

## EUROPA AND THE WINGED MERCURY ON TWO CASSONE PANELS FROM THE CZARTORYSKI COLLECTION\*

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*To the memory of Professor Jan Białostocki*

**A**mong the Italian paintings in the Czartoryski Collection in Cracow are two small cassone panels of similar size, whose subjects have remained undeciphered.<sup>1</sup> Not included in Paul Schubring's monumental catalogue,<sup>2</sup> they have an unusual iconography which will be examined in this paper.

The first panel (Pl. 12a) depicts a group of eight young women wearing, and in some cases carrying, garlands of flowers. They are pictured in a meadow before a landscape of flat-topped hills with clumps of trees in blossom. Another woman, also with a wreath on her head, stands in the open doorway of a building to the left. The women wear patterned, multicoloured gowns and move towards the right in a ceremonial procession, stopping before a small herd of cattle, one of which presents its head to the foremost woman, who crowns it with a garland. This animal is distinguished by its colour—it is white and has a golden pelt between its horns—and the rays of light which surround its mouth. In the upper right-hand corner of the picture, the white head of a similar—evidently the same—animal appears against the sky, rather like a medieval personification of a wind; it too has a golden pelt between its horns and emits golden rays.

In the centre of the second panel (Pl. 13a), whose landscape is similar to the first, stands a slim youth with a wreath on his head. Clad in a tight-fitting tunic with puffed sleeves, dark hose and pointed shoes, he holds a long black staff in his left hand. Large, golden wings, decorated with punchwork, are attached to his shoulders, and he is driving a small herd of cattle. (The panel having been cut, only part of the leading animal can be seen.) The winged herdsman and his cattle are observed from the upper right by a man with a red hood on his head and a club in his left hand. On the left side of the panel are three more figures, all wearing wreaths. They are positioned at different heights and two of them seem to be partially hidden behind the hills. At the bottom, depicted in profile, is a man with long fair

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<sup>1</sup> No. 76651: panel A, 35 × 45 cm, panel B, 35 × 47 cm. Tempera on wood. These panels were presented to the Czartoryski Collection in 1939 by Stanisław Ursyn Rusiecki, but their provenance still remains in doubt. See T. Chruścicki and F. Stolot, *The National Museum in Cracow. A Historical Outline and Selected Objects*, Warsaw 1987, p. 220, cat. 87, with a colour illustration of the second panel.

<sup>2</sup> P. Schubring, *Cassoni. Truhen und Truhenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Profanmalerei im Quattrocento*, 2nd edn, Leipzig 1923, 2 vols.

hair, a red coat and a golden staff which he raises as he walks along.<sup>3</sup> The second figure is evidently the same winged man as the one shown in the centre. Here he holds up his black staff and seems to point with his right thumb at the woman above him. Only the upper part of this woman is visible above a rock, from which she seems almost to grow.

The scene is bordered to the left by a building, whose features and emanating golden rays identify it as the structure depicted in the first panel. Presumably, therefore, these panels once constituted the front of the same cassone. When cut in two, it evidently lost not only its lateral and lower parts but also a portion from the middle. This is also suggested by the shape of the gilt gesso which adorns the upper parts (a similar gesso must have decorated the bottom of the panels) and takes the form of a recurrent floral motif with a central mandorla and S-shaped runners branching out from it. When the panels are placed side by side it is clear that a portion of the central motif is missing. My partial reconstruction (Pl. 12b) indicates that about ten centimetres are missing in the middle, a section probably occupied by the main part of the building. A cassone with similar decoration in the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence (Pl. 13b) provides a point of comparison in respect of the gesso ornamentation.<sup>4</sup>

Earlier discussions of the Czartoryski cassone have concentrated on the questions of authorship and dating. As to the latter the beginning or at any rate the first part of the fifteenth century has been proposed. About the place of origin there is uncertainty, although both Florence and Siena have been suggested.<sup>5</sup> The Czartoryski cassone shows close affinities with a cassone front in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Pl. 14a-c), a work probably produced by a Florentine artist active also in the south of Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Divided into three sections by an elaborate gilt gesso, with the narrative starting on the right side and developing to the left, it shows either the siege of Taranto by the king of Naples, Ladislas of Durazzo, in 1407, or the capture of Naples by his father Charles III in 1381. The first proposal was made by Ferdinando Bologna, who

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the cutting and repainting of this panel it is hard to say whether this figure was originally depicted as full length.

<sup>4</sup> Present whereabouts unknown. See Schubring (as in n. 2), i, p. 240, no. 96; ii, pl. XV. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, ix, The Hague 1927, p. 102. Gilt gesso decorations on cassoni might be a job even for well-known artists, at least youthful ones. Vasari relates that: '...Donatello, essendo giovanetto, dicono che [Dello Delli] gli aiutò, facendovi di sua mano con stucco, gesso, colla e matton pesto alcune storie ed ornamenti di basso rilievo, che poi messi d'oro accompagnarono con bellissimo vedere le storie dipinte'. G. Vasari, *vita of Dello Delli in Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence 1906, ii, p. 150. Interesting material on cassoni with gilt gesso decorations produced in Florence is to be found in A. Schiaparelli, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV*, 2nd edn, Florence 1983, i, pp. 256-62.

<sup>5</sup> F. Kopera and K. Buczkowski, *Wystawa dzieł dawnego malarstwa włoskiego, flamandzkiego i holenderskiego ze Zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, Cracow 1949, no. 4;

*Wystawa obrazów dawnych mistrzów, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie*, Cracow 1955, no. 1; and the entry by A. Różycka-Bryzek in J. Białostocki et al., *La peinture italienne des XIV e XV siècles, Musée National de Cracovie*, Cracow 1961, no. 32, where it is suggested that stylistically the paintings are related to a conservative circle of painters from the Florentine School, such as Agnolo Gaddi or Cenni di Francesco (this opinion is repeated by Chruścicki and Stolot, as in n. 1, p. 220).

<sup>6</sup> There is as yet no agreement as to the place of training of this anonymous artist; see e.g. J. Pope-Hennessy and K. Christiansen, 'Secular Painting in 15th-Century Tuscany: Birth Trays, Cassone Panels, and Portraits', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, xxxviii.1, 1980, p. 13, figs 13-17; see also F. Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli 1266-1414* (Saggi e studi di storia dell'arte, ii), Rome 1969, pp. 343-46, pl. VIII 2-3; P. Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli Angioina da Carlo I a Roberto il Saggio* [1266-1343], Florence 1986, p. 83 and n. 1; F. Navarro, 'La pittura a Napoli e nel meridione nel Quattrocento', *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*, ed. F. Zeri, Milan 1987, ii, p. 446 and n. 8.

argued that the cassone might have been a wedding present for the marriage of Ladislav to Maria of Enghien, princess of Taranto, in 1407; the second was made by John Pope-Hennessy and Keith Christiansen.<sup>7</sup> Various similarities can be observed between the paintings on the two cassoni; in particular the manner of depicting the mountains with flattened summits, and the punchwork details. The protagonist of the Metropolitan cassone (Ladislav or Charles), shown there three times, also bears some resemblance to the winged figure of the second Czartoryski panel (details Pl. 14f, g), and there are similarities of costume, hairstyle and pose, while the man in a red hood on the Czartoryski cassone (detail Pl. 14e) is rather like one of the sailors in the Metropolitan painting (Pl. 14d).

These observations suggest strongly that the two cassoni were executed in the same workshop, possibly even by the same artist. A study of the garments depicted on the Czartoryski cassone supports a dating at the beginning of the Quattrocento. The women all wear so-called *cipriane*, characterised by numerous buttons, which were very popular in the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth.<sup>8</sup> In this connection a cassone in the Bargello, which has been attributed to the painter of the Metropolitan cassone,<sup>9</sup> provides a suggestive comparison. It depicts Boccaccio's story of messer Torello and Saladin (*Decameron*, x.9), and Torello's wife (Pl. 11d) wears a nearly identical *cipriana* to that of one of the women on the first Czartoryski panel (Pl. 12a). Similarities occur too in the colour and pattern of the materials and in the fur hems; and both include wreaths.

