described by scholars in Table 14 as ‘authority’ and ‘the coronation or appointment of an abbot’. An

²⁸ Avraham ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein, vol. 1, Project Hindsight Hebrew Track (Berkeley Springs: The Golden Hind Press, 1998), p.44.

²⁹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.96 and footnote 91.

³⁰ Burnett, Yamamoto, and Yano, eds., *al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius). The Introduction*, p.67.

³¹ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.95.

elderly bishop rests his right hand in blessing on the head of a young blond-haired cleric in a white alb kneeling in front of him with his arms folded across his chest. The kneeling cleric in this image is the same man who dozes on a wooden monk's bench in image 104C (Fig.62) and which scholars in Table 14 described as 'a friar or monk in meditation'.

Another form of blessing occurs in image 107B (Fig.64), described by scholars in Table 14 as 'investiture of an abbot', 'charity' and 'religious authority.' In this image a bishop blesses a young cleric dressed in a long-sleeved white alb who kneels before him. The bishop holds a crosier in the shape of a key, reminiscent of the keys of St Peter, which the kneeling novice gives to, or receives, from the bishop.



(Left) Figure 62. Image 104C of a cleric sleeping, lower register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 63. Image 106B of the ordination of the cleric to a priest by a bishop, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 64. Image 107B, of a bishop blessing a young cleric, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Image 110B (Fig.65), the planet Jupiter in its rulership of Pisces, depicts a seated crowned king wearing a cape caught at the throat with a large gold brooch, and holding a sceptre in his right hand and a golden orb in his left hand. This figure wears a white ankle length tunic with green lining caught at the waist with a red belt with gold jewels, and red soled hose. Two golden beaked black eagles sit on either side of him. The two images of Jupiter in rulership, more so than in any other of the ‘chapters’, offer visual insights into the perceived differences between a planet ruling a masculine sign, its day time ruler (Fig.66) and a planet ruling a feminine sign, its night time ruler (Fig.65) and offer a fruitful pathway for future research to which I will return.



(Left) Figure 65. Image 110B of the planet Jupiter in its rulership of Pisces (the night ruler) middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 66. Image 85B of the planet Jupiter in rulership of Sagittarius (the day ruler middle register, north wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



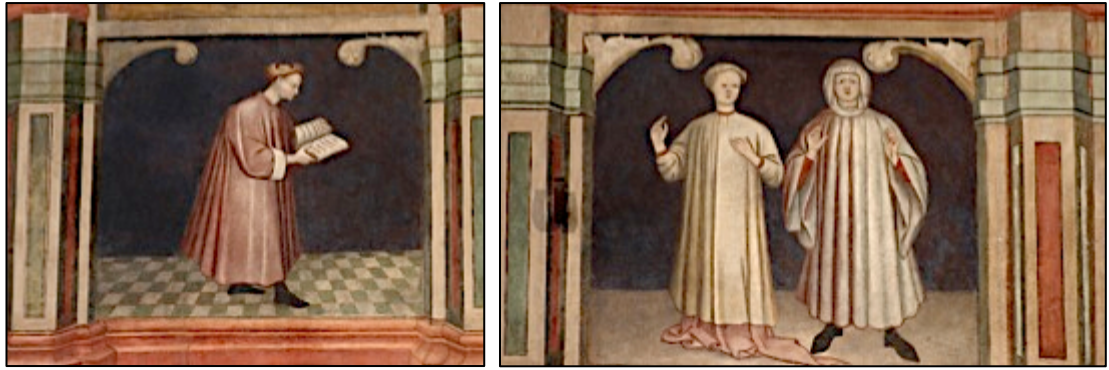
Figure 67. Image 111B of a king receiving an envoy, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. This image makes visible the restoration work that took place in the twentieth century. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 68. Image 111C of a man in authority receiving an envoy, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Scholars in Table 14 described image 111B (Fig.67), an envoy delivering a letter to a king, as ‘nuncio’ and ‘political power, and image 111C (Fig.68), an envoy delivering a book to a seated judge, as ‘dignity’ and ‘administrative power’. These two images give us insights into the nature of Jupiter as envoy, the carrier of important messages to those in positions of eminence.

Separate to what these images may mean, image 111B (Fig.67) is an example of where restoration work has revealed the different layers. Like image 94A in chapter 7, image 111B is valuable in showing how true to the ‘original’ imagery the restoration was, although the dating of this ‘original’ imagery is not known.



(Left) Figure 69. Image 105C of a man with a tonsure reading a book, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 70. Image 106C of a scholar being trained in legal argument, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The images at 105C (Fig.69) and 106C (Fig.70) both suggest scholars and scholarly pursuits. Scholars in Table 14 described image 105C (Fig.69), a man with short brown hair and a tonsure, wearing a red gown with white fur cuffs, deeply engrossed in reading as he walks, as ‘a scholar who reads’, severity, religiosity’ and ‘scholar who searches for the truth’ and this seems appropriate for the qualities of Jupiter which, Ibn Ezra noted, sought ‘knowledge of the laws and jurisprudence’.³² Scholars in Table 14 described image 106C (Fig.70) as ‘people who reason’, ‘reasoning’ and ‘sages’. The gestures of the men in image 106C (Fig.70) imply that the man on the right may be training the young man on the left in methods of argument. In the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’ knowledge of the laws and jurisprudence were depicted in images of study and discussion; in this Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’ this image suggests knowledge of the laws and jurisprudence in action and appropriate gesture.

³² ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.95.



(Left) Figure 71. Image 109C of a woman apparently frightened by a roaring lion, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

(Right) Figure 72. Giotto (c. 1267–1337), *Fortitude*, c.1302–1305, fresco, south wall, Arena Chapel. Image: ARTstor.

Scholars in Table 14 described image 109C (Fig.71) as ‘a woman frightened by a lion’. Giotto, however, had already paired the image of a woman with a lion in his depiction of the cardinal virtue *Fortitude* in the Arena Chapel (Fig.72). This image at 109C may therefore be an expression of Fortitude. If this is the case then it may be a fruitful search to which I will return at a future time to relook at the fresco scheme for images that suggest the other virtues and vices.



Figure 73. Image 109B of a mill, middle register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 14 described image 109B (Fig.73) of a watermill with four steps up to the entrance, a red tiled roof, a wooden extension, and a wooden wheel, as ‘an unstable man’, ‘instability’ and ‘a flour mill’. Image 109B may represent hydraulics and the power

of water, although it is not readily understandable within this Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’.



Figure 74. Image 110C of an astrologer, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.
Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Scholars in Table 14 described image 110C (Fig.74), a man wearing a navy blue triple crown, a red mantle lined in green and edged with a wide yellow ribbon at the hem, a light blue shoulder cape over a yellow gown with long funnel sleeves, and sitting on a wooden pew reaching forward towards a cluster of stars, as ‘ecstasy’ and ‘an astrologer’. Ibn Ezra did not specify which planet ruled the profession of astrologer. He did write that: ‘The nations [under his rule] are the Persians, and the Babylonians, and of people it is the judges, the scholars, those who serve God’.³³ According to Meira Epstein, Ibn Ezra’s personal philosophy was to reconcile religious belief with astrological knowledge³⁴ and his book *The Beginning of Wisdom* opens as follows:

The beginning of wisdom [glossed by Epstein to mean science and learning] is the fear of God, for it is the instruction For when a man does not follows his eyes and heart to fulfil his [worldly] desires, then wisdom will rest in him. Moreover, the fear of God will protect him from the laws and ordinance of the heavens all the days of his life, and when his soul separates from his body, it (the fear of God) will endow him with eternity and he shall live forever. So here I shall begin to interpret the laws of the heavens according to the rules as practiced by the

³³ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.94.

³⁴ Avraham Ben Meir ibn Ezra, *The Book of Nativities and Revolutions (Sefer Ha'Moladot)*, ed. Robert Hand, trans. Meira B. Epstein (Berkeley Springs: ARHAT, 2008), p.xiv.

ancients, generation after generation, and after I complete this book I shall compose a book of interpretation of the reasons [his *Book of Reasons*], and to God I shall pray for help, amen.³⁵

Norman Strickman observed that in one of Ibn Ezra's biblical commentaries, *Sefer Yesod Mora ve-Sod Torah* (*Treatise on the Foundation of Awe and the Secret of the Torah*), Ibn Ezra recognised the necessity of studying astrology in order to understand what might otherwise appear as cryptic statements within the Talmud.³⁶ In his commentary on Exodus 7:3, Ibn Ezra believed that by studying astrology, one could work with one's fate to bring about its best fruition: 'God granted wisdom to man and implanted in his heart the intelligence to receive power from on high to add to his good or to diminish his evil.'³⁷ Thus according to Ibn Ezra's philosophy, the placement of an image of an astrologer in this Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter' is entirely within keeping with 'the judges, the scholars, those who serve God'.

We gain further information from this image at 110C (Fig.74) by considering the stars painted under the arch on the left hand side. I contend that the shape is deliberate and that they form the easily recognisable saddle and tail of Ursa Major, the Great Bear (Figs.75 and 76), a circumpolar constellation expressing a protective presence circling around the still and sacred centre of the north pole. One could argue that the gesture of the astrologer in this image suggests reverence and respect for this never-setting cluster of stars, and by analogy for the subject of astrology that provided knowledge for the beginning of wisdom, as defined by Ibn Ezra.

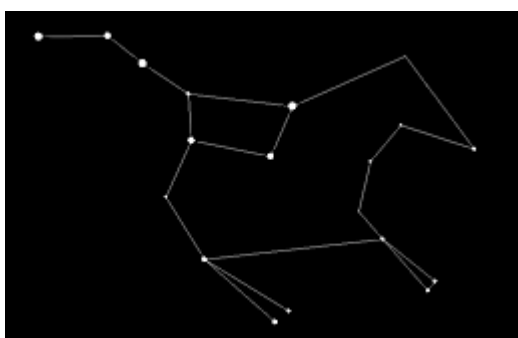
³⁵ ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p.1.

