



THIS BOOK BELONGS TO

NEMO

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**On the  
Composition  
of Images, Signs and Ideas**



IORDANI  
BRVNI NOLANI

DE IMAGINVM, SIGNORVM,  
& Idearum compositione. Ad  
omnia Inventionum, Dispo-  
sitionum, & Memoriae  
genera.

LIBRI TRES.

AD ILLVSTREM ET GENE-  
ROSISS. IOAN. HAINRICVM  
*Haincellum Elcoviae Do-*  
*mtium.*

CREDITE ET INTELLIGETIS.



FRANCOFVRTI  
Apud IOAN. Vvechelum & PETRVM  
Fischerum confortes. 1591.

On the  
Composition  
Of Images,  
Signs &  
Ideas by Giordano Bruno

Translated by Charles Doria

Edited and annotated by Dick Higgins

Foreword by Manfredi Piccolomini

"Images cannot be ideas, but they can play the part of signs."  
— Claude Lévi-Strauss

1991  
New York  
Willis, Locker & Owens





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Dick Higgins  
Charles Doria

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## Foreword:

### Omnia Quæ Sunt, Sunt Lumina

It is impossible to place Giordano Bruno's *De Imaginum, Signorum et Idearum Compositione* in the straitjacket of one of the many categories and types of treatises, fictions, poems, and other genres of writing in which the clear-minded Renaissance rhetoricians and followers of Aristotle and Cicero thought that all types of speculative and creative activities could be divided. The very personal and original nature of Giordano Bruno—his iconoclastic and rebellious nature that throughout a short and tumultuous life set him apart from and against the major religions of the time, and against most other established cultural and political institutions—should discourage from the start any attempt to “define” the *De Imaginum... Compositione* in any way other than as a fascinating and engrossing multi- and intermedia work whose symbolism is not to be read with the eyes of the body but with the eyes of the mind. It is to be explored, searched, perused with the same amazement and wonder with which one would walk thorough a labyrinth, or inside a pyramid. The result of the experience is not going to be greater understanding—if by understanding we mean the rational, scientific and pragmatic type of understanding that we are commonly taught in philosophy courses—but an initiation into arcane mystery.

During the first part of this century several Italian scholars tried to “clarify” Bruno. Influenced by the German idealistic philosophy of Kant and Hegel, critics and cultural historians such

as Croce, Gentile and Mondolfo, as well as many of their followers, tried to turn Bruno into an epistemologist who wanted to explain how the physical and spiritual worlds are understood by the thinking human being. Thus Bruno's hermetic thinking was translated into such classical philosophical terms as idealism versus materialism, Pythagoreanism, Aristotelianism versus Platonism and neo-Platonism, mysticism and the universal categories of knowledge. When something of this kind takes place with one of Bruno's most complex works, like *De Imaginum... Compositione*, it becomes possibly more easily understandable but certainly loses its fascination.

The *De Imaginum... Compositione* is clearly not a philosophical treatise in the current sense of the word. It is not a work aimed at the explanation of the human thinking process and its understanding of the outside world. Bruno dispenses with this issue at the very beginning of the work, in the *Dedicatory Epistle*, where he poses the fundamental problem of philosophy as the very limit of philosophical speculation:

"Because the eye sees other things, it does not see itself. Yet what is the nature of the eye that so sees other things as to see itself? It is that sort of eye which sees all things in itself, and which is likewise in all things. By this sublime method we could be like that sort of eye, if we could discern our species' substance so that our eye could perceive itself, our mind enfold itself. Then it would be as possible to understand all as it would be simple to do all. However, the nature of things in composition and that possess body does not permit this. For its substance abides in movement and quantity, even if by itself it neither moves nor is moved."

Bruno confirms this assumption in the rich symbolism of the work, and especially in the basic archetypal image, the "Atrium," at whose center he places both "the earth and the eye." Obviously Bruno uses here the eye as a metaphor for the mind as was common in Renaissance neo-Platonist speculation. His intention is to say that the mind cannot analyze itself: rationality ends where it begins. At the same time, though, the employment of the eye as the metaphor of understanding allows Bruno to concentrate the entire focus of his speculation on an intuitive and visual approach where the eye and images play a crucial role. He certainly does not follow a rational literary discourse organized according the logical rules of cause and effect.