While Boccaccio provides a key to the depictions on numerous early cassoni, however, in the case of the Cracow panels the subject was taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The 'Bible of painters' had been a school-book since about 1100,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Bologna, *op. cit.*, pp. 343ff (using the appellation 'Maestro della presa di Taranto'); Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen, *op. cit.*, p. 13. In both publications a relationship is suggested with frescoes in the church of Galatina; see also Navarro, *op. cit.*, pp. 446ff. Miklós Boskovits kindly informs me that both he and Everett Fahy of the Metropolitan Museum (independently) have concluded that the 'Master of the Siege of Taranto' was a Florentine painter, author of several painted cassoni, *deschi da parto* and other works, some of which are certainly of Florentine provenance. The anonymous painter was active, in their opinion, around the turn of the 14th century. The figure of the 'Master of the Siege of Taranto' is mentioned by Boskovits in 'Il Maestro di Incisa Scapaccino e altri problemi di pittura tardo-gotica', *Paragone*, di, 1991, pp. 35–53 esp. 37f and n. 14 (incl. list of works ascribed to this painter); in this paper, however, Boskovits uses the name 'the Master of Ladislav of Durazzo'. I believe that this anonymous master may have been Spinello Aretino or a painter closely linked with his workshop.

<sup>8</sup> See R. L. Pisetky, *Storia del costume. II: Il Trecento e il Quattrocento*, Milan 1964, pp. 97, 120, pls III, LII. See also p. 39, on men's hip-length tunics which emphasise the shape of the body and about shoes with pointed toes. See also P. Watson, *The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance*, Philadelphia 1979, p. 81 pl. 51.

<sup>9</sup> Bologna (as in n. 6), pp. 344–46, pl. VIII 3–4. See also Schubring (as in n. 2); i, no. 18 and pl. III; and

Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen (as in n. 6), p. 13. Similar, and with the same subject, is the cassone in the Stibbert Museum in Florence: see E. Callmann, 'The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings', *Studies in Iconography*, v, 1979, p. 78 n. 8. Two other cassoni have been linked with the Metropolitan one. For a reproduction of the first, also in the Metropolitan (no. 32.75.2A), see F. Zeri and E. E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Florentine School*, New York 1971, p. 60 (note the ascription to the Florentine School—but the appellation 'Master of the Cracow Cassone' appears also). For the second, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (no. A231), see C. Lloyd, *A Catalogue of Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1977, pp. 132f, pl. 93. This cassone is ascribed to an anonymous Neapolitan master; however, Lloyd also uses the name 'the Master of the Cracow cassone' [a Florentine?], and refers to an opinion given in a letter by Miklós Boskovits (cf. n. 7 above).

<sup>10</sup> On Ovid's fame in the Middle Ages see F. Ghisalberti, 'Mediaeval Bibliographies of Ovid', this *Journal*, ix, 1946, pp. 10–59; G. Pansa, *Ovid im Mittelalter*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1960; G. Bataglia, 'La tradizione di Ovidio nel medioevo', *Filologia romanica*, 1959, pp. 185–224. For more bibliographical references on the subject see R. E. Kaske, A. Groos and M. W. Twomey, *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery. A Guide to Interpretation*, Toronto, Buffalo and London 1988, pp. 122–26.

commented upon, paraphrased and moralised since the twelfth century,<sup>11</sup> and translated into Italian as early as the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Vasari, in his *vida* of Dello Delli, remarks that:

At that time large wooden chests like tombs were in use in the chambers of citizens... The scenes represented on the body of the chest were usually fables from Ovid and other poets...<sup>13</sup>

Some version of Ovid's story of Europa was evidently the source for the first panel of the Czartoryski cassone. At the end of the second book of *Metamorphoses* we read of how

the father and ruler of the gods... took upon him the form of a bull... His colour was white as the untrodden snow... Agenor's daughter looked at him in wondering admiration, because he was so beautiful and friendly. But, although he seemed so gentle, she was afraid at first to touch him. Presently she drew near, and held out flowers to his snow-white lips... and, when her fear has little by little been allayed, he yields his breast for her maiden hands to pat and his horns to entwine with garlands of fresh flowers.<sup>14</sup>

The painter of the Czartoryski cassone cannot be said to have captured the atmosphere of Ovid's story: Europa scarcely seems delighted, and the white animal being crowned, evidently the bull, has only some of the features attributed to it in the *Metamorphoses*. But a small bull like the one on the cassone does occur in three fourteenth-century manuscripts of *Ovide moralisé en vers*, now preserved in Rouen, Paris and Lyons.<sup>15</sup> In these the episode depicted is the slightly later one of Europa's

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. F. Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII', *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, xxiv, Milan 1932, pp. 157-234; idem, 'Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle *Metamorphosi* di Ovidio', *Giornale Dantesco*, xxxiv, 1933 (n.s. iv = *Annuario Dantesco*, 1931), pp. 1-110; G. di Garlandia, 'Poemetto inedito del secolo XIII', and 'Testi e documenti inediti o rari, 2', *Integumenta Ovidii*, ed. F. Ghisalberti, Messina and Milan 1933. See also Don C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant. The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance*, Baltimore and London 1970, pp. 163ff. For moralised versions, especially the *Ovide moralisé*, see *Ovide moralisé poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, ed. C. de Boer (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen: Afdeling Letterkunde, n.r., xv), 1915. For Petrus Berchorius's *Ovidius moralizatus*, written c. 1340, see F. Ghisalberti, 'L'*Ovidius moralizatus* di Pierre Bèrseire', *Studj Romanzi*, xxiii, 1933, pp. 5-136; and Allen (as above), pp. 168-73.

<sup>12</sup> For example by Arrigo Simintendi and Giovanni Bonsignori: see B. Guthmüller, *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare. Formen und Funktionen der Volkssprachlichen Wiedergabe klassischer Dichtung in der italienischen Renaissance* (Veröffentlichungen zur Humanismusforschung), Boppard am Rhein 1981, passim. On the importance of these translations into Italian for art see C. Ginzburg, 'Tiziano, Ovidio e i codici della figurazione erotica del Cinquecento', *Paragone*, cccxxxix, 1978, pp. 3-34; P. Watson, 'The Art of Narrative: Apollo and Daphne, Pollaiuolo and Ovid', *Trivium*, xviii, 1983, pp. 55-72, esp. 56. See also L. Barkan, *The Gods made Flesh. Metamor-*

*phosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*, New Haven and London 1986, esp. pp. 13ff, 171ff.

<sup>13</sup> 'usandosi in que' tempi per le camere de' cittadini cassoni grandi di legname a uso di sepolture... E le storie che nel corpo dinanzi si facevano erano per lo più di favole tolte da Ovidio e da altri poeti'. Vasari/Milanesi (as in n. 4), ii, p. 148; tr. from the English edn, ed. W. Gaunt, London and New York 1963, i, p. 219. See also E. H. Gombrich, 'Apollonio di Giovanni: A Florentine Cassone Workshop seen through the Eyes of a Humanist Poet', *Norm and Form*, London 1966, pp. 11-28; Callmann (as in n. 9), p. 73 nn; idem, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford 1974, p. 39 nn; Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen (as in n. 6), p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 836ff, tr. F. J. Miller (Loeb Classical Library), London 1984, i, pp. 119ff. Giovanni di Bonsignori's version (*Ovidio metamorphoseos vulgare*, Venice 1522, fab. XLV on fols xvi<sup>v</sup>-xvii) does not mention the colour of the bull; Arrigo Simintendi's version in *Ovidio maggiore*, ed. R. Guasti: *I primi V Libri delle Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, Prato 1846, p. 97, is a closer translation.

