

To Berthold Bischoff
with apologies for a fruitless
attempt at trespassing,
E.P.

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Hercules Agricola: A Further Complication in the Problem of the Illustrated Hrabanus Manuscripts

'Ea memorare volo, explicare nequeo.'
(W. M. Lindsay)

Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus, born in 780, received his education at Tours under Alcuin but spent the greater part of his adult life in the Monastery at Fulda which he directed as Abbot from 822 to 842. After five years (842-847) of withdrawal to the nearby Monastery on the Petersberg—his own foundation—he was elected Archbishop of Mayence, where he died in 856.¹

In his retreat he composed—or, rather, compiled—a big encyclopedia entitled *De naturis rerum* (but mostly cited as *De universo*) which he dedicated to his old friend, Bishop Hemmo of Halberstadt, and a copy of which he offered to King Louis the Germanic. Concerned with 'omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis', this work is largely copied from the *Etymologiae* (occasionally quoted as *Origines*) by Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636); but it differs from its model in several respects. The vast material is presented in a different order (there are twenty-two books instead of twenty, and the discussion starts, as Hrabanus thought proper, with God, the Trinity and the angels instead of with the liberal arts); some of Isidore's entries are omitted; and most of them are lengthily 'moralized' by the application of an *interpretatio Christiana* still foreign to Isidore.²

1. Cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911-31, I, pp. 288 ff.; III, p. 1062.

2. So far as I know there is no critical edition of Hrabanus' *De universo* based on a comparative study of the manuscripts which tend to differ not only in individual readings but also in the numbering of the chapters and, as will be seen, in the presence or absence of single sentences or even whole sections. For the time being the text is normally quoted from vol. cxi of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter referred to as *P.L.*), cols. 9-614, which is a straight reprint of G. Colvenerius (George Colvener or Colveneer), ed., *Magnenti Hrabani Mauri opera omnia*, Cologne, 1626-7 (not 1617, as stated in *P.L.*). This in turn largely agrees with the *editio princeps*: *Rabanus, opus de universo seu de sermonum proprietate et mystica rerum significatione*, Strasbourg, probably Adolf Rusch, shortly before 1467 (Hain-Copinger, *13669); photostats of this *incunabulum* were kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Curt F. Bühler of the Morgan Library. In referring to the text I keep to the order of chapters adopted in *P.L.* Isidore's *Etymologiae* is accessible in *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXII, cols. 74-1054, and in the critical edition by W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911. Cf. J. Engels, 'La Portée de l'Etymologie Isidorienne', *Studi medievali*, Spoleto, Series III, I, 1962, pp. 1 ff.

I

Since the end of the nineteenth century, Hrabanus' *De universo* has aroused the interest not only of palaeographers and students of medieval literature but also of art historians. Of the c. thirty manuscripts which have come down to us, ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century, no less than five are illustrated, though only two provide us with a nearly complete set of miniatures. And these illustrations bear witness to a constant representational tradition still rooted in the art of classical antiquity.

The two completely illustrated and completely preserved manuscripts, separated by about four centuries, are, first, the 'Codex Casinensis 132' (hereafter referred to as '*Cas.*'), which has never left the Monastery of Montecassino where it was both written and illuminated in 1022-1023;³ and, second, a manuscript in the Vatican Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 291 (hereafter referred to as '*Pal.*'), which was written in South or Central Germany in 1425 (the *explicit* even states the precise date: November 8) and is no less fully—as a matter of fact, a little more fully—illustrated in a charmingly provincial version of what is now generally called the 'International Style of around 1400'.⁴

3. Many—unfortunately not all—of its three hundred and sixty-one illustrations are reproduced in P. A. Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023*, Montecassino, 1896, but only in chromolithographs which, being hand-made, obscure the style of the miniatures and isolate them from the script. Photographic reproductions exist only of some thirty pictures or pages selected according to the requirements of a given context. See, e.g., E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, Oxford, 1929, I, p. 344, and II, pl. 59; R. Wittkower, 'The Marvels of the East', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, pp. 159 ff., pl. 42b; E. Panofsky, *Il Significato nelle arti visive*, Turin, 1962, p. 52, Fig. 13; and, above all, F. Saxl, 'Illustrated Medieval Encyclopaedias', *Lectures*, London, 1957, I, pp. 228 ff., and II, pls. 155 a ('p. 107' should read 'p. 106'), c, e ('p. 290' should read 'p. 291'); 156 b-d; 157 a, c; 158 a, c, e; 159 a, c; 160 a, c ('p. 474' should read 'p. 472'), e; 161 a, c, e; 162 a, c; 163 a, c; 164 a, e; 165 a, c; 167 c; H. Giess, 'The Sculpture of the Cloisters of Santa Sofia in Benevento', *Art Bulletin*, XLI, 1959, pp. 249 ff., Fig. 26. For the general problem of illustrated medieval encyclopedias, see Saxl, *loc. cit.*, and 'Die Bibliothek Warburg und ihr Ziel', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, I, 1921-2, pp. 1 ff.; further, A. Goldschmidt, 'Frühmittelalterliche illustrierte Enzyklopädien', *ibid.*, III, 1923-4, pp. 215 ff.

4. *Pal.* was discovered and excellently described as well as analyzed by P. Lehmann, 'Illustrierte Hrabanus Codices; Fuldaer Studien, II', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-his-*

Of the three other illustrated manuscripts two are mere fragments: two isolated vellum leaves, probably written and illuminated in West Germany about 1200, which belong to Book IV, Chapters 2–5 (*De martyribus, De Ecclesia et Synagoga, De religione et fide, De clericis*), in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 17177;⁵ and the *disiecta membra* (more than one hundred pages or clippings from pages) of a manuscript ascribed to a Catalonian hand of the late fourteenth century, fairly good in quality with respect to script as well as illustrations but barbarously cut apart. Most, though not all, of its surviving fragments were acquired and assembled by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Cod. fol. lat. 930) and are at present on deposit in the University Library at Tübingen.⁶ The fifth manuscript (Vatican Library, Cod. Reg. lat. 391, hereafter referred to as 'Reg.') dates from the early fifteenth century and was most probably produced in Italy (it was in fact owned by an Italian humanist as early as c. 1450). The text is complete, except that it abruptly ends in the middle of the antepenultimate chapter (XXII, 14); but the rather rustic illustrator either died, was dismissed or lost heart after having produced seven pen drawings and one lapis sketch at the beginning.⁷ Late, scantily illustrated, indifferently written, and careless in the rendering of the text, this manuscript would not be of

torischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1927, pp. 13 ff. The only trivial objection which may be raised is that the chapter references do not consistently refer to either the order adopted in *P.L.* or to the occasionally deviant numeration in *Pal.* itself. Cf. also E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Medieval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv, 2, 1933, pp. 228 ff., particularly p. 258, and Figs. 37, 41; E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, Stockholm, 1960, p. 207, Fig. 157. My grateful memory belongs to the late Dom Guy Ferrari, O.S.B., who kindly provided me with a complete set of photographs.

5. P. Lehmann, 'Mitteilungen aus Handschriften', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Abtlg. der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1930, pp. 45 ff.; cf. H. Swarzenski, 'Recent Literature, Chiefly Periodical, on Mediaeval Minor Arts', *Art Bulletin*, xxiv, 1942, pp. 287 ff., particularly p. 293.

6. P. Lehmann, 'Reste einer Bilderhandschrift des Hrabanus in Berlin', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, lv, 1938, pp. 173 ff.; cf. also Swarzenski, *loc. cit.* Some of the fragments, then thought to belong to a manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, were offered in E. van Scherling's *Rotulus, A Quarterly Bulletin for Manuscript Collectors*, Leiden, iii, 1933, pp. 3 and 8 ff. In spite of the erroneous attribution, this publication is still important in that it includes a number of miniatures which the Berlin Library was unable to secure and at least one of which (the Decapitation Scene referred to in notes 8 and 17 and illustrated in our Fig. 3) is known to have been destroyed by fire (kind communication of Professor Bernhard Bischoff).