³⁶ Norman H. Strickman, 'Abraham ibn Ezra's 'Yesod Mora'', *Ḥakirah, the Flatbush Journal of Jewish Law and Thought* 12(2011), 139-169, pp.146,148.

³⁷ Strickman, 'Abraham ibn Ezra's 'Yesod Mora'', p.166.



Figure 75. Detail of stars from image 110C, bottom register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 76. The pattern of stars that constitutes the constellation of Ursa Major, the Great Bear, with the saddle and stars, as well as the body, snout and legs. Image: created from Starlight software by D. Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 77. Detail of stars forming the saddle and tail of Ursa Major. Image: created from Starlight software by D. Gunzburg.

Observations and areas for future research: Angels and chequerboard floors

One of the more significant findings to emerge from these two ‘chapters’ on Jupiter is that there are no angels in either the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’, or in the Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’. This has implications regarding the nature of an angel in medieval cosmology and theology, and if the angel is considered to be an intermediary between humans on earth and the heavenly realm, then it suggests that men of religion, as realised in the qualities of Jupiter, are able to carry the role of the angel. There are also a number of images in this ‘chapter’ where chequerboard floors are apparent: the images at 104A, 104C, 105C, 106A, 106B, and 107A. Both of these areas reveal fruitful paths for future investigation.

The apostle at 1BC – St Bartholomew



Figure 78. Image 1BC depicting (left) the saint at the beginning the south wall completing the Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter' and (right) a close up detail of the knife in his right hand, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle in image 1BC (Fig.78) has curling brown shoulder length hair and a brown beard. He carries a book with a black cover with gold embossing in his right hand and from his right forefinger dangles a black-handled knife in a black scabbard embossed with gold. The only apostle to hold a knife as an attribute is St Bartholomew who is described in *The Golden Legend* as having hair that was 'black and curly, his complexion fair, his eyes are large, his nose even and straight, his beard is long with a few grey hairs,'³⁸ a description that could apply to this image at 1BC. The facial characteristics of this apostle in the Salone fresco scheme, however, are consistent with that of St Bartholomew (Appendix 5) in the Arena Chapel frescoes. The knife was emblematic of the fact that St Bartholomew was flayed alive, and he is often portrayed as holding his flayed skin over his arm or in his hand.³⁹ That is not the case in this image at 1BC, and yet the tunic that he wears in this Salone image is depicted differently from each of the other Salone apostles, who all wear a mantle over a tunic. In image 1BC St Bartholomew wears a white mantle with red lining thrown loosely around his body with no visible tunic. I suggest this can be read as loose white skin (the white exterior of the mantle) over

³⁸ Strickman, 'Abraham ibn Ezra's 'Yesod Mora'', p.166.

³⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, trans. Christopher Stace (London: Penguin, 1998), p.221.

red blood (the red inner lining), and that this very looseness of the mantle's folds may have been understood by a medieval viewer as Bartholomew's flayed skin.

Visual Summary of the themes emerging in these three registers of Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter'

Whilst there is still uncertainty as to what some images may mean, a visual summary of this Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter' (Fig.79) reveals the following themes emerging: the Labour of the Month (circled in blue); the zodiac sign of Pisces the Fishes (circled in purple); the planet Jupiter (circled in red); images connected with Carnevale and Lent (circled in pink); the benevolent qualities of Jupiter rules Pisces (circled in black); the scholarly qualities of Jupiter rules Pisces (circled in aqua); sky-map constellations for the Pisces ingress (circled in green); and the saint of the chapter (circled in white).



Figure 79. Visual summary of the emergent themes of the Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter' of the Salone fresco images. *Image: D.Gunzburg.*

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on an investigation of the Jupiter rules Sagittarius 'chapter' and the Jupiter rules Pisces '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 Sagittarius Ingress in the Jupiter rules Sagittarius 'chapter', and for the images in the sky map for sunset for the Pisces Ingress in the Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter'.

The themes represented in the middle and lower registers for the Jupiter rules Sagittarius 'chapter' began with that of cord making using a lucet, suggesting this was as important a

labour at this time of the year as fattening hogs in preparation for the winter. Another theme embraced a scholarly-legal-religious focus, ranging from the blessing of a bishop to monastic preaching, along with a judge teaching civil law to his pupils. There was also the theme of forgiveness and reconciliation.

The themes represented in the middle and lower registers for the Jupiter rules Pisces 'chapter' began with Carnevale and the start of the Lenten season. There was a theme of generosity, helping another in illness and giving gifts of clothing to those in need, as well as religious blessings. Another theme depicted envoys, the carriage of messages to those in positions of eminence, and a lawyer preparing a novice for how to argue in court, extending the scholarly-legal-religious focus from the Jupiter rules Sagittarius 'chapter' into practice. The image of a woman with a lion suggested there may be a theme of virtues and vices. Finally the image of an astrologer placed in this 'chapter' continues the theme of how one could fruitfully work with one's fate.

The next chapter examines the Saturn rules Capricorn 'chapter' and the Saturn rules Aquarius 'chapter' of the Salone fresco images.

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