<sup>15</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 04, fol. 71; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5069, fol. 27; Lyons, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 742, fol. 40. See C. Lord, 'Three Manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé*', *Art Bulletin*, lvii, 1975, pp. 161-75, figs 11, 12. The Lyons manuscript is reproduced in E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Medieval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv.2, 1933, fig. 58; see also F. Kobler in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vi, 1973, s.v. *Europa*, cols 366ff, giving a full list of literary sources and previous literature on the subject; M. Bierschenk, 'Die Europa-Fabel

abduction, for she is shown sitting on the bull. But in a few cases the scene of the garlanding of the bull is illustrated. Of these the manuscript of Petrus Berchorius (Pierre Bersuire), *Ovidius moralizatus*, executed in northern Italy in the latter part of the fourteenth century and now held at Gotha, is especially interesting (Pl. 11c).<sup>16</sup> It shows a meadow in which three young women are gathering flowers by a fountain. To the right is a herd of cattle, led by a white bull whose horns are held by Europa.

The garlanding of the bull by Europa, accompanied by attendants, can be found on two later cassoni, now in Paris. The first, at the Louvre and dating from about 1470, is ascribed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini;<sup>17</sup> the second, in the Musée Jacquemart-André, was executed some decades later by Girolamo d'Andrea Mocetto.<sup>18</sup> The scene also figures in two Venetian woodcuts, one an illustration to the first edition of Giovanni Bonsignori's translation of *Metamorphoses*, dating from 1497,<sup>19</sup> the other in the famous *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499.<sup>20</sup> In all these cases the scene of the crowning of the bull is accompanied by at least one picture of Europa's abduction. But the coronation is occasionally shown in isolation, as in the Venetian edition of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* published in 1509 (Pl. 11e).<sup>21</sup> Here the bull lies down, so that Europa can sit as she crowns him; a second wreath is by her feet and others are prepared by her companions.

No other representation of the story of Europa seems to include a bull's head in the sky.<sup>22</sup> Still, it must be the bull-Jupiter, presumably about to make his descent to Earth. This detail might have been intended to make a connection with the adjoining scene represented on the second panel of the Czartoryski cassone (Pl. 13a), which came from the episode immediately preceding the Europa story in the *Metamorphoses*:

In those days thou [Apollo] wast dwelling in Elis and the Messenian fields. Thy garment was a shepherd's cloak, thy staff a stout stick from the wood, and a pipe made of seven unequal reeds was in thy hand. And while thy thoughts were all of love, and while thou didst discourse sweetly on the pipe, the cattle thou wast keeping strayed, 'tis said, all unguarded into the Pylia Fields. There Maia's son spied them, and by his native craft drove them into the

in Literatur und in bildlicher Darstellung des Mittelalters', *Die Verführung der Europa. Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1988), Frankfurt am Main 1988, figs 71f.

<sup>16</sup> Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, MS Membr. I.98. See Kobler (as in n. 15), ill. in cols 369f; Bierschenk (as in n. 15), pp. 69ff, fig. 75. On the manuscript see E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renaissances in Western Art*, Stockholm 1960, pp. 78f n. 2; H. Roob, 'Unvollendete Miniaturen in einer Ovid Handschrift der Gothaer Bibliothek', *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xxxviii, 1964, pp. 174-77. Berchorius, fab. XXIII, reads: 'Mirata igitur puella istius tauri pulchritudinem albedinem et mansuetudinem colligebat flores et ei sertum inter cornua faciebat'. Quoted from his *Reductorium morale*, xv, caps ii-v, *Ovidius moralizatus* (Instituut voor Laet Latijn der Rijksuniversiteit, Werkmateriaal, ii), ed. J. Engels, Utrecht 1962, p. 61. Miklós Boskovits has informed me that he believes the Gotha manuscript was produced about 1350.

<sup>17</sup> Schubring (as in n. 2), no. 466, pl. CX; *Die Verführung der Europa* (as in n. 15), colour ill. V. For examples

from antique art of Europa garlanding the bull-Jupiter, see M. Robertson in *Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, iv, Zürich and Munich 1988, s.v. *Europa*, pp. 77ff, pl. 33, nos 11, 18.

<sup>18</sup> Schubring (as in n. 2), no. 781, pl. CLXIV.

<sup>19</sup> *P. Ovidii Metamorphoseos*, ed. Z. Rosso, Venice 1497, fol. XVIII<sup>v</sup>. See also B. Mundt, 'Illustrationen zu Ovid', *Die Verführung der Europa* (as in n. 15), pp. 108ff, cat. 25 fig. 16. This illustration was repeated in successive editions of *Metamorphoses* in the 16th century.

<sup>20</sup> See Francesco Colonna, *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia*, Venice 1499, fols K.III, K.V<sup>v</sup>; Bierschenk (as in n. 15), cat. 27 fig. 78.

<sup>21</sup> V. Masséna, Prince d'Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et du commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup>*, Florence and Paris 1909, ii, 1, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> See T. Raff, 'Die Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Windpersonifikationen', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, xlvi, 1978/79, figs 60ff. There are representations of the story which portray Jupiter in human form in the heavens, before his descent to Earth: see *Die Verführung der Europa* (as in n. 15), cat. 63 fig. 79, cat. 71 fig. 86.

woods and hid them there. Nobody saw the theft except one old man well known in that neighbourhood, called Battus by all the countryside.<sup>23</sup>

The man with long fair hair and a golden staff might thus be identified as Apollo; the character in the red hood, pictured in the upper right-hand corner, Battus; and the winged figure, Mercury.

A few cases of winged figures of Hermes can be found in Greek art, but these could hardly have influenced any fifteenth-century cassone painter.<sup>24</sup> The familiar image of Mercury is with small wings on his sandals, or ankles, and on his distinctive hat (*petasus*).<sup>25</sup> He should hold the caduceus, his magic wand, and not a simple staff. Nothing either in Ovid or his commentators, or in any ancient or medieval mythographer, suggests that Mercury should have wings growing from his shoulders.<sup>26</sup> The winged Mercury does, however, have some precedent in medieval art. Illustrated copies of the Rabanus Maurus encyclopedic *De naturis rerum* (often called *De universo*), mentioned in Berchorius's text, were probably available by the ninth century. A copy made in 1023, now held in Montecassino,<sup>27</sup> depicts, among other gods, Mercury with a dog's head (Hermanubis), huge wings (or perhaps one wing) growing from his shoulders, and a bird flying between his legs (Pl. 15g).<sup>28</sup> In

<sup>23</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 679ff; Loeb edn (as in n. 14), pp. 107ff. See also Bonsignori (as in n. 14), cap. xxxiii, fol. XV, and Simintendi (as in n. 14), p. 89.

<sup>24</sup> Mercury is shown with wings growing from his shoulders on two 6th-century BC Greek vases: a black-figure kylix now in the Musée Municipal de Boulogne-sur-Mer (J. B. Beazley, *Attic Black Figure Vase Painters*, Oxford 1956, pp. 297ff, no. 1); and a red-figure amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum (C. Lenormant-De Witte, *Elite de monuments céramographiques*, ii, Paris 1857, pp. 114ff, pl. 36, fig. D). In both cases Hermes has a beard, a normal feature of this god's iconography until the early 5th century BC.

<sup>25</sup> On the iconography of Mercury/Hermes see C. Scherer in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884–90, i, s.v. *Hermes*, cols 2342–432, esp. 2390; H. Sichtermann in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, iv, Rome 1961, s.v. *Hermes*, pp. 2–20; also F. Saxl, 'Rinascimento dell'antichità. Studien zu den Arbeiten A. Warburg', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xliii, 1922, pp. 220–72 passim, esp. 252ff; Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 15), pp. 228–80, esp. 250ff; J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York 1961, passim. See also A. P. Mirimonde, 'Les allégories de la musique, II', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, lxxii, 1969, pp. 343–62; *Mercur à la Renaissance. Actes de Journées d'Etude* (1984, Lille), Paris 1988, esp. pp. 69–84; K. A. Neuhäuser, 'De Mercurio renascentibus obvio litteris', *Acta conventus neo-latini Guelpherbytani. Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (1986, Wolfenbüttel), Binghampton and New York 1988, pp. 117–26. I thank Christopher Ligota for this reference.