Just as the eye is the organ that sees reality, light is the element that allows the eye to see. But in Bruno light is also more than just simple rays from the sun that illuminate the world. There is another light, Bruno maintains, "invisible in itself, and diffused throughout the cosmos and seeded everywhere." "With that light which is some sort of spiritual substance, with no sun or fire providing light, no object from without instructing our sense's faculty, soul was given, not just ours, but a universal one spreading itself through the immense cosmos. This, I say, is the light which visibly pours forth over the species of absent invisible things, and is that light by which, while we sleep, we see and learn about the species of sensible things."

I think that in this passage and in general in chapter twelve of Book One, Part One, titled "Light, The Vehicle of Images" lie many of the secrets that can help us understand at least some of the many complexities of the work. Bruno seems to distinguish here between two types of light. On the one side there is the natural light, the light everyone sees, the one that separates day from night and that gives rhythm to our lives. On the other there is this "spiritual substance" which, instead, only some are able to see. Unfortunately Bruno does not go much further in defining this light "innate and sown for the quickening spirit," but it seems to me that this is the light of revelation and



enlightenment, the light of truth, that only the mystic possess. It is the light that shows us a deeper more revealing reality only after we have pined, sought for it earnestly in solitary meditation and prayer for a long time. As we know, Bruno valued immensely the solitary and mystic life and believed that it could lead to enlightenment. In this respect, Bruno is proposing a form of mystical meditation that puts him, by definition a man outside his time, in synchrony with the Catholicism of his day and age. For Catholicism also—and especially for Catholicism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the same type of solitary dedication to higher thought was the vehicle to sainthood. Surprising as this may be, the above quotation from Bruno bears extraordinary resemblance to the writings of his Spanish contemporary Saint Teresa de Avila who in a passage of *Su Vida* (her autobiography) writes as follows:

"Everything seems to me to be a dream and mockery that I see with the eyes of my body. What I have already seen with the eyes of my soul is what the soul desires and is far away, this is to die. In the end it is a great gift that God makes someone of such visions because it helps him or her a lot and at the same time imposes a heavy cross, because nothing satisfies him or her and everything hits him or her on the face. And if God did not permit us to forget them at certain times, even if we come back to remember them, I do not know how one could live" (Chapter XXXVIII).

Another aspect common to Bruno and Saint Teresa is the sense that enlightenment carries with itself estrangement from others and rebelliousness. It is a burdensome enlightenment, one that Saint Teresa could endure thanks to periodic intervals of forgetfulness. In Bruno's case, instead, the difficulty of being a man among others helps us understand his tempestuous personality and rebellious life during which he constantly entered into conflict with

all established institutions he dealt with. If you understand too much, it is difficult to comply with humanity's generalized mediocrity. There is almost an element of pre-Romantic anguish in Bruno's pronouncements about light, and it is no wonder that in fact he was so much admired by the early Romantics.

When we consider his response to the visual arts, another comparison may be drawn between Bruno and another of his contemporaries, Caravaggio. Since the revival of interest in Caravaggio at the turn of the century critics have been struggling to understand and explain the very special way in which light works in his paintings, a light that dashes through the canvass and catches only certain parts of it, leaving others in shadow and darkness. Caravaggio often uses a dart of light that captures the main action of the painting and seizes the instant in which something is just about to occur or a special mystical experience takes place.

Most critics now agree that Caravaggio's light is "indoors," that is manipulated and controlled, as in a theater, and that the painter probably obtained these effects by carefully placing candles in front of his canvass somewhat in the same way a director would light a stage for a play. Thus, light does not spread evenly over the painting the way natural light would outdoors, but selectively illuminates the interior space and the characters that are the protagonists of the action. The meaning of this special light is clearly mystical. In fact this light frequently captures the very instant in which the abrupt metamorphosis from one state of mind to the other takes place, as in his famous *Calling of Saint Matthew* in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. Here a band of light coming from the upper left corner of the painting engulfs the face of Jesus Christ who has just appeared pointing to Saint Matthew, also enlightened. Most of the other characters are in a dimmer light and continue in their ordinary tasks as if unable to see the miraculous event that is taking place in front of them. For Caravaggio too seeing is a special, inner spiritual gift. Physical presence alone is not sufficient.