7. P. Lehmann, 'Fuldaer Studien, II', pp. 41 ff. The illustrations begin with I, 1 (*De Deo*) and end with III, 1 (*De aliis quibusdam viris sive feminis, quorum nomina in Veteri Testamento scripta leguntur*). In this case, too, I have to thank the late Dom Guy Ferrari for photographs.

great value were it not for the fact that blank spaces are left for all the pictures planned but not executed—which enables us to compare its organization with that of *Cas.* and *Pal.*

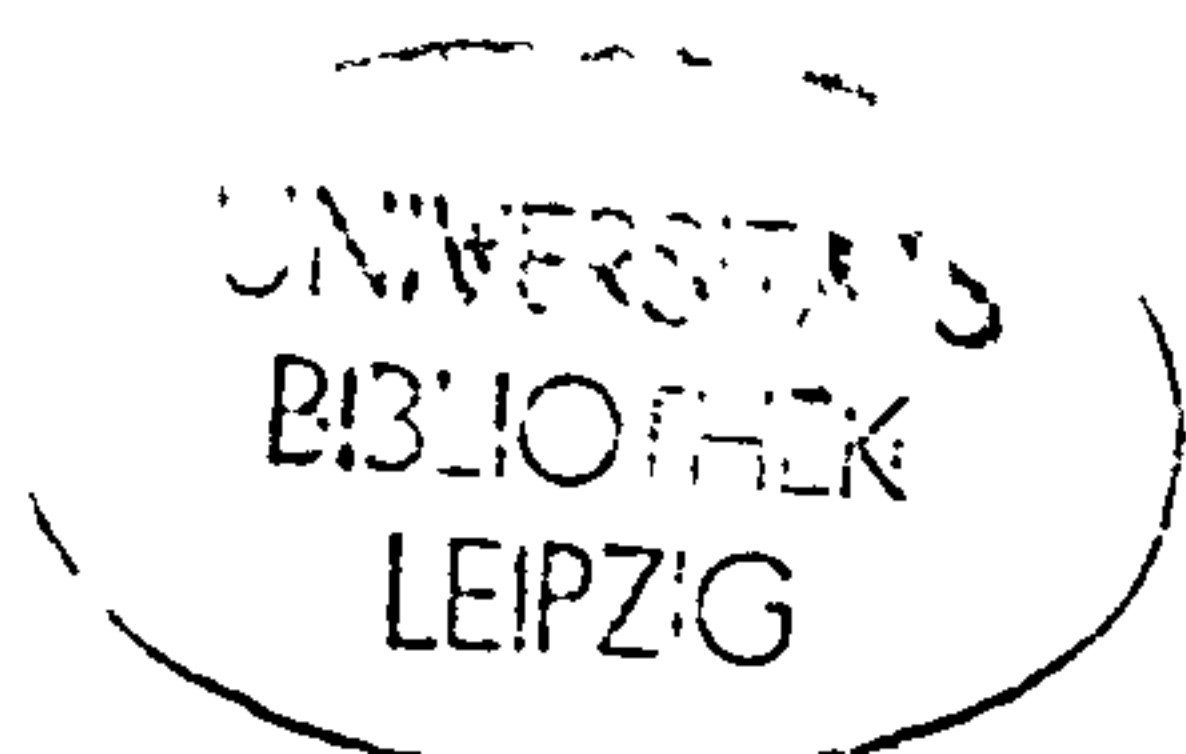
II

That these five illustrated manuscripts are interrelated cannot, I think, be doubted.⁸ There arise, however, two questions. First, do all the manuscripts postdating *Cas.* depend on it, or do some derive from a common archetype now lost? Second, if we do have to postulate such a parent manuscript, how do we have to imagine the genesis of this *chef d'œuvre inconnu*?

The first of these questions has been conclusively answered by Paul Lehmann. He demonstrated that *Pal.* and *Reg.* constitute a family related to but different from *Cas.*, and that, therefore, these two manuscripts derive from a model antedating *Cas.* And, since *Pal.* was written and illuminated in Germany, this model was presumably produced at Fulda, perhaps within the orbit of Hrabanus Maurus himself.⁹ This Lehmann proved by pointing out that no less than four pictures present in *Pal.* and planned for *Reg.*—witness the

8. This also applies to the Berlin fragments which, according to Swarzenski, *loc. cit.*, 'seem to deviate from the other known illustrated copies of this work'. It is true that Paul Lehmann, 'Reste einer Bilderhandschrift', cannot see a 'direct connection between the Berlin fragments and one of the other manuscripts'; but he admits that 'not infrequently an affinity is evident' between them and *Cas.* In my opinion this affinity is so close that even a direct descent of the Berlin fragments from *Cas.* might be considered. The destroyed miniature, showing a Decapitation Scene and formerly illustrating the chapter *De theatro* (xx, 36, illustrated in *Rotulus*, no. 1583, and our Fig. 3), agreed with *Cas.*, p. 489 (Amelli, pl. cxxx), in that it showed four spectators, two victims already beheaded and the henchman putting back his sword into the scabbard; whereas *Pal.*, fol. 248 v (here xx, 35), shows only three spectators, one victim still alive and the henchman raising his sword for action (our Figs. 4 and 5). Cf. also below, note 17. Pan (xv, 6) bears a staff, as he should, in the Berlin manuscript, Cod. fol. lat. 930, fol. 73, as well as in *Cas.*, p. 389 (Amelli, pl. cxii), but a snake in *Pal.*, fol. 191 v; and the Theseus shown at the entrance of the Labyrinth (xiv, 12; Berlin, Cod. fol. lat. 930, fol. 65) is, if not a sword-bearing warrior as in *Cas.*, p. 348 (Amelli, pl. lxxxvii), at least not a monk as in *Pal.*, fol. 170 v (where, incidentally, the chapter is numbered 13 rather than 12). If the personification of Terra (xii, 1; apparently lost but reproduced in *Rotulus*, no. 1582) makes an orant gesture as she does in *Pal.*, fol. 142, but not in *Cas.*, p. 294 (Amelli, pl. lxxi), it should be noted that this orant gesture occurs in the very similar personification of the *Rubrum Mare* in *Cas.*, p. 276 (Amelli, pl. lxii). Be that as it may, on no account can the Berlin fragments be said to represent a tradition different from that which is reflected in the four other illustrated manuscripts.

9. Of the Paris manuscript Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 17177, too little is preserved to establish a filiation; but the very fact that it was written and illuminated in West Germany at a comparatively early date suggests that it, like *Pal.*, depends not on *Cas.* but, directly or indirectly, on the Fulda archetype. For the Berlin fragments, apparently more closely akin to *Cas.* than to the *Pal.-Reg.* family, see the preceding note.



spaces left for them in the text—are without parallels in *Cas.*: *Pal.*, fol. 117 v (IX, 24 [not 'X, 24']), *A Heap of Ashes*; *Pal.*, fol. 126 v (X, 10), *The Occupations of the Months*; *Pal.*, fol. 241 (XX, 4), *Four Men with Horns and Trumpets*; *Pal.*, fol. 272 (XXII, 12), *Sleighs and Their Runners in a Wintry Landscape*. And it may be added that *Pal.*, in spite of its late date, occasionally avoids iconographical inaccuracies committed by the illuminator of *Cas.*, whereas the opposite is true in other cases.

In the left-hand column of fol. 190 (XV, 6), for example, the illuminator of *Pal.* correctly equips Mercury with footwings (our Fig. 2) whereas the illuminator of *Cas.* (p. 386, Amelli, Pl. CIX, our Fig. 1) misunderstood these footwings as a complete bird flying between the legs of the god.¹⁰ In *Pal.*, fol. 187 (XV, 4), the subject, taken from Exodus 7:20 (*Moses Changing the Waters into Blood*), is much more clearly indicated than in *Cas.*, p. 379 (Amelli, Pl. CIV), even though the illuminator of *Pal.* forgot to provide Moses with a halo. The Saturn in *Pal.*, fol. 190, left-hand column, has retained the classical sickle; whereas in *Cas.*, p. 386 (Amelli, Pl. CVIII), he carries the more modern scythe. And in the initial miniature of the chapter *De diis gentium* (XV, 6) the demoniacal nature of the winged figure on the right is correctly emphasized by horns in *Pal.*, fol. 188 v; whereas he looks like an angel in *Cas.*, p. 383 (Amelli, Pl. CVI).

Conversely, the counterpart of this figure (Silvanus?) is omitted in *Pal.*, and there are other miniatures which, from an iconographical point of view, are less nearly correct in *Pal.* than in *Cas.* Where the illustration of XVIII, 5 in *Cas.*, p. 448 (Amelli, Pl. CXXIV), correctly shows the nimbed Apollo instructing his son, Aesculapius (also nimbed), in the art of medicine, the corresponding picture in *Pal.*, fol. 222 v, transforms Aesculapius into a patient walking on crutches. And that the staff of Pan in *Cas.*, p. 389 (Amelli, Pl. CXII), has become a snake in *Pal.*, fol. 191 v, has already been mentioned.¹¹ In certain cases it may thus be possible to 'reconstruct' the archetype by synthesizing, as it were, the renderings in *Cas.* with those in *Pal.*¹²

10. This discrepancy was already pointed out by Panofsky and Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in the Middle Ages'; for the cynocephalous aspect of Mercury, see below, note 37. In the same miniature, however, Bacchus wears his rightful wreath of vine or ivy leaves in *Cas.*; whereas he appears bareheaded in *Pal.*

11. See note 8.

12. This may apply not only to the miniatures showing Hercules, Mars and Apollo, which form the main subject of this article (see below, pp. 23 ff.), but also to the illustration of the 'monsters' described in the chapter *De portentis* (VII, 7): *Cas.*, p. 166 (Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 173, pl. 42b, our Fig. 6, reproduced from a photograph kindly supplied by the Warburg Institute in London); and *Pal.*, fol. 75 v (Wittkower, p. 174, pl. 42c, our Fig. 7). Apart from minor discrepancies in the sequence of the

With regard to the second question—the genesis of what may be called the 'Hrabanus Cycle'—it is now generally conceded that the illustrations of the—presumably Carolingian—archetype are firmly rooted in the classical tradition and that the models they reflect were produced in what Ernst Kitzinger felicitously called the 'sub-antique' period of the sixth or seventh century. The wealth of comparative material brought together by Fritz Saxl¹³ leaves little doubt about these points. What is in doubt, however, is whether the 'Hrabanus Cycle' was assembled *de novo* or—like the illustrations of the *Aratea* manuscripts, the *Psychomachia*, the *Notitia dignitatum*, the *Comedies of Terence*, etc.—is based upon a cycle already established several centuries before; in other words, whether the original illustrator of Hrabanus' *De universo* collected his more than three hundred and sixty pictures from a great number of separate sources or merely appropriated, revised and rearranged a basically identical set of compositions originally intended to illustrate the parent work of Hrabanus' encyclopedia, the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.