<sup>26</sup> For various descriptions of Mercury see H. Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius metaforalis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antiken Mythologie im Mittelalter* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, iv), Leipzig and Berlin 1962, pp. 60f; Seznec (as in n. 25), pp. 294f. See also E. H. Wilkins, 'Descriptions of Pagan Divinities from Petrarch to Chaucer', *Speculum*, xxxii.3, 1957, pp. 511–22, esp. 518. *Myth-*

*ographus*, iii.9, for example, says: 'quod vero talaria habeat Mercurius, et petasum, id est calciamentum alatum a Graeco verbo  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$  id est a volando dictum.' (G. H. Bode, ed., *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, Cellis 1834, p. 216. Cf. *Mythographus*, i.117, ii.54f, ii.170; also *Mythographi vaticani I and II*, ed. P. Kulcsár (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, XCI c), Turnholt 1987, pp. 48, 138–40, 229f. Similarly Berchorius in his *De formis figurisque deorum*, an introduction to his *Ovidius moralizatus*, says: 'Erat enim ipsius figura secundum Fulgentium et Rabanum in libro suo *De rerum naturis* homo qui in capite et in talis habebat alas... duabus alis velabant facies suas et duabus velabant pedes suos. (P. Berchorius, *De formis figurisque deorum* [Instituut voor Laet Latijn der Rijksuniversiteit, Werk-materiaal, i], ed. J. Engels, Utrecht 1960, pp. 17f.) See also Ghisalberti, 'L'Ovidius moralizatus' (as in n. 11), pp. 96ff.

<sup>27</sup> Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 132. The original version has not survived. On its illustrations see E. Panofsky, 'Hercules Agricola: A further Complication in the Problem of the Illustrated Hrabanus Manuscripts', *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*, London 1967, pp. 20–28; M. Reuter, *Text und Bild im Codex 132 der Bibliothek von Montecassino. Liber Rabani de originibus rerum* (Münchner Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance Forschung, xxvii), Munich 1984. F. Saxl in 'Illustrated Mediaeval Encyclopedias. I: The Classical Heritage', in his *Lectures* i, London 1957, pp. 233–39, suggested that there was once an illustrated edition of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, which is now lost. This might have been copied in the Carolingian period. For the *Etymologiae* see *Patrologiae cursus completus... series latina* (hereafter *PL*), ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844–64, lxxxiii, cap. viii, which contains a description of pagan gods; for Mercury see col. 319. Cf. Panofsky, (as in n. 16), p. 83; and idem (as above), p. 23.

a later copy of the manuscript the bird has become wings on his feet, but large wings still sprout from his neck (Pl. 15b).<sup>29</sup> In both versions his caduceus has become a long staff with which he is about to kill a snake.<sup>30</sup> It seems therefore that a misunderstanding of the reference to wings 'in capite', 'on his head', may have produced the first medieval representation of the winged Mercury.

Another example can be found in one of the illustrations to Remigius's commentary on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, in a manuscript dating from 1100 and now held in Munich (Pl. 15a).<sup>31</sup> Here he walks, almost naked and wearing a dark cap, in front of Mars's chariot, holding in his left hand a strange forked object for a caduceus. Huge (apparently doubled) wings grow from his shoulders, and his identity is confirmed by the inscription. Two further examples feature in French manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé en vers* (but with illuminations based on those in the Berchorius version), of around 1380, now in the Vatican and in Geneva respectively (Pls 15c, e).<sup>32</sup> Both show Mercury with Argus, who is lulled by the god's flute. Here Mercury has small wings growing from his ankles, but in clothing and physical appearance there is more of a resemblance to the winged figure of the Czartoryski cassone (Pl. 13a).

There are also some fifteenth-century representations of the winged Mercury. A notable example occurs in a manuscript of Christine de Pisan's *Épître d'Othéa* (with a much transformed text by Jean Miélot) in Brussels, illustrated by Loyset Liédet around 1460 (Pl. 15f),<sup>33</sup> although it should be observed that wings are a feature of

<sup>28</sup> See P. Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023* (facsimile), Montecassino 1896, fol. 386; N. Himmelmann, 'Antike Götter im Mittelalter', *Trierer Winkelmannsprogramm*, vii, 1985, pl. 3, 1. On Hermanubis see Panofsky (as in n. 27), p. 28 n. 37; and Pietschmann in *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. E. Pauly and G. Wissowa, i, Stuttgart 1984, cols 2645–49, esp. 2649. For the Rabanus text see *PL* (as in n. 27), cxi, col. 430: 'Alas eius in capite et in pedibus significare volucrum fieri per aera sermonem... Virgam tenet, qua serpentes dividit... Cur autem eum capite canino fingunt, haec ratio dicitur, quod inter omnia animalia canis sagacissimum genus et perspicax habeatur'. For various aspects of this image see A. Goldschmidt, 'Frühmittelalterliche illustrierte Encyklopädien', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1923–24*, Leipzig and Berlin 1926, p. 217; Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 15), p. 250; and Reuter (as in n. 27), p. 179.

<sup>29</sup> This manuscript, made in 1425 in either south or central Germany (again probably from the original version), is now in the Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 291, fol. 190; see P. Lehmann, 'Illustrierte Hrabanus Codices', *Fuldaer Studien II, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1927, pp. 13ff; Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 15), p. 258, fig. 41; Panofsky (as in n. 27), fig. 2; Seznec (as in n. 25), fig. 66. Another, roughly contemporary image of the god with wings on his neck (but this time with a human head) occurs in *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, illustrated in Italy around 1420 and also in the Vatican: MS Reg. lat. 1290, fol. 27. See Liebeschütz (as in n. 26), fig. 28; cf. p. 119 with the passage from this text (cap. vi) describing Mercury. See also Saxl (as in n. 25), fig. 16; Panofsky

and Saxl (as in n. 15), pp. 257ff, fig. 40. A further example is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.214, fol. 198v; see F. Saxl and H. Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, London 1953, pl. VI, 19; Seznec (as in n. 25), p. 181, fig. 70.

<sup>30</sup> For this mistake of the illustrator see Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 15), p. 250; also Goldschmidt (as in n. 28), p. 217. On the caduceus and its various forms in the Middle Ages see Seznec (as in n. 25), pp. 181ff and passim.

<sup>31</sup> Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14271, fol. 11v; see Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 15), pp. 253ff, fig. 39; Saxl (as in n. 25), pp. 243ff, fig. 12; Panofsky (as in n. 16), p. 85, fig. 53; Seznec (as in n. 25), pp. 167f, 181, fig. 67. On this manuscript see also G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, Leipzig 1901, p. 172; Liebeschütz (as in n. 26), pp. 44f. There is nothing about Mercury with wings growing from his shoulders either in the text of Martianus Capella or in Remigius's commentary. For Remigius's descriptions see chaps I.9.5, I.9.14 in his *Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, i–ii, ed. C. E. Lutz, Leiden 1962, pp. 82, 101. Seznec (as in n. 25), p. 181, noticed the 'angelic aspect' of this representation of Mercury and suggested that it could be based on the images of Hermanubis discussed above.