The parallel with Bruno, however, must also stress another factor whose similarity in the other two one cannot

consider simply coincidental. Caravaggio also had a tragic existence, marked by his incredible genius and his unwillingness to accept the recognition that his peers and protectors often bestowed on him. Like Bruno he never accepted approbation as if approbation meant the lowering of his higher vision to the minds of common men. Like Bruno he was a *maudit*, the prototype of the artist and rebel.

Like Saint Teresa, Bruno and Caravaggio cultivated both action and intellectual life, but unlike her they were unable to project the fire that burned inside them into deeds that would meet with the approbation of the contemporary world. Both of them, consciously or unconsciously, probably conspired with themselves to seek their tragic ending, hoping to sanction by their martyrdom the value of their very individual and original visions. While Teresa was a saint, Bruno partook of Caravaggio's artistic nature, and this might explain the difference. They were, in a sense, both artists in a post-Renaissance, individualistic sense and probably thought that only violent and premature death could give their works the recognition they deserved. Teresa operated in a structure, the Catholic Church, in which the parameters of martyrdom had already been established. Instead, through their martyrdom, Caravaggio and Bruno established the new role of the totally individual, original and independent artist and thinker. There is little doubt that Bruno believed in the intellectual and moral superiority of the individual endowed with philosophic and artistic vision, just as there is no doubt that Bruno's philosophy is a highly demanding one that reacts both to the cultural obscurantism of the Catholic Church during the Counter-Reformation and to the democratization of culture in the reformed countries. If one were really to say it in one word, one would have to say that Bruno is an odd and unusual cultural phenomenon difficult to place in his own time. He is a predecessor of things to come much later and a reviver of ancient and forgotten ideas.

The intellectual historian Frances A. Yates is the major

Bruno student and critic of the twentieth-century, whose approach clearly sets her apart from that of the Italian neo-idealistic critics. Her reading of the *De Imaginum... Compositione* differs quite radically from that of Italian philosophers. In her famous book *The Art of Memory*, first published in 1966, Yates describes *De Imaginum... Compositione* as "an architectural memory system of terrible complexity" (1966;295) in which Bruno applies the "Picinian talismanic magic to memory images, probably with the idea of drawing particularly strong Solar, Jovial, and Venereal influences into the personality of the kind of Magus which he aspires to be." (1969;296). Yates admits that the characteristics of the memory treatise are somewhat difficult to identify: "Egyptian and Chaldean mysteries are hinted at, yet beneath all the verbiage the memory treatise structure is clearly visible." (1969;294). Maybe, though, this structure that she finds is not that clearly visible and the Egyptian and Chaldean mysteries are not, after all, just verbiage. The fact of the matter seems to be that Frances Yates is encountering the same difficulty her predecessors experienced in trying to define Bruno in one precise way. Again Bruno escapes definition, an unsettling realization for the acolytes of the historical method who believe that modern rationality can be transferred to different times and to intellectual personalities who often scorned rationality itself! Could it be that the historical method, which reached its ultimate refinement during the nineteenth century, is the sophisticated counterpart of political imperialism. Here too, in fact, scholars of certain places and countries are constantly rewriting the past somewhat in the same way that generals and politicians change the look of maps and redefine the identity of nations.

In a later book, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* of 1972, Yates seems to widen her appreciation of Bruno's personality and to see him not only as a magician of the arcane arts of memory but as a religious reformer with a wide and visionary agenda:

"Giordano Bruno as he wandered through Europe had preached an approaching general ref-



ormation of the world, based on a return to the 'Egyptian' religion taught in the Hermetic treatises, a religion which was to transcend religious difference through love and magic, which was to be based on a new vision of nature achieved through Hermetic contemplative exercises" (1972;136).