The first of these alternatives would be at variance with the known habits of Carolingian and Ottonian book illuminators, who normally did not invent, or assemble from many heterogeneous sources, a whole

individual figures, *Cas.* and *Pal.* differ as follows. *Cas.* shows fifteen species of monsters arranged in four rows (the Pygmies are represented by two specimens). *Pal.* shows, in the left-hand column of fol. 75 v, twelve species in three rows of four figures each, and in the right-hand column of the same page—a miniature not mentioned by either Lehmann or Wittkower—two further species in one row: a Hippocentauress and the Chimaera. Ten species are common to both *Cas.* and *Pal.* *Cas.* lacks four species present in *Pal.*: the people blessed with a lower lip large enough to cover the entire face so as to protect it from the sun ('labeo subteriore adeo prominente, ut in solis ardoribus totam ex eo faciem contegant dormientes'); the people whose mouths are so small that they can 'suck up nourishment only by means of straws' ('aliis concreta ora esse modico tantum foramine, calamis avenarum haurientes pastus'); the Hydra; and the Chimaera, the two last-named *portenta* mentioned in *P.L.*, col. 198 B. *Cas.*, on the other hand, has five species not present in *Pal.*: the Androgyni (or Hermaphrodites); the Antipodes; the Hippopodes; the Minocentaurs; and the Onocentaurs. We may thus assume, with all due reservations, that the archetype exhibited nineteen species (10 plus 4 plus 5), distributed, I think, over two miniatures as in *Pal.* One of these would have shown twelve species in four rows (again as in *Pal.*), beginning with the Androgyni and ending with the Antipodes. The other, considerably smaller, would have shown seven species in one row of four (showing the Hippopodes, the Pygmies, the Hydra, and the Chimaera) and one row of three (containing the more space-consuming representatives of the Centaur family, viz., the Minocentaurs, the Hippocentaurs and the Onocentaurs).

13. *Lectures*, cited in note 3. Cf. also E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Dürers Kupferstich 'Melencolia. I'* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, II), Leipzig and Berlin, 1923, pp. 125 ff., now superseded by R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy; Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art*, London and New York, 1964 (here p. 309, n. 89, and *passim*).

series of compositions for the sole purpose of illustrating a contemporary or nearly contemporary text. We should find it hard, moreover, to imagine how an artist probably active at Fulda between, say, 850 and 950 should have gained access to so many different pictures, all dating from the sixth or seventh century (that is to say, precisely from the lifetime of Isidore of Seville), which could serve as models for the Trinity as well as for the pagan gods; for the celestial bodies and such meteorological phenomena as clouds, hail and thunderstorms as well as for an infinite variety of serpents, worms, insects, plants, and minerals; for all kinds of public and domestic buildings (most of them late-‘classical’ in character) as well as for technological devices from glass ovens to carts and sleighs. Whereas a scriptorium active in the very humanistic, ‘sub-antique’ environment of Isidore of Seville—whose *Etymologiae*, we recall, begins with the liberal arts—would have had no difficulty in producing all the illustrations required by the text on the basis of a tradition still very much alive in the Iberian Peninsula.

Against the second alternative, however, there militates the ineluctable fact that we do not have a single manuscript of Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (and their number is legion) which contains illustrations even remotely comparable to those encountered in the manuscripts of Hrabanus Maurus’ *De universo*.

In view of this negative evidence such eminent scholars as Paul Lehmann¹⁴ and Adolph Goldschmidt¹⁵ are understandably reluctant to postulate an illustrated Isidore manuscript as the prototype of the ‘Hrabanus Cycle’. But there are those, particularly Fritz Saxl, for whom the improbability of a ‘Hrabanus Cycle’ freely assembled from many different yet stylistically homogeneous sources, all of them antedating the middle of the ninth century by more than two hundred years, outweighs the difficulty presented by the absence of illustrated Isidore manuscripts. It is quite possible, Saxl thinks, that there existed an illustrated *édition de luxe* of the *Etymologiae*, unique and now lost (just as the models of the *Aratea* manuscripts, the *Psychomachia*, the *Notitia dignitatum*, the *Comedies of Terence*, etc., are lost), which was accessible to the originator of the ‘Hrabanus Cycle’.¹⁶

Inclined to accept what may be called the ‘Isidore hypothesis’,¹⁷ this writer attempted to look for tangible

evidence in its favor by examining the text as well as the pictures. But in doing so he soon found himself confronted with a problem which, instead of clarifying the situation, complicates it even further. He wishes, for this very reason, to submit the whole question to the judgment *di color che sanno*.

III

In Hrabanus’ chapter *De diis gentium* (XV, 6) the pagan gods and demi-gods (beginning with Bel, Beelphegor and Beelzebub and ending with the ‘Pilosi’ and Faunus Ficarius) are enumerated in exactly the same order, and described in largely identical terms, as in the corresponding chapter of Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (VIII, 11). There is, however, one notable exception: the section on Hercules. From Isidore’s extensive list Hercules is conspicuously absent.¹⁸ With Hrabanus, the situation is quite different and very complex.

As printed in *P.L.*, col. 430 C, as well as, with minor differences in spelling and punctuation, in the *editio princeps* of c. 1465, fol. 01 v f., the text contains an elaborate though somewhat loosely constructed description, inserted between those of Mars and Apollo (the emendations in brackets are supported by the manuscripts): ‘Hercule[m] [*ed. pr.: Hercolem*] credebant deum virtutis: dicitur autem Hercoles [should read: *Heracles*] Graece, quasi heris cleos, id est, litis gloriosus, ab heris, id est, lis, et cleos, gloria; vel quasi herocleos [should read: *Heroncleos* or *Heron Cleos*, viz., ἡρώων κλέος], quod Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus. Fuit autem (ut scribit Sextus Pompeius) agricola: ideoque Anchei [should read: *Augei*,

our Figs. 3–5 and referred to in note 8. There is nothing in the text of this chapter (literally taken over from Isidore, *Etymologiae*, xviii, 42) to suggest so sanguinary a subject. Its presence might, however, be accounted for by the assumption that the composition now serving to illustrate Hrabanus’ chapter *De theatro* was originally intended to illustrate the related and nearly adjacent chapter *De tragoedia* in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, xviii, 45, where the tragedians are defined as those who ‘antiqua gesta atque facinora sceleratorum regum luctuoso carmine, spectante populo, concinebant’ (italics mine). This chapter, like the intervening chapters *De scena* and *De orchestra* (*Etymologiae*, xviii, 43 and 44), expatiates on the chapter *De theatro* but was omitted by Hrabanus Maurus. In other words, we seem to be confronted with a picture purporting to illustrate a text in Hrabanus’ *De universo* while actually illustrating a text found only in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.

18. In Isidore’s *Etymologiae* Hercules is mentioned only in other contexts and only in passing. First, he occurs in the chapter *De discretione temporum* (v, 39, 11, not in Hrabanus), where he is said to have died in the ‘third age of the world’; and, second, in the two nearly-identical passages concerned with the Hydra: in *De portentis*, Isidore, xi, 3, 34 (hence Hrabanus, vii, 7; *P.L.*, col. 198 B), and in *De serpentibus*, Isidore, xii, 4, 23 (hence Hrabanus, viii, 3; *P.L.*, col. 233 A). In both these passages the Hydra is defined as a ‘locus evomens aquas’ and both contain the sentence: ‘quod Hercules videns, loca ipsa exussit, et sic aquae clausit meatus.’

14. ‘Fuldaer Studien, II’, p. 46.

15. ‘Frühmittelalterliche illustrierte Enzyklopädien’, p. 219.

16. *Lectures*, I, pp. 233–9. Saxl’s opinion is shared, for example, by Hanns Swarzenski (personal communication) and E. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, ‘Des Hrabanus Maurus Kapitel vom Glase’, *Glastechnische Berichte*, xxxvii, 1964, pp. 129 f.

17. One small point in favor of the Isidore hypothesis may perhaps be found in the fact that Hrabanus’ chapter *De theatro* (xx, 36) is illustrated by the Decapitation Scene reproduced in

a by-form of *Augeae* which already occurs in Seneca, *Hercules furens*, line 248] regis stabulum stercorebus purgasse refertur, quia proprie agricolarum est stercore agros.' This reads in English: 'Hercules was held to be the god of virtue. In Greek, however, he is called "Heracles", *heris cleos*, as it were, which means "famed by strife", from *heris*, viz., strife [*heris*, needless to say, is a faulty transliteration of ἔρις], and *cleos*, fame; or else "Heroncleos", which we would call in Latin "the fame of brave men". But according to Sextus Pompeius, he was a husbandman; and for this reason he is said to have cleaned King Augeas' stables of dung, because it behooves the husbandman to fertilize the fields with manure.'

I am unable to name the manuscript or manuscripts from which this 'printed version' is derived and must leave its or their identification to the experts. The manuscripts which have come to my very limited knowledge fall into two classes.