<sup>32</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1480, fol. 241r; Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS fr. 176, fol. 239r; both unpublished. On these manuscripts and illustrations, which refer to descriptions in Berchorius's *De formis figurisque deorum*, see Panofsky (as in n. 16), pp. 80f n. 2; A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. G. Bing and F. Rougemont, Berlin 1932, ii, pp. 627ff.

nearly all the pagan gods represented in this manuscript.<sup>34</sup> Thus Mercury, the messenger of pagan gods (ἄγγελος), given the wings of a Christian angel,<sup>35</sup> became a constant, albeit minor theme in art.<sup>36</sup>

It can therefore be presumed that the winged youth on the Czartoryski cassone represents Mercury and that the subject is indeed the story of Battus. The fair-haired man in the foreground is thus Apollo dressed as a cowherd. In depicting him with a golden staff the artist was perhaps following Boccaccio, who relates that Apollo gave Mercury his rod when the gods made peace after the episode of Battus; later, following Lucian, he talks of Mercury 'with the golden wand'.<sup>37</sup>

The story of Battus was in fact represented in some contemporary miniatures, notably in the manuscript of Berchorius's *Ovidius moralizatus* in Gotha (Pl. 11a-b).<sup>38</sup> Berchorius followed Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, ii.678ff) in describing how Battus received a heifer from Mercury in return for his promise not to disclose the theft of cattle. To test Battus the god returned, in disguise, offering a cow and bull for information. Battus told all and was turned to stone for his faithlessness. In the Gotha *Ovidius moralizatus* this whole story is represented in a single landscape, in a manner

<sup>33</sup> Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9392, fol. 21<sup>v</sup>; see J. van Gheyn, *Christine de Pisan, Épître d'Othéa, déesse de la Prudence, à Hector, chef de Troyens. Reproduction des 100 miniatures du MS 9392 de Jean Miélot*, Brussels 1913, pl. 18.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. fols 13<sup>v</sup> (Apollo), 14<sup>v</sup> (Mars), 16<sup>v</sup> (Minerva), 24<sup>v</sup> (Bacchus), 25<sup>v</sup> (Venus), etc., and once more Mercury, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>, reproduced in van Gheyn, op. cit., pl. 12. Christine de Pisan says nothing about either Mercury's wings or those of the other gods (for refs see below, n. 43); moreover they are shown without wings in earlier manuscripts of this book. There is another winged Mercury in a relief by Domenico Gaggini, now in the County Museum of Art in Los Angeles. See A. Chastel, *La grande officina. Arte italiana 1460-1500*, Milan 1966, p. 157, fig. 170.

<sup>35</sup> Mercury is called 'angelus' by Berchorius in his moralisation of the Rape of Europa. See Ghisalberti, 'L'*Ovidius moralizatus*' (as in n. 11), p. 44 (this passage appears in version 'P'). On ἄγγελος and wings see F. Saxl, 'Continuity and Variation in the Meaning of Images', in his *Lectures*, i, London 1957, pp. 7ff. See also P. Carolidis, *Anubis, Hermes, Michael. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des religiös-philosophischen Synkretismus im griechischen Orient*, Strasbourg 1913, passim.

<sup>36</sup> Occasionally the winged Mercury reappears in later art. See e.g. the obverse of a medallion of Jacob Fugger dating from the first half of the 16th century, in S. Brink, *Mercurius Mediceus. Studien zur panegyrischen Verwendung der Merkurgestalt im Florenz des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Worms 1987, p. 45, figs 2a, b. See also the engraving in the Paris edition of the *Metamorphoses* of 1570, reproduced in M. D. Henkel, 'Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1926-27*, Leipzig and Berlin 1930, p. 82, fig. 22. An interesting representation is to be found in *De lapide sapientium* of Basilius Valentinus, produced at the beginning of the 17th century: see *Musaeum Hermeticum reformatum et ampliatum*, ed. K. R. H. Frick, Graz 1970, p. 396 (I thank Antonio Cleri-

cuzio for this reference). Fritz Saxl believed that the modern (*all'antica*) iconography of Mercury dates from the famous drawing by Cyriac of Ancona of a relief found by him in Panticapeum: see his 'Rinascimento dell'antichità' (as in n. 25), pp. 252ff. Saxl's opinion has been repeated, e.g. by Seznec (as in n. 25), pp. 200ff. But as Callmann justly pointed out (as in n. 13, p. 47 n. 42): 'Saxl seems to have oversimplified the process... and omitted some probable sources and evolutionary steps'. This problem, as well as that of winged gods in the art of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, needs further study. Even as late as the present century, the Academia de San Fernando in Barcelona honoured distinguished scholars and artists with a medal bearing an image of Mercury with huge wings (and, curiously, the face of Praxiteles's Hermes): see M. A. Blanca Piquero López and M. del Carmen Salinero Moro, 'Inventario de la Colección de medallas de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando', *Academia. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, lxvi, 1988, pp. 257-362, no. 65 (cf. also nos 61, 64-67, 70, 80). The first of these medals was struck in the second half of the 19th century.

<sup>37</sup> G. Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum*, ii, 12, edn Basle 1532, p. 37. On Apollo's search for his cattle and his giving of the staff (which later became the caduceus) to Mercury, see also *Mythographus*, ii.2.55 (*Mythographi vaticani I et II*, as in n. 26, p. 140); and *Ovide moralisé en vers*, ii.3575ff (ed. de Boer, as in n. 11, i, p. 247). On the late medieval and Renaissance iconography of Apollo, often shown with long fair hair, see E. Schröter, *Die Ikonographie des Themas Parnass vor Raffael*, New York and Hildesheim 1977, pp. 251ff.

<sup>38</sup> Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, MS Membr. I.98; unpublished. For Mercury with Battus on Filarete's bronze doors of St Peter's see H. Roeder, 'The Borders of Filarete's Bronze Doors to St Peter's', this *Journal*, x, 1947, p. 153; for the later iconography of Battus see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, ii, Budapest 1974, p. 34.



which recalls the second cassone panel. Perhaps the episode of Battus turned to stone featured on the last section of the cassone.

There remains the question of the episode on the left with Mercury pointing to the woman. This scene must be related to the central building, partly visible on both panels. In the second book of the *Metamorphoses*, between the stories of Mercury and Apollo and of the Abduction of Europa, Ovid recounts how Mercury fell in love with Herse, daughter of Cecrops, king of Athens (*Metamorphoses*, ii.708ff). Herse lived with her sisters Pandrosos and Aglauros, and when Mercury came to visit the house it was Aglauros whom he met. The girl demanded gold from the god as the price of entry; but when he brought it she was consumed with envy and tried to prevent him entering Herse's chamber. Mercury's punishment was to turn her to stone, like Battus. As Ovid puts it:

She no longer tried to speak, and, if she had tried, her voice would have found no way of utterance. There she sat, her neck, her lips all changed to lifeless stone. But even the stone in its dull colour kept the hue of her dark and sullen soul.<sup>39</sup>

It is this punishment which forms the 'metamorphosis' of the tale, and Ovid's protagonist is therefore Aglauros rather than Herse. But which of the two sisters is the woman shown above Mercury on the Czartoryski panel?

Given that the cassone was probably intended for a bride it would seem more appropriate to illustrate a theme of love rather than envy and its punishment. Moreover, moralised versions of the *Metamorphoses* tend to concentrate on Herse, and praise her beauty and virtue.<sup>40</sup> Indeed these versions add a happy marriage to Mercury; in manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé en vers* in Paris and Rouen, there are even miniatures depicting the wedding.<sup>41</sup> Yet such depictions are not only rare but quite dissimilar to the Czartoryski cassone. Usually illuminators who illustrated the story, like Ovid himself, concentrated on Aglauros's metamorphosis. The earliest example occurs in the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé en vers* in Rouen (Pl. 15d).<sup>42</sup> It shows Mercury (wingless), disguised as a king or prince, being stopped by Aglauros at the door of a building, while Herse and Pandrosos sit inside. There is also a pair of nearly identical early fifteenth-century miniatures from two lavishly illuminated manuscripts of the *Epître d'Othéa* of Christine de Pisan, now in London (Pl. 15h) and Paris.<sup>43</sup> Herse's house is a magnificent turreted building. Aglauros is seated in the doorway and Mercury, who seems to be dressed as a rich merchant, with a purse at his belt, is about to strike her with his staff. Here again he is wingless. It may be

<sup>39</sup> *Metamorphoses*, ii.827ff; Loeb edn (as in n. 14), p. 119. See also Simintendi (as in n. 14), p. 96; Bonsignori (as in n. 14), fol. XVI<sup>v</sup> (cap. xlii).