This statement takes Bruno out and away from the rather narrow and restricted yet fascinating company of the mnemonists and rhetoricians. Rather, he appears as an inspired pilgrim pursuing his own vision in a time of great religious turbulence and debate. What he was looking for was not, or not only, the secret of memory but a renovation of the world's sensibility. This configuration sets Bruno next to the great religious reformers of all time, and in particular to those who preached mysterious and hermetic creeds, who gave paramount importance to the high intellectual level of their doctrine and were not concerned whether this doctrine could be understandable to the minds of uninstructed women and men. In his introduction to *De Imaginum... Compositione* Bruno says quite clearly and simply that his book is complex, its meaning sometimes impenetrable and hard to understand in its entirety: "probably no one will comprehend everything in all modes, unless he shall also perhaps so believe." The use of words here is important: comprehension takes second place after belief.

It could hardly be any different. Bruno was trying to revive interest and even faith in the ancient images of the gods at a time when the Reformation was fighting to purify even the Christian religion from the remnants of paganism surviving in the cult of the Saints. The name of Julian the Apostate (331?-363), writer, philosopher, mystic and, yes, Roman Emperor, the nephew of Constantine who believed in the revival of the Empire through a new, revived paganism, comes immediately to mind.

Like Bruno, Julian believed light to be the fundamental spiritual element connecting all reality ("luminous splendor

which spreads all over is the actualization of the pure intellect") and therefore that the true religion was that of the ancient worshippers of the sun. All other gods were a consequence of the sun, including the god Mercury whom Julian worshipped and to whom he prayed every night before attending to matters of state. Interestingly Mercury receives the largest tribute of all the gods in Book Two of *De Imaginum... Compositione* and is, of course, the renamed Thoth, author of the Hermetic texts. Julian's religion was a very sophisticated and aristocratic religion, based on extensive philosophical foundations which could only be available to the Roman ruling class. By its very nature it excluded the large mass of cultures and peoples that the empire included in its borders. It was a religion out of its time. It was anachronistic, and this is why it failed. Anachronism is certainly also an attribute that also functions well in Bruno's *De Imaginum... Compositione*, as it is very hard to imagine how anyone in the turbulent years of the Reformation, when the crucial issue was the creation of a purified and rational Christianity, would want to take up the arcana of the symbols of the old religion. And, in fact, hardly anybody did, despite the fact that Bruno often boasted that he had sects of followers in different places. Bruno's influence—despite some important exceptions—was indeed negligible until our own century.

One of the reasons why we should be able today to understand Giordano Bruno better than his contemporaries did is because we have come to value anachronism as an asset rather than a flaw. In the case of Bruno anachronism consists of promoting systems of thinking which abhor rationality in a time when rationality was promoting its supremacy in western life. Today, maybe, we know better. It is certainly only an accident, but the fact that Bruno probably wrote *De Imaginum... Compositione* near Zurich struck me as one of those coincidences that has to have a meaning. Zurich, the city of Carl Gustav Jung, one of the leading enemies of modern rationalism, who believed that meaning often rested in the psyche and its free associations. Maybe we need to push back a few centuries the discovery of the value of free association to this passage in Bruno's *De Imaginum... Compositione*.

the fact that Bruno probably wrote *De Imaginam... Compositione* near Zurich struck me as one of those coincidences that has to have a meaning. Zurich, the city of Carl Gustav Jung, one of the leading enemies of modern rationalism, who believed that meaning often rested in the psyche and its free associations. Maybe we need to push back a few centuries the discovery of the value of free association to this passage in Bruno's *De Imaginam... Compositione*:

"Thus in past years it fell to me to knead this art for more particular distinguishing signs in a way not revealed in the methods of the ancients but by calculations prompted by the similarity of a word's head and tail. For example, by its head's likeness "ass" [*asinus*] leads to the figure of "asylum" [*asylum*]; "he who generates" [*generans*] to Genesis; and "she who gives birth" [*parturiens*] to Paralipomena. By the likeness of a word's tail, a temple [*templum*] leads to "contemplation" [*contemplatio*]; by the likeness of the whole body of the world, "mirror" [*speculum*] leads to "speculation" [*speculatio*]" (i-1-10).