In the first class—beginning with what may be the earliest extant manuscript but also including a manuscript as late as the fourteenth century—no mention is made of Hercules at all; the sequence of divinities is, precisely as in Isidore: 'Mercury, Mars, Apollo'. This class is represented, for example, by a tenth-century manuscript in the Badische Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe (Cod. Aug. perg. 68, p. 113);¹⁹ a twelfth-century manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 16879, fol. 190 v);²⁰ a very beautifully written manuscript of the same century in the British Museum (MS. Royal 12 G. XIV, fol. 196);^{20a} and a fourteenth-century manuscript, probably of Italian origin, in the University Library at Leiden (Cod. Voss. lat. F 5, fol. 121).²¹

Of the manuscripts of the second class with which I am familiar, ranging from 1022–1023 to the fifteenth century, all but one (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, M.S. theol. 2° 45, fol. 202) happen to be illustrated: *Cas.*, p. 387 (Amelli, Pl. CX, our Fig. 8); *Pal.*, fol. 190 v–191 (our Fig. 9); and *Reg.*,

19. The Karlsruhe manuscript is divided into two parts, the first (containing Books I–XII) bearing, somewhat paradoxically, the signature 'Cod. Aug. perg. 96'. For this information (Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur . . .*, I, p. 300, cites only Cod. Aug. perg. 96) as well as for a photostat of the pertinent page I have to thank Dr. Jan Lauts, Director of the Staatliche Kunsthalle at Karlsruhe.

20. A photostat of this page was kindly presented to me by Dr. Robert Klein, to whom I am also indebted in other respects (see note 32).

20a. This manuscript (G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, London, 1921, II, pp. 73 f.) was brought to my attention by Miss Carla Greenhaus (now Mrs. Lord) to whom I wish to express my gratitude.

21. A photostat of this page was kindly presented to me by Professor H. van de Waal of Leiden University.

fol. 111 (our Fig. 10).²² These manuscripts do include a textual description of Hercules, accompanied by a miniature in *Cas.* and *Pal.* and intended to be accompanied by a miniature in *Reg.* But this description differs from the 'printed version' in three respects. Firstly, Hercules is discussed not between Mars and Apollo but between Mercury and Mars so that the sequence is not, as in the 'printed version', 'Mercury, Mars, Hercules, Apollo' but 'Mercury, Hercules, Mars, Apollo'; and it is this order which is observed in the illustrations. Secondly, there are some differences in spelling, one of them crucial; to this we shall shortly revert. Thirdly, and most importantly, the derivation of the name 'Hercules' from *heris* (strife) is absent so that the text in *Cas.*, *Pal.* and *Reg.* is limited to what follows (abbreviations expanded and proper names capitalized): 'Herculem [*Cas.*, *Reg.* and Stuttgart: *Erculem*] credebant deum virtutis. Dicitur autem Hercules [*Cas.* and *Reg.*: *Ercules*] grece [Stuttgart: *grate*] Eracles quasi eron cleos [*Pal.*: *heroncleos*; *Reg.*: *croncles*], quod latine uirorum fortium faman dicimus. Fuit autem, ut scribit Festus [*Pal.* and Stuttgart: *Sestus*] Pompeius, agricola ideoque Augei [*sic* in *Cas.*, *Pal.*, *Reg.* and Stuttgart] regis stabulum stercorebus purgasse refertur, quia proprie agricolarum est stercore agros [the clause beginning with *ideoque* inadvertently omitted in *Reg.*].'

IV

In Hrabanus' chapter *De diis gentium*, then, we have to distinguish, as far as the treatment of Hercules is concerned, between three strata. In 'Stratum A', represented by the manuscripts in Karlsruhe, Paris (Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 16879), London, and Leiden, there is, as in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, no reference to Hercules at all. In 'Stratum B', represented by *Cas.*, *Pal.*, *Reg.* and Stuttgart, a section devoted to Hercules is inserted between those devoted to Mercury and Mars but is confined to the following statements: (1) 'Hercules was the god of virtue'; (2) his name derives from *heron cleos* [ἡρώων κλέος], 'the fame of heroes'; (3) according to 'Festus' or 'Sestus' Pompeius, the cleaning of the Augean stables identifies him as a husbandman (*agricola*) who fertilizes his fields by manuring them. In 'Stratum C', finally (known to me only from the printed editions), the section on Hercules is inserted not between Mercury and Mars but be-

22. For the photograph reproduced in Fig. 9 I am indebted to the Warburg Institute at London. The fragments in Berlin (Cod. fol. lat. 930) and Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 17177) do not contain the pertinent folios. The unillustrated manuscript in Stuttgart (fifteenth century) was brought to my attention by Dr. Florentine Mutherich who also provided me with a microfilm; I am most grateful to her on both counts.

tween Mars and Apollo; 'Festus' or 'Sestus' Pompeius has become 'Sextus' Pompeius; and the text is augmented by another derivation of the hero's name: 'Hercules' means *heris cleos*, 'famed by strife'.

'Stratum A' presents no difficulties. Omitting Hercules altogether, and thus refraining from any alteration of the Isidore text, it may be held to represent the primary redaction or 'Urfassung' of Hrabanus' chapter *De diis gentium*.

'Stratum B' does not, however, seem to be much later. Since it is exemplified by *Cas.* (dated 1022–1023) as well as *Pal., Reg.* and Stuttgart, this shorter form of the Hercules section must have been present in the 'Carolingian archetype' from which the extant illustrated manuscripts derive. Nothing militates against the assumption that the insertion was made by Hrabanus himself;²³ and this assumption would agree with the fact that all the sources of this shorter text are classical or late-antique.

That Hercules was held to be the 'god of virtue' was a commonplace ever since Xenophon had popularized Prodicus' story of Hercules at the Crossroads, wherein the young hero prefers Virtue to Pleasure. The derivation of his name from the Greek equivalent of *virorum fortium fama*, 'the fame of brave men', is found in Fulgentius' *Mythologiae*, II, 2: 'Hercules enim Eracles [should probably be followed by something like 'id est, *eron cleos*'] Grece dicitur, quod nos Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus';²⁴ and hence it passed not only into Hrabanus' *De universo* but also into the mainstream of the mythographical tradition. It is paraphrased, for example, by the 'Mythographus III', who (whether he be identical with Alexander Neckham, with a 'Magister Albericus Lundoniensis' or with a great Anonym) was active in the latter part of the twelfth century and may be considered the most authoritative mythographer of the High Middle Ages: 'Hercules igitur quasi ἡρώων κλέος, virorum fortium gloria, interpretatur.'²⁵ And this paraphrase is repeated in the *Libellus de imaginibus deorum* of c. 1400: 'Hercules enim quasi Hercleos, quod est virorum gloria fortium.'²⁶ Boccaccio in his *Genealogia deorum* (XIII, 1), how-

ever, directly appropriated it from Hrabanus.²⁷ But who is the author credited with the interpretation of Hercules as a husbandman and the inventor of manuring?²⁸

Even if the reading 'Sextus Pompeius', adopted in the 'printed version' of Hrabanus' *De universo* as well as in Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum*,²⁹ were correct, the author referred to could only be Sextus Pompeius Festus, the well-known Roman lexicographer flourishing near the close of the second century A.D. His *De verborum significatu* is accessible to us only in one incomplete and sadly damaged manuscript, the so-called 'Farnesianus' (Naples, Bibl. Naz., Cod. IV A 3). It had already been deprived of its first seven quaternions (which included the 'Hercules' entry) when it was discovered in 1476 and later lost three further quaternions which are, however, preserved in Renaissance transcriptions; for the portion already missing in 1476 we depend on scattered quotations and on a much abbreviated digest (*Epitome*) composed by Paulus Diaconus of Montecassino in or shortly after 782 and dedicated to Charlemagne. But the whole work was available to the Middle Ages from pre-Carolingian times to at least the thirteenth century; what was preserved of it enjoyed a genuine revival in the Renaissance, and its author is indiscriminately referred to as 'Sextus Pompeius', 'Festus Pompeius', 'Festus', or even 'Pompeius' *tout court*.³⁰

27. Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum*, V. Romano, ed., Bari, 1951, p. 638: 'Rabanus autem in libro de origine rerum dicit, quod cum crederent Herculem deum virtutis, eum dici quasi Heruncleos, quod Latine virorum fortium famam dicimus.' Boccaccio quotes Hrabanus' *De universo* no less than twenty-six times.

28. In a somewhat different form the connection between the Augeas incident and the invention of manuring is also implied by Pliny when he writes (*Nat. hist.*, XVI, 50): 'Augeas rex in Graecia excogitasse traditur [scil., the idea of fertilizing the soil by means of dung], divulgasse vero Hercules in Italia, quae regi suo Stercutio, Fauni filio, ob hoc inventum immortalitatem tribuit.'

29. Boccaccio's text, quoted in note 27, continues with another specific reference to Hrabanus: 'Et scribit ipse Rabanus a Sexto Pompeio Herculem fuisse agricolam...' I had no opportunity to check the manuscripts used in Romano's edition; but 'Sextus' invariably appears in the early printed editions of the *Genealogia deorum*: Venice, 1481, fol. x, 1 v; Venice, 1494, fol. 96; Venice, 1511, fol. 96.