<sup>40</sup> *Ovide moralisé en vers*, ii.4077–81 (ed. de Boer, as in n. 11, i, p. 258). See also Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, iii. 14.3; and *Ovide moralisé en prose*, ii.38 (ed. de Boer, as in n. 11, i, p. 107).

<sup>41</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 04, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5069, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>; see Lord (as in n. 15), p. 171 (appx).

<sup>42</sup> Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 04, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>; see Lord (as in n. 15), p. 171 (appx).

<sup>43</sup> London, British Library, MS Harley 4431, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 606, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>; both

unpublished. On Christine de Pisan see S. L. Hindman, *Christine de Pisan's 'Epître Othéa'. Painting and politics at the Court of Charles VI*, Toronto 1986 (I thank Carla Lord for this reference). See also L. Schaefer, 'Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pisan', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1937, pp. 119–208; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limburgs and their Contemporaries*, London 1974, pp. 23–41. For the text on Aglauros and Mercury see *The Epître of Othéa*, ed. C. F. Bühler, tr. S. Scrope, Oxford 1970, pp. 29ff (cap. xviii).

noted that the winged Mercury illustrated in the Brussels *Epître d'Othéa*, mentioned above, is similarly clad (Pl. 15f); however, this miniature is later than the Czartoryski cassone.

That the cassone shows Aglauros, about to be turned to stone, is perhaps supported by the representation of the metamorphosis of Battus in the Gotha *Ovidius moralizatus* (Pl. 11a-b). In the upper right-hand corner, Battus's head is shown above a rock, with the rest of his body hidden and presumably petrified. The same might be the case for Aglauros on the Czartoryski panel.

One more question remains to be answered: was anyone depicted inside the central building? The rays emanating from it and its presumed scale seem to suggest such a possibility. Ovid's story ends with the metamorphosis of Aglauros; Bonsignori, however, added that the god then succeeded in visiting Herse's room,<sup>44</sup> while the *Ovide moralisé en vers* included the wedding.<sup>45</sup> As already noted, this text was illustrated in two manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé*. Both depict the marriage of Herse and Mercury, who are shown facing each other and accompanied by their attendants. Thus the encounter of the couple, as in Bonsignori, or their marriage, as in *Ovide moralisé*, could be the episode highlighted by the golden rays in the central building.<sup>46</sup>

As Ernst Gombrich has observed, cassone painting often aimed to offer a feast to the eye while illustrating subjects of some moral significance.<sup>47</sup> The decorative quality of the Czartoryski cassone is evident, or at any rate would have been in its original state, with its beautifully dressed women, golden-winged Mercury, rays of light and gilt gesso.<sup>48</sup> But is there some particular rationale for this combination of subjects from the *Metamorphoses*?<sup>49</sup>

The story of the rape of Europa occurs quite often on cassoni, and might have been seen as an image of the new bride 'torn away' from her companions to begin a new life.<sup>50</sup> The unusual depiction of the abduction of Europa, concentrating on its

<sup>44</sup> Bonsignori (as in n. 14), fol. XVII<sup>v</sup> (ii, cap. xlii): 'Mercurio ando in camera di Herse a tutto suo piacer. E quando fu stato quello tempo che a lui contento se partì e uolì in cielo.'

<sup>45</sup> *Ovide moralisé en vers*, ii.4077-81 (ed. de Boer, as in n. 11, i, p. 258): 'L'istorie est tele, ce m'est vis, / Que Mercurios, filz Jovis, / Prist Hersé, fille au roi Athènes, / L'une des trois Cycropiennes / Par amours et par mariage.' See also n. 40.

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 71 and n. 41. Alternatively, there might have been an encounter of Europa with Jupiter, now in human form. Cf. London, British Library, MS Sloane 2452, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, an illustration from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, dating from 1450, which shows a radiating Jupiter (Saxl and Meier, as in n. 29, p. 246; Bierschenk, as in n. 15, p. 68, fig. 74). Here, however, the scene takes place on board ship; I know no representation of Europa with Jupiter in human form within a city or palace.

<sup>47</sup> Gombrich (as in n. 13), pp. 20ff.

<sup>48</sup> For Vasari's comments on 'bellissimo vedere' see n. 4 above.

<sup>49</sup> On representations inspired by the *Metamorphoses* see C. Lord, 'Some Ovidian Themes in Italian Renaissance Art', Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York 1968; idem (as in n. 15), pp. 161-75. On the borders of

Filarete's doors in St Peter's there are many scenes from the *Metamorphoses*, but they do not seem to have any logical sequence: see M. Lazzaroni and M. Muñoz, *Filarete: scultore e architetto del secolo XV*, Rome 1908, pp. 50-68; Roeder (as in n. 38), pp. 150-53; U. Nilgen, 'Filaretos Bronzetür von St Peter. Zur Interpretation von Bild und Rahmen', *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte* (Granada 1973), Granada 1978, iii, p. 581.

<sup>50</sup> Alternatively it is possible that the scene on the Czartoryski cassone evoked the Christian meaning given by the moralised Ovid: e.g. Berchorius's *Ovidius moralizatus*, fab. XXIII, where Jove carrying off Europa is seen as Christ, in the form of a beautiful, spotless white bull ('pulcherrimus sine macula et ruga, albissimus') ravishing a human soul. For various interpretations of the Rape of Europa see E. Panofsky's letter in *Art Bulletin*, xxx, 1948, pp. 242-44. See also *Verführung der Europa* (as in n. 15), passim. On the importance of the moralised Ovid in the art of the Renaissance see Lord (as in n. 15), p. 161; idem, 'Solar Imagery in Filarete's Doors to St Peter's', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, lxxxvii, 1976, pp. 143-50; E. Parlato, 'Il gusto all'antica di Filarete scultore', *Da Pisanello alla nascita dei Musei Capitolini. L'antico a Roma alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Rome 1988, pp. 118-20. See

introductory stage—the coronation of the white bull—might have been chosen for the Czartoryski cassone so as to include a sort of bridal procession, with the women carrying floral wreaths.<sup>51</sup> In the Trecento and Quattrocento the giving of wreaths to lovers was very popular.<sup>52</sup> They were considered ‘messaggeri d’amore’. In Francesco da Barberino’s *Del reggimento e de’ costumi delle donne* we learn that ‘la regina dopo la prima notte d’amore mandi in dono una ghirlanda al re suo sposo’.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the choice of the story of Europa might also have had astrological significance. Taurus, the zodiacal sign for April, is Europa’s bull translated to the skies.<sup>54</sup> It is also one of the mansions of Venus. On 23 April 1407, when the sun was in Taurus, the wedding took place of Ladislav of Durazzo, king of Naples, and Maria of Enghien.<sup>55</sup> Just possibly the Czartoryski cassone with its illustration of the story of Europa was, like the cassone in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 14a-c), one of the wedding presents.<sup>56</sup>

It is harder to discern a marital allusion in the tales of Herse or Battus. Bonsignori saw Aglauros as representing the ‘invidiosi’,<sup>57</sup> while Berchorius suggests that the message of the Battus story perhaps concerned betrayal.<sup>58</sup> But Mercury himself was celebrated by medieval and Renaissance authors—indeed Bonsignori called him ‘homo di bona fama’<sup>59</sup>—and came to be regarded as patron not only of oratory and other intellectual pursuits, but specifically of writers and painters.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, his wings were referred to as ‘alae contemplationis’.<sup>61</sup> As the champion of intellectual activity he might have seemed an appropriate *figura* of a bridegroom who was crowned at a time when the earth was under the influence of the planet Mercury.<sup>62</sup>

also Ghisalberti, ‘L’*Ovidius moralizatus*’ (as in n. 11), pp. 52ff.

<sup>51</sup> On wedding processions see B. Witthoft, ‘Marriage Rituals and Marriage Chests in Quattrocento Florence’, *Artibus et Historiae*, v.3, 1982, pp. 43–59, esp. 46–51.

<sup>52</sup> On wreaths and their symbolic meaning see Pisetzky (as in n. 8), pp. 126ff.

<sup>53</sup> As paraphrased by Pisetzky, op. cit., p. 127; for the original text (Barberino’s cap. V) see *Poeti minori del Trecento*, ed. N. Sapegno (La letteratura italiana. Storia e testi, x), Milan and Naples 1952, p. 714.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Mythographus*, iii.15.2. See Bode, ed. (as in n. 26), p. 253.

<sup>55</sup> On this wedding, its circumstances and the date, see A. Cutolo, *Re Ladislav d’Angiò Durazzo*, 2nd edn, Naples 1969, pp. 303ff, esp. 308. See also Bologna (as in n. 6), pp. 343ff.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 65. From various marriage contracts and inventories we know that cassoni were invariably given in pairs; see Callmann (as in n. 13), p. 25. Both Bologna (as in n. 6, pp. 343f) and Navarro (as in n. 6, p. 446) suggest that the pair of cassoni received by Maria of Enghien comprised that in the Bargello (see Pl. 11d and above, p. 65) and the Metropolitan one (Pl. 14a-c and above, p. 64) This hypothesis must be rejected as the pendant of the Bargello cassone is the cassone once in the H. Harris Collection in London, which depicts the second part of the story of messer Torello; see Schüring (as in n. 2), pp. 420f, no. 903, pl CXCI, and Boskovits (as in n. 7), p. 47. For the social history of marriage rituals and cassoni see C. Klapisch-Zuber, ‘Le

zane della sposa: la donna fiorentina e il suo corredo del Rinascimento’, *La famiglia e le donne nel Rinascimento a Firenze*, Rome and Bari 1988, pp. 193–211; idem, ‘The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento’, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1985, pp. 213–46.

<sup>57</sup> Bonsignori (as in n. 14), cap. xliii, fol. 16: ‘...per Aglauros [Ovidio] intento gli invidiosi’.

<sup>58</sup> Berchorius, *Ovidius moralizatus*, fab. XXI; ed. Engels (as in n. 16), p. 59: ‘ista fabula potest allegari contra proditores’. Ernst Gombrich has made the intriguing suggestion to me that representations of Battus and Aglauros which include a ‘flinty stone’, or a rock, may refer to coats of arms or devices. On the popularity of the ‘pierre à feu’ in this context see his *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, London 1979, p. 232.

<sup>59</sup> Bonsignori (as in n. 14), cap. xliii, fol. 16.

<sup>60</sup> See also Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i.19.7–16 (Teubner edn), ed. J. Willis, Leipzig 1970, pp. 109–11); *Mythographus*, iii, cap. ix (ed. Bode, as in n. 26, pp. 213–21); Berchorius, *De formis*, cap. vi (ed. Engels, as in n. 26, pp. 17–19); Boccaccio (as in n. 37), p. 35; *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, cap. vi (Liebeschütz, as in n. 26, p. 119); cf. Seznec (as in n. 25), passim; Brink (as in n. 36), passim.

<sup>61</sup> Berchorius, *De formis*, cap. vi; ed. Engels (as in n. 26), p. 18. Cf. Macrobius, op. cit., i.19.7–10. See also B. L. Welch, *Ronsard’s Mercury*, New York 1986, pp. 5ff.

<sup>62</sup> Ladislav was crowned on 29 May 1390; for the coronation see Cutolo (as in n. 55), p. 110.

Finally, it might have been the case that the Czartoryski cassone was meant to be viewed not from left to right, as it has been in this paper, but vice versa.<sup>63</sup> Certainly Ovid's text speaks about Mercury first and Europa second, and there is the parallel of the cassone in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 14a-c), referred to above. If both works were indeed meant to be 'read' from right to left this might therefore provide confirmation of their association with one another, and perhaps also with the same wedding.

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<sup>63</sup> The narration develops from the right to the left on some other cassoni ascribed by Boskovits to the Master of Ladislav of Durazzo; see Boskovits (as in n. 7), n. 14.

See also the cassone ascribed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, referred to above (p. 67 and n. 17).

a, b—Mercury and Battus.  
Miniature from *Ovidius moralizatus*.  
Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek,  
MS Membr. I.98. Sketch detail  
showing Battus in top right-hand  
corner (pp. 70, 72)



c—Europa and the bull-Jupiter.  
Miniature from the Gotha  
*Ovidius moralizatus* (p. 67)

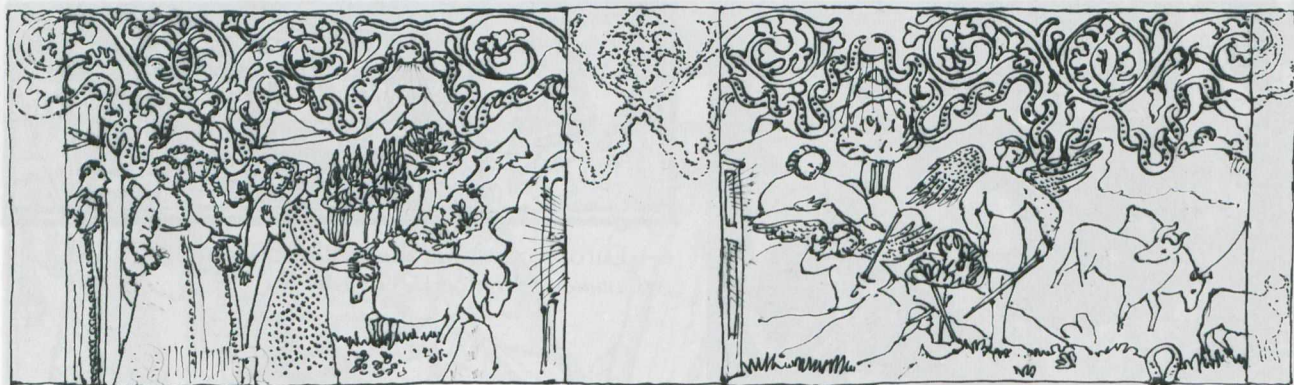


e—Europa crowning the bull. Woodcut from Ovid,  
*Ars amatoria*, Venice 1509 (p. 67)