30. For Festus' *De verborum significatu* and its transmission, see the admirable edition by W. M. Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*, Leipzig, 1913, revised and augmented by the same scholar in *Glossaria latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, IV, Paris, 1930, pp. 73–467, where many fragments absent from the edition of 1913 are included and where a good case is made for the availability of a pre-Carolingian manuscript in North Italy (p. 74). For two Festus manuscripts described in high-medieval library catalogues, the 'Great Catalogue' of Cluny, written there between 1158 and 1161, and the Catalogue of Glastonbury, written there in 1247, see M. Manitius, 'Zu Pompeius Festus', *Hermes*, xxvii, 1892, pp. 318 ff. In the Cluny Catalogue, Festus' work is described as *Liber Festi Pompeii ad Arcorium Rufum*, and in the Glastonbury Catalogue as *Liber Pompei de signifi-*

23. For the reappearance of this shorter form of Hrabanus' Hercules section in another text, the *Scholia in Isidorum Valli-cellianam*, see below, pp. 26 f.

24. *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii V.C. opera*, R. Helm, ed., Leipzig, 1898, p. 41 (apparently overlooked by Lindsay and Whatmough, cited in notes 30 and 31).

25. G. H. Bode, ed., *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres*, Celle, 1834, p. 246 (XII, 1).

26. Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 1290, fol. 5a. The text is transliterated in H. Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius metaforalis; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Mythologie im Mittelalter* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, IV), Leipzig and Berlin, p. 124 (with *Hercleos*, obviously a depraved form of *Heroncleos*, misprinted into *Hereleos*) and reproduced in pl. xxvi, Fig. 45.

There is, moreover, evidence that the Hrabanus manuscripts originally had 'Festus' rather than 'Sextus'. This is the way in which he is referred to, we recall, in *Cas. and Reg.* (see our Fig. 10, here with 'Fes. Pomp.' added *in margine* by a humanistic hand). And 'Festus' is also what we read in the marginal glosses, known as *Scholia Vallicelliana*, which are found in an eleventh-century manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae*; in these scholia Hrabanus' Hercules section, as it appears in 'Stratum B' (from *Herculem credebant . . . to stercorare agros*), is taken over—lock, stock and barrel—by a glossator possibly identical with a certain Grauso or Grausus, supposedly Bishop of Ceneda (not far from Belluno) in 998. We are thus faced with the curious fact—apparently unnoticed by the Latinists—that one of the precious Festus fragments found neither in the 'Codex Farnesianus' nor in its Renaissance transcripts nor in Paulus Diaconus' *Epitome* (where Hercules is mentioned only as an astrologer), was preserved for posterity by Hrabanus Maurus.³¹

cacione verborum. But Paulus Diaconus in his dedicatory letter to Charlemagne (quoted, e.g., in Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, p. 264) refers to the author as 'Sextus Pompeius' (as in the 'printed version' of Hrabanus' Hercules section and in Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum*), and so does Pietro Vettori (Victorius) in *Variae lectiones*, xvii, 2 (Florence, 1553), as quoted in Lindsay's edition of 1913, pp. xii f. By the middle of the sixteenth century the work of Festus was familiar enough to be quoted in Vincenzo Cartari's popular handbook of classical mythology, *Imagini dei Dei de gli antichi* (first published in 1556), with reference to the belief that the chariot of the moon goddess was drawn by a mule (Festus, p. 135, line 11, in Lindsay's edition of 1913; Cartari, p. 106, in the edition of 1571); and, after him, by Annibale Caro in his program for the bedchamber of Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, composed in November 1562. But what Jean Seznec, to whom credit is due for having observed Caro's extensive use of Cartari (*The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, pp. 291 ff.), fails to mention is that Cartari, as so often, merely transcribes L. G. Giraldu's *Syntagma*, first published (under a different title), in 1548: L. G. Gyraldus, *Opera omnia*, Leiden, 1696, I, col. 358.

³¹ For Paulus Diaconus' reference to Hercules as an astrologer, see Lindsay's edition of 1913, p. 89, lines 22 f. As far as the *Scholia Vallicelliana* are concerned, those which are or seem to be based on Festus were incorporated in Lindsay's revised edition in *Glossaria latina*, *loc. cit.*; the Hercules passage, pp. 221 f. They were published *in toto* by J. Whatmough, 'Scholia in Isidori Etymologias Vallicelliana', *Bulletin du Cange*, II, 1926, pp. 57-75, 134-69 (the scholium containing the Festus quotation added *in margine* to Isidore, *Etymologiae*, VIII, 11, 50-55). A problem is posed by the personality of Grauso (called 'Guasone' in P. Gams, *Series episcoporum*, Ratisbon, 1873, p. 783) as well as by the continuation of the text after *stercorare agros*: 'Quod mala ab Hesperidibus petisse fertur, pecorum per hoc cura signatur, quae graece *mila* (μῆλα) dicuntur. Item armenta, cum Geryonis boues abegisse narratur. Per aprum autem quod supinum portasse fingitur, sues mansuetos fecisse demonstratur. Per canem tricipitem uenandi studium gessisse ostenditur.' Lindsay accepts the statements referring to the apples of the Hesperides and to the oxen of Geryones as coming from Festus; but then the reference to the Erymanthean boar, which also attempts to support the interpretation of Hercules as a husbandman, should not be excluded. I suspect that every-

V

While there is every reason to believe that the shorter form of the Hercules section ('Stratum B') goes back to the ninth century—possibly to Hrabanus Maurus himself—the 'printed version' ('Stratum C') must be of considerably later origin.

As will be remembered, 'Stratum C' differs from 'Stratum B' not only in that Hercules appears between Mars and Apollo rather than between Mercury and Mars, but also, and more significantly, in that it includes, in addition to the derivation of his name from *cleos* (fame) and *heron* (of heroes), the stranger and, as is evident from the awkward repetition of *autem*, interpolated derivation from *cleos* (fame) and *heris* (strife). So far as I know, this second derivation cannot be traced back beyond the twelfth century where we find it in two nearly contemporaneous and probably interdependent texts: William of Conches' *Glosses on Boethius* and Bernardus Silvestris' *Commentary on Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid*. 'Hercules vero', says William of Conches, 'ponitur pro sapiente. Qui bene Hercules dicitur, id est lite gloriosus,—"her" [*sic*] enim lis, "cleos" gloria, quia sapiens lite et pugna contra sapientes gloriosus apparet' ('Hercules, however, signifies the wise man, and he is aptly called "Hercules", that is to say, a man glorious by strife—

thing which follows *stercorare agros* represents an elaboration on Festus' agricultural interpretation of Hercules rather than a direct quotation. Be that as it may, certain it is that the first half of the scholium (from *Herculem credebant . . . to . . . stercorare agros*) is literally identical with the Hrabanus Maurus text and that the interpretation of Hercules as 'virorum fortium fama' comes from Fulgentius. But this identity confronts us with another problem.

That the Isidore scholiast and 'Hrabanus Maurus' should independently have produced two absolutely identical texts, both ushered in by a statement to the effect that Hercules was the 'god of virtue' and both composed of the same excerpts from Fulgentius and Festus, is, of course, unthinkable. We have therefore to consider three possibilities: (1) the Hrabanus text depends on the Isidore scholium; (2) the Isidore scholium depends on the Hrabanus text; (3) both depend on a common source, presumably an Isidore manuscript already containing the shorter form of the Hercules section. Possibility number three is not too probable because, even assuming that such an Isidore manuscript existed (which may or may not have been the case; cf. below, p. 28), it would have been unique and could hardly have wandered from Fulda to an obscure little diocese in North Italy. Possibility number one is even less credible because the shorter form of the Hercules section, occurring as it does in *Cas.* as well as in *Pal., Reg.* and Stuttgart, must have been present in the 'Carolingian archetype' and therefore antedates the Isidore scholium—quite apart from the fact that the Vallicellian manuscript does not seem to have been exploited or even noticed until the twentieth century. We are thus left with possibility number two, that is to say, with the hypothesis that the Vallicellian scholiast owes his acquaintance with Festus' interpretation of Hercules as a husbandman to Hrabanus Maurus' *De universo* and not, as Lindsay and Whatmough seem to assume, to Festus' *De significatu verborum* itself. This hypothesis is concordant with the fact that Hrabanus' work was easily accessible and widely read in Italy at all times, including the eleventh century.

for *her* means strife, *cleos* glory—because the wise man achieves glory by strife and fight with [other] wise men'). And in Bernardus Silvestris we read: 'Per Herculem intelligimus sapientem. Unde nomen congruit. Dicitur enim graece Hercules, latine gloria litis. "Her" [sic] enim lis, "cleos" gloria' ('By Hercules we mean the wise man, which is consistent with his name, for he is called "Hercules" in Greek, and in Latin the Glory of Strife; for *her* means strife, *cleos* glory').³² Neither William of Conches nor Bernardus Silvestris seems to have found immediate followers.³³ Boccaccio (who, we remember, conscientiously cites Hrabanus Maurus as his source for the derivation of 'Hercules' from *cleos* and *heron* as well as for the passage from Festus) does mention the derivation of the name from *ἔρις*, *lis*; but he explicitly, and doubtless truthfully, asserts that he owes this second derivation to an oral communication from Paulus Perusinus (that old, gruff, ugly, and unkempt but immensely learned ex-librarian of Robert of Anjou, who was linked to Boccaccio by a lasting friendship): 'Paulus [Perusinus] autem dicebat Herculem dici ab erix [sic], quod lis, et cleo, gloria, et sic gloriosus litium' ('Paul [of Perugia], however, used to say that Hercules received his name from *erix*, which means strife, and *cleo*, which means glory, his name thus signifying "glorious by strife"').³⁴ The inferences are, first, that Boccaccio had no knowledge

32. The passage from William of Conches (commenting upon Boethius' *De consolacione philosophiae*, iv, Metrum 7) is found in E. Jauneau, "Integumentum" chez Guillaume de Conches', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen-Age*, xxxii, 1957, pp. 35 ff., particularly p. 40, n. 5; that from Bernardus Silvestris (cited by Jauneau) in W. Riedel, ed., *Commentum Bernardi Silvestris super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii*, Greifswald, 1924, p. 71 (its content condensed into 'dicitur enim Hercules graece gloria litis latine' on p. 87). As to the relationship between the two passages, the acquaintance with which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Robert Klein, I feel that Bernardus Silvestris, professor at Tours in 1136, used William of Conches (1080–1153 or 1154) rather than vice versa; cf. note 34.