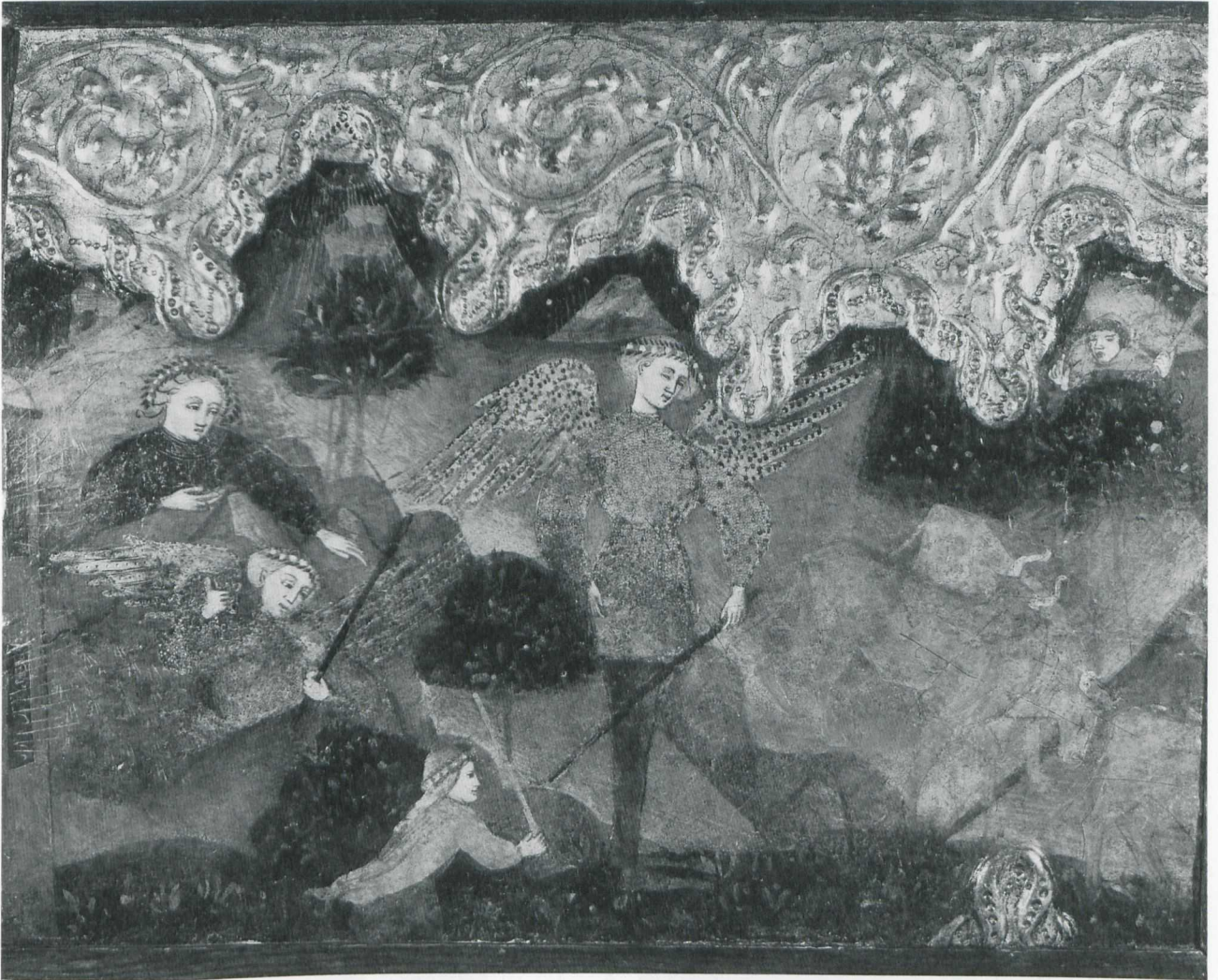
d—Detail of early 15-century cassone. Florence,  
Museo del Bargello (pp. 65, 73n)



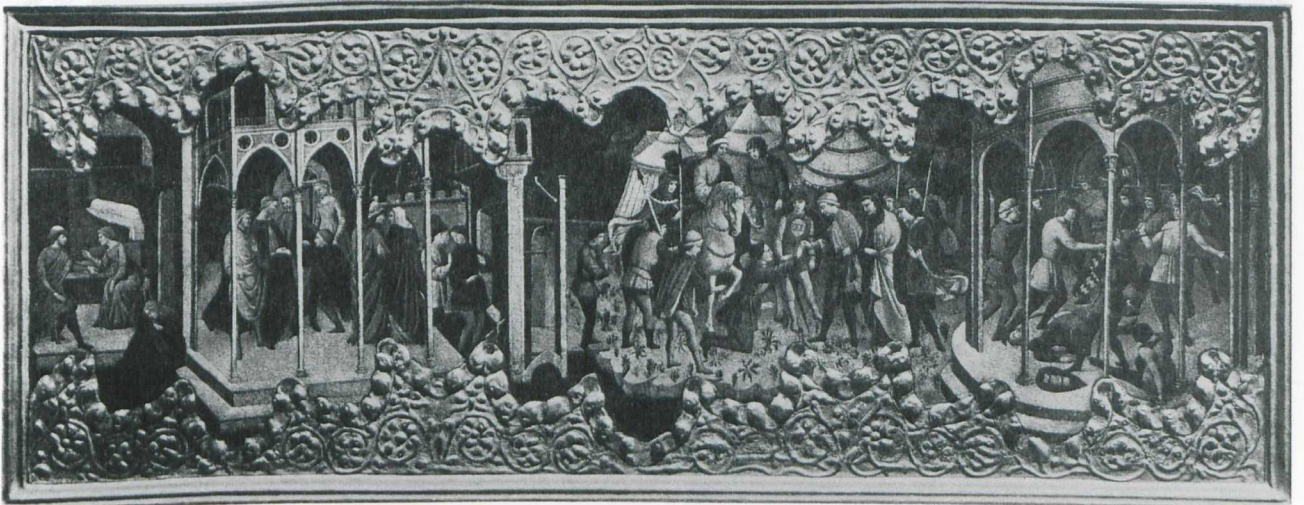
a—Czartoryski cassone, panel A. Cracow, The Czartoryski Collection (*pp.* 63–74)



b—Partial reconstruction of the front of the Czartoryski cassone (*p.* 64)



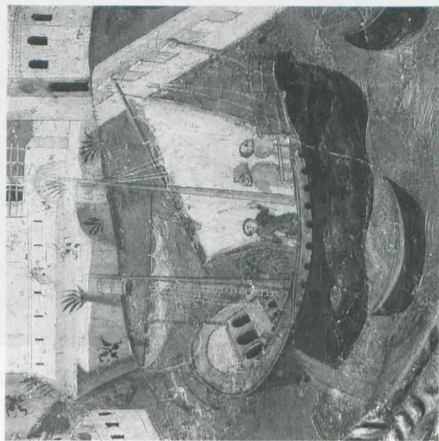
a—Czartoryski cassone, panel B. Cracow, The Czartoryski Collection (*pp.* 63–74)



b—Cassone from the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence. Present whereabouts unknown (*p.* 64)



a, b, c—Front panel of cassone, probably southern Italian, early 15th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum (pp. 64f, 73f)



d—Detail of Pl. 14a (p. 65)



e—Detail of Pl. 13a (p. 65)



f—Detail of Pl. 14b (p. 65)



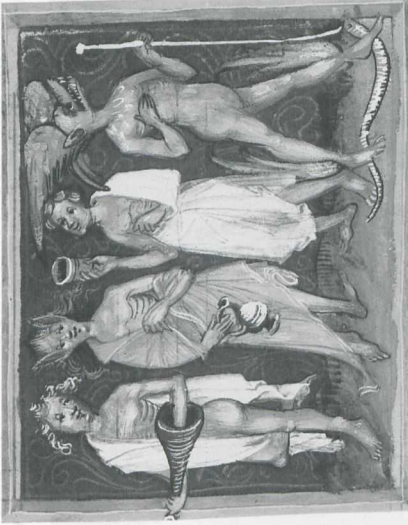
g—Detail of Pl. 13a (p. 65)





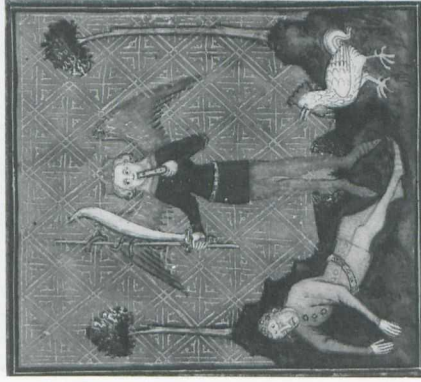
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a—Mercury. From Remigius's commentary on Martianus. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14271 (p. 69).



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b—Pagan gods. From Rabanus Maurus, *De naturis rerum*. Vatican, MS Pal. Lat. 291 (p. 69).



c—Mercury and Argus. From *Ovide moralisé en vers*. Vatican, MS Reg. Lat. 1480 (p. 69).

d—Mercury and Aglauros. From *Ovide moralisé en vers*. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 04 (p. 71).



e—Mercury and Argus. From *Ovide moralisé en vers*. Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS fr. 176 (p. 69).

f—Mercury and Aglauros. From *Épître d'Othéa*, ed. Jean Miélot. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9392 (pp. 69, 72).



g—Pagan gods. From Rabanus Maurus, *De naturis rerum*. Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 132 (p. 68).

h—Mercury and Aglauros. From *Épître d'Othéa*. London, British Library, MS Harley 4431 (p. 71).