33. See note 34.

34. *Genealogia deorum*, xiii, 1 (in Romano's edition, p. 638). For the personality of Paulus Perusinus and his relationship with Boccaccio, see *ibid.*, xv, 6 (in Romano's edition, pp. 761 f.). Here Boccaccio states that he had never seen anything written by Paul of Perugia (although the latter 'ingentem scripsit librum quem *Collectionum* titulaverat') but that he had enjoyed his friendship and instruction for about three years and was thus able to quote his oral communications: 'Huius ego nullum vidi opus, sane quicquid ex eo recito, ab eo viva voce referente percepi.' Whether Paul of Perugia thought up the *ἔρις* derivation himself or, learned as he was, had borrowed it from either William of Conches or Bernardus Silvestris is difficult to decide. If he had borrowed it his more likely source would have been William of Conches whose *lite gloriosus* agrees with Boccaccio's (that is to say, Paul of Perugia's) *gloriosus litium* more closely than does Bernardus Silvestris' *gloria litis*, and whose *Glosses on Boethius* seem to have been more popular than Bernardus Silvestris' *Commentary on Virgil*. According to K. Heitmann, 'Orpheus im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, xlv, 1963, pp. 253 ff., esp. p. 276, William's treatise still exists in thirty-one manuscripts, that of Bernardus Silvestris only in three.

of William of Conches, Bernardus Silvestris or any other writer of the past who might have advocated the *heris* derivation; second, that this derivation was not included in the Hrabanus manuscript or manuscripts at Boccaccio's disposal; third, that it must have been interpolated into the 'printed version' of Hrabanus' Hercules section ('Stratum C') either on the basis of William of Conches' *Glosses on Boethius* (rather than Bernardus Silvestris' *Commentary on Virgil*) or—in spite of the different spelling—on the basis of Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* itself.³⁵

VI

The strange eventful history of Hrabanus Maurus' Hercules section—originally absent from his chapter *De diis gentium*, later inserted into it in a form which fuses a passage from Fulgentius with one from Festus (thereby saving the latter from oblivion), and finally augmented by the *heris* derivation appropriated from William of Conches or even Boccaccio—may not be without interest to students of the mythographical tradition in the Middle Ages; but for the art historian, anxious as he is to determine the origin and filiation of the Hrabanus illustrations rather than the evolution of the Hrabanus text, it makes the problem even more baffling than it was before.

As will be recalled, both *Cas.* and *Pal.* contain the earlier, shorter version of the Hercules text as well as a miniature which shows the figure of the hero himself, characterized by the lion's skin, the club and, curiously enough, a serpent coiling around his right leg.³⁶ And in both these miniatures he precedes Mars—as he should according to 'Stratum B' but not according to 'Stratum C'—while Mars is followed by Apollo.

35. It may be added that the 'printed version' of Hrabanus' Hercules section has *litis gloriosus*, which is a little closer to both William of Conches' *lite gloriosus* and Boccaccio's *gloriosus litium* than to Bernardus Silvestris' *gloria litis*. A connection between the 'printed version' and Boccaccio would seem probable because an interpolator interested in the pagan gods was perhaps more likely to consult a book devoted to this very subject than a Commentary on Boethius; but it goes without saying that it would have to be excluded should a Hrabanus manuscript containing the *heris* derivation turn out to antedate the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

36. This serpent presents a special little problem. It may be thought to allude to the Hydra (which is, however, hard to reconcile with the fact that it has only one head); it may allude to the two serpents throttled by Hercules when he was still an infant (which is, however, at variance with the fact that the miniatures show only one snake); or it may be a general symbol of evil emphasizing the role of Hercules as *deus virtutis*. I learn from Professor F. Brommer that there are only five or six classical examples of Hercules in conjunction with a single-headed snake (one of the nicest in *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, iii, Paris, p. 82 C) in which the significance of the snake is equally obscure. Some classicists (e.g., P. Friedländer, *Herakles*, Berlin, 1907, p. 125) accept the animal as the Hydra; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, fourth edition, Berlin, 1921, p. 527, categorically rejects this interpretation.

In appearance, the miniature in *Cas.* (our Fig. 8) is of course much closer to the 'Carolingian archetype' than the thoroughly modernized miniature in *Pal.* (our Fig. 9), where Mars is equipped with a 'Bohemian shield', where Apollo has lost his solar halo, and where Hercules, gratuitously demonized by animals' ears (as can be observed in the rendering of several other divinities, including Saturn, Jupiter and Neptune as well as the Pluto in our Fig. 1),³⁷ carries a pronged stick instead of the club. But *Pal.* retains the idea—suggested by the text and therefore hardly to be credited to the illuminator of 1425—of representing Apollo twice: not only as an archer as he appears in *Cas.* ('hunc [Pythonem] sagittarum ictibus sternens') but also as a soothsayer and physician ('divinator et medicus'), equipped with what looks like a medicine jar but may originally have been meant to be a mortar with its pestle.

Since, as we have seen, Hercules does not occur in Isidore's chapter on the pagan gods at all and is still absent from the original version ('Stratum A') of the corresponding chapter in Hrabanus' *De universo*, his appearance in the illuminated manuscripts deepens rather than clears up the mystery surrounding the genesis of the 'Carolingian archetype'. It confronts us in fact with a choice between three solutions, none of which is wholly satisfactory.

The first two solutions would be based upon the premise that the originator of the 'Hrabanus Cycle' collected his material from all kinds of different sources. Then we should either have to assume that the author of the text concocted the Hercules insertion himself and asked his illuminator to provide a suitable illustration; but in this case it would be difficult to imagine why he should have confined himself to two classical passages as disparate as those selected from Fulgentius and Festus, and where his illuminator could have found the model for an unusual Hercules figure which could be added to those of Mars and Apollo without disrupting the stylistic and compositional unity of the original picture. Or we should have to postulate the existence of an illustrated Latin treatise on mythography, otherwise unknown, which would have provided the model for both the Hercules

37. The cynocephalous Mercury in our Figs. 1 and 2, described as such by Isidore as well as Hrabanus, is, of course, an altogether different phenomenon. He owes his dog's head to the equation of Hermes Psychopompos with the Egyptian Anubis (cf. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1, 1886-90, cols. 2300 ff.), and representations of this dog-headed 'Hermanubis', identified by the caduceus, occur quite frequently in Hellenistic art. See (in addition to the instances adduced but not illustrated in Roscher, cols. 2311 ff.) the magic ring reproduced in R. Wünsch, 'Deisidaimoniaka', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII, 1909, pp. 1 ff., particularly pp. 19 ff.; the relief from the *Iseum* in the Museo Capitolino (Stuart-Jones 1, pl. 91); and a cameo in the

text and the Hercules illustration; but there is nothing to justify such a postulate, and we should still be faced with an apparently homogeneous miniature composed from two different sources.

The third solution would be based upon the premise that the whole 'Hrabanus Cycle' derives from an illustrated manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae*; but in this case we should be forced to assume that this lost *édition de luxe* became accessible at Fulda only after the completion of the 'Urfassung' of Hrabanus' *De universo* and that it differed from all the known Isidore manuscripts not only in that it was illustrated but also in that it contained textual interpolations—among them the shorter form of the Hercules section—and that these, too, were accompanied by miniatures.³⁸ This third solution would account both for the Fulgentius-Festus combination in the text³⁹ and for the stylistic and compositional homogeneity which seems to unify the genetically different elements of the miniature; and it would be consistent with the fact that 'Stratum B' invariably occurs in the illustrated but only sporadically in the unillustrated manuscripts. But, like solution number two, solution number three would pile one hypothesis upon the other.

Only a comprehensive and systematic analysis, comparing all surviving manuscripts and printed editions of Hrabanus' *De universo* with each other as well as with all surviving manuscripts and printed editions of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, might lighten our darkness. To encourage such an analysis, for which our little Hercules problem might prove to be a good starting point, is the chief purpose of this woefully inconclusive essay. It states a problem rather than solves it.

Museum at Cassel (R. Zazoff, 'Gemmen im Cassel', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, LXXXVIII, 1965, p. 88, no. 48). *cf. also the* Museum at Cassel (R. Zazoff, 'Gemmen im Cassel', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, LXXXVIII, 1965, p. 88, no. 48).
 excursus inserted into the discussion of the goose (*anser*) and the duck (*anas*) in Hrabanus' chapter *De avibus* (VIII, 6). From the text as transmitted, e.g., in Cod. Leidensis Voss. lat. F. 5 (fol. 68 v), in the editio princeps (fol. H. 4), and in *P.L.* (col. 248 B), this excursus—inserted between . . . *deprehensus est* and *Haec providos homines . . .* and, like the section on the loquacious woodpecker (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII, 7, 46; hence Hrabanus, VIII, 6, *P.L.*, col. 247 C), spiced with a quotation from Martial—is absent; and so it is from the corresponding chapter in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (XII, 7, 51-52). The excursus on the duck—apparently another interpolation into the 'Urfassung'—is present, however, in *Pal.*, fol. 102 v, where it is distinguished by a rubric as well as a miniature (Fig. 11): 'Anatis caro suavis est pectore et cervice. Unde et poeta: "tota tibi ponatur anas, sed pectore tantum/et cervice sapit; cetera redde coco [Martial, XIII, 53]"' ('The flesh of the duck is agreeable with regard to the breast and the neck; hence the poet: "a whole duck may be placed before you but what tastes good is only the breast and the neck; the rest you may return to the cook"'). In the Berlin Cod. fol. lat. 930 the pertinent page is missing, and I could not check *Cas.* and *Reg.* beyond ascertaining that *Cas.*, too, contains a miniature showing a duck (listed but not illustrated in Amelli, p. xv). 39. It may be significant that the pre-Carolingian Festus manuscript postulated by Lindsay (cf. note 30) is supposed to have been Spanish.

✓ C. Jendy (7.VII.71): Le Reg. lat. 391 contient bien la phrase sur *anas* au fol. 57^v col. 2, ll. 6 à 9. Le texte en est un peu différent: 'Anatis caro suavis est pectore et cervice. Unde poeta: "Tota tibi ponatur anas sed pectore tantum et cervice, sapit. Cetera redde coco. Her-providos homines . . .'

auch in Stuttg. Theol. et phil., 2^o 45, f. 107^a
 (W. Istenkauf 18.VI.71)



1. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XV, 6 (*De diis gentium*): Vulcan, Pluto, Bacchus, Mercury. Montecassino, Cod. 132, p. 386



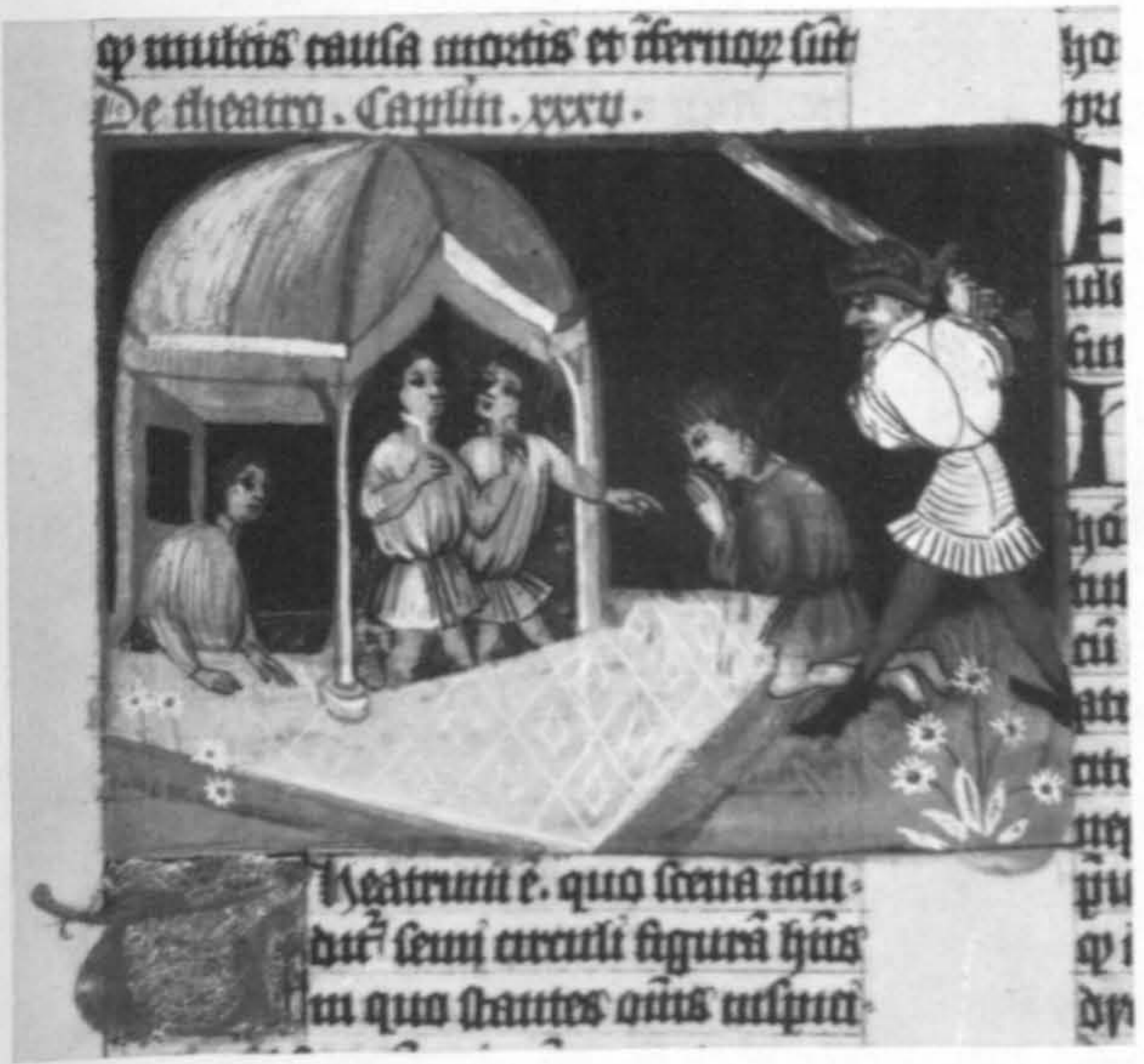
2. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XV, 6 (*De diis gentium*): Vulcan, Pluto, Bacchus, Mercury. Vatican Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 291, fol. 190, right-hand column



3. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XX, 36 (*De theatro*): Decapitation Scene. Destroyed miniature originally belonging to Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. fol. lat. 930

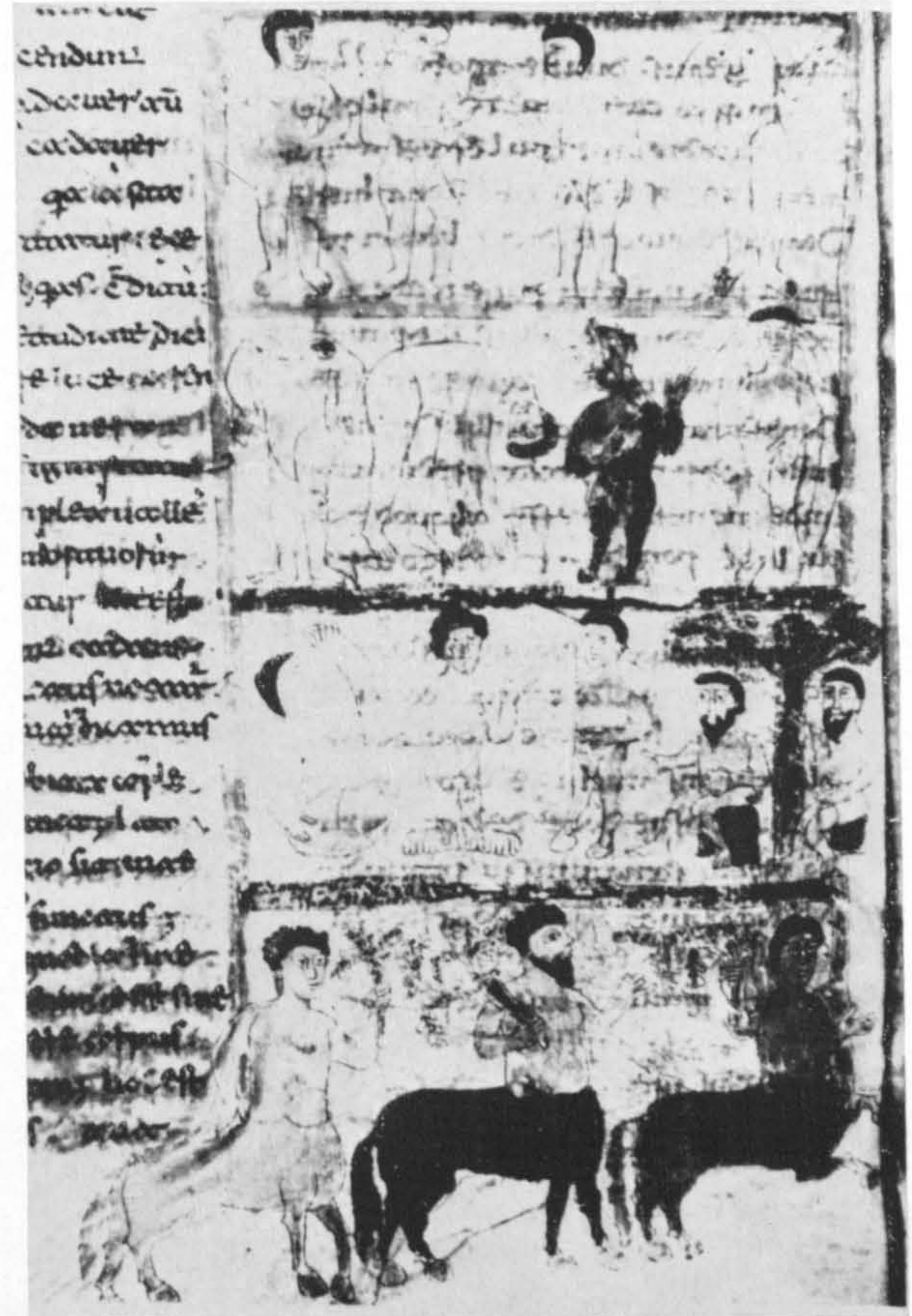


4. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XX, 36 (*De theatro*): Decapitation Scene. Montecassino, Cod. 132, p. 489

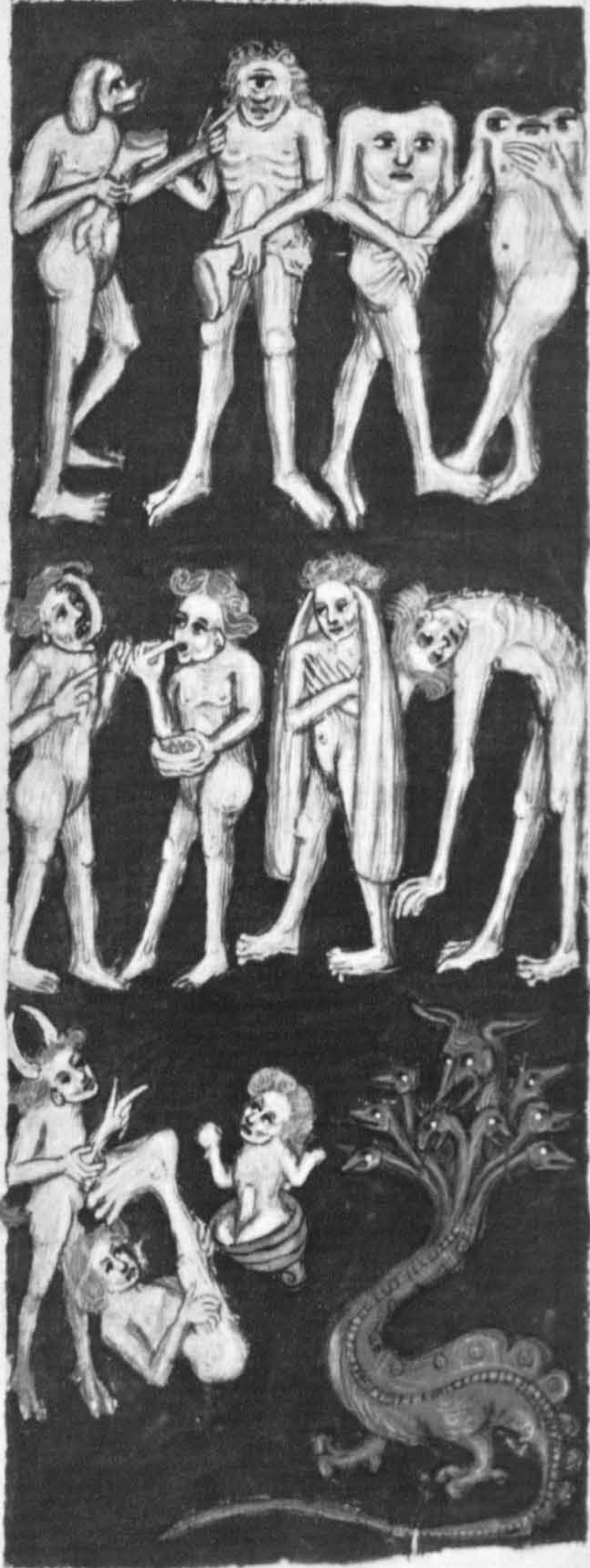


5. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XX, 36 (*De theatro*): Decapitation Scene. Vatican Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 291 (here XX, 35), fol. 248v.

6. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, VII, 2 (*De portentis*): Fifteen Species of Monsters. Montecassino, Cod. 132, p. 166



a palpitacione est. id est sine motu
 sepelire autē est condere corp⁹ nā hu
 iare obtriere dicitur hoc est huius
 iucere. Sepult⁹ autē aut iucis obri
 tum aut dampnatum i inferno sig
 ficat. Unde dicit. mortu⁹ ē et diues
 et sepult⁹ i inferno. Sepulch⁹ uero al
 legorice corp⁹ peccatoris intelligit mo
 tuam iucis anima intulit⁹ et iucis
 et i euangel⁹ dicit. q̄a similes estis se
 pulchris dealbatis que aforis parent
 hominib⁹ speciosa int⁹ uero sunt ple
 na ossib⁹ mortuoz. Aliqui tamen se
 pulchri memoria uonis et resurre
 ctionis domini significat ut i ysata et erit
 inq̄b sepulch⁹ et glorioſum. Capit.
 Sept. De portentis.



Potentia esse uero ait
 que contra uata aident
 sed non sunt cont⁹ uata
 q̄a diuina uoluntate
 sunt cum uoluntas ca
 toris cuiusq̄ condite rei uata sit. ut
 et qui gentiles dei modo natura modo
 dei appellant. Portenti ergo sit uo
 contra natura. s̄ contra qua est nota
 uata. Portenta autē et ostenta uou
 tra atq̄ p̄digia ideo uincupant. eo
 qd̄ p̄tendere atq̄ ostendere uoustrare
 atq̄ p̄dicere alq̄ fut̄a uident. Nam
 portenta dicta p̄hibent a p̄tendendo
 id est p̄ostendo. ostenta autē q̄ ostē
 dere quicq̄ fut̄a uideant. p̄digia q̄
 uero dicant id est fut̄a p̄dicat.
 p̄digia uero. a monitu dicta q̄
 alq̄d significando demoustrant. que
 q̄ statim monitum qd̄ apparant.
 et hoc p̄uocatis est abusione tamen
 scriptoz pleriq̄ corrupti. Que
 dam autem portentoz creatures i
 significacionib⁹ suis constituta uide
 tur. ut em̄ deus interdū uentā sig
 ficare p̄ alq̄ nascencia noxia sicut
 p̄ sonos et p̄ oracula qua p̄uone
 uat et significet quibusdam uel gentib⁹
 ut hominib⁹ fut̄a daderit q̄ p̄li
 mus etiam expimentis p̄bitu est.

pingat. dicunt
 Rinnuipat
 ides q' p'nt hui
 cofona uicte
 ac & mode pa
 ar. cu ulafemo
 afi cofua a dar
 quod mulao
 pat g'f'g
 nfo ubi dicit
 de cui aof.
 e & m'f'us
 vna. nom
 cuffen d'g



8. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XV, 6 (*De diis gentium*): Hercules, Mars, Apollo. Montecassino, Cod. 132, p. 387

gest. i. ter maxm' uominat' e. Cur
 autē cum capite canino figit. h' rad
 dicit. q' inter omnia aūta canis saga
 cillimū gen' est.



Vertulm' crederant deū uirtutis ad
 autē hercules grece cracies hū cracie
 as q' latine uiray foray fama d'ique
 fiut autē ut scribit scil' p'ouper' agro
 la idaq' auger' regis stabulu' stercoib'
 purgall' m'f'it. quia p'rie agricolay est

9. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XV, 6 (*De diis gentium*): Hercules, Mars, Apollo Medicus, Apollo Sagittarius. Vatican Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 291, fol. 190v.

maxm' nonat' e. Cur et capite canino/ cu figit.
 h' rō d'z. qz it' oī aūta canis sagacissimū
 g'z' p'p'icax habebat.
 Reule crederat deū uirtutis. D'z a' e'culy
 g'ce cracles q' g'ale cracles q' lac. uiray foray
 fama d'ray. f' t' a. u' se d' se p'p'icū agricolā. o'atē
 d'z' bell' et d'ict. q' m'atē ap' d'z' q' p'p'icū d'z'

10. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XV, 6 (*De diis gentium*): Space intended for a miniature showing Hercules, Mars and Apollo; below, the text referring to Hercules. Vatican Library, Cod. Reg. lat. 391, fol. 111

nonē ut all'itudinē ut q' et ipa
 natandi frequentia habet ut in
 g'ltas noctis assiduitate claugoris
 p'f'at nullum autē animal uti odo
 rem hoīs sentit ut aufer. unde et d'ati
 gore et' galla' ascens' in capitolio
 deprehens' est. A uatis m
 ro suatū est p'p'icū ut
 ceruicē. Vnde et poeta. to
 ta tibi ponat' auas. sed



11. Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, VIII, 6 (*De auibus*): Duck. Vatican Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 291.