The Italian writer Alberto Savinio, brother of the painter Giorgio de Chirico and, like Bruno, a believer in secret and mysterious connections, once wrote that the definitive evidence that the ruins discovered in Asia by Schliemann were those of the Homeric city of Troy was that the same ruins were pounded during World War I by a ship called Agamemnon! Would it be too much for me to say that Jung's interest in free association came about from his conversing with the dead spirit of Bruno which, in turn, put him in touch with the ancient Hermetic mysteries? The statement is certainly esoteric, but then isn't the widespread use of classical mythology in modern Jungian psychoanalysis a revival, under a revised guise, of paganism, an attempt to find in paganism meanings and values that modern culture and monotheistic

religions did not offer us?

The real religion of Bruno was the religion of analogy. He did not believe that the meanings of words, images, sounds and symbols could be defined semantically but could be understood intuitively and analogically through other words, images, sounds and symbols. The world of the mind is the world of phantasy for which understanding occurs—not through rationality, as rationality is impossible—but through the contemplation of images:

"For true philosophy, music or poetry is also painting, and true painting is also music and philosophy, and true poetry or music is a kind of divine wisdom and painting.

"Elsewhere I have discussed how any painter is naturally an establisher of infinite images who, by means of his image forming power, constructs from sights and sounds by combining in a multiplicity of ways" (i-1-20).

The artist, Bruno is saying, is akin to the prophet. His phantasy leads to truth or, at least, to meaning.

The final question that needs an answer is "why Bruno today?" Dick Higgins and Charles Doria, the editor and translator respectively of this beautiful and extremely accurate first English edition of Bruno's *De Imaginam... Compositione* are both avant-garde artists. Higgins, one of the original founders of the Fluxus movement, is a visual artist who has been working for years with Renaissance and Baroque imagery, in the attempt to show the enduring value of its message. There is little doubt that his intention in proposing Bruno's complex imagery is to make readers participate in his own feelings of fantastic wonder in perusing these symbols, an exercise in the association of images, ideas and mythologies that directs the mind away from rational discourse into the world of fantastic production. An image is like a crystal prism, it reflects light in the most diverse



and unexpected directions illuminating and bringing to consciousness other unexpected images and ideas until, like in meditation, thought itself gets lost in the beauty of the experience. There is really nothing to be *learned* in the traditional meaning of the verb *learning*, by following Bruno in his voyages through the world of Hermetic images.

For his part, Charles Doria as a poet was quite irretrievably captivated by Bruno's conviction that poetry is the art underlying all other arts, the faculty that, as Bruno says, knows "how to twist even empty words into ordered ideas."

In conclusion, in their text Higgins and Doria have carefully avoided repeating the mistake of their predecessor Bruno scholars of *explaining* Bruno's work. The *De Imaginum... Compositione* will probably have as many meanings as it will have readers. In this respect the two collaborators have remained faithful to both their avant-garde posture and to the intention of Giordano Bruno who in this work wrote a celebration to the creative impulse and the fantastic fancies that are, or should, be present in all of us.

Manfredi Piccolomini

City University of New York, 1991

## Introduction

"Sir P. Sidney, & Fulk Greville shut the doors at their phil. conferences with Bruno — if his Conversation resembled this Book, I should have thought, he would [have] talked with a trumpeter."

— S. T. Coleridge, *Notebooks*<sup>1</sup>

### I

The figure of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) has been glamorized and rendered heroic for so many years that it bears little resemblance to the original historical man. Yet when on the basis of texts available until now, we ask why the Inquisitors of the Counter-Reformation placed his works on the Index of Prohibited Books and burned Bruno at the stake, we are puzzled. Even his most challenging works which Bruno wrote in Italian do not seem to go beyond what the Roman church might have tolerated. For example, *De la Causa, Principio e Uno*, is a harsh attack on Aristotle, and establishes Bruno's view of the essence of reality as a "unitary process in which matter is both content and form."<sup>2</sup> To Bruno's time this might well be dangerous, but not to the point where one would burn him alive for it.

It is not so much that the image of Bruno has been distorted as it has been splintered, atomized, broken up, with the parts left to stand for the whole, as in a synecdoche. Among recent writers, only a few have attempted to balance their views of Bruno; the Polish scholar, Andrzej Nowicki, is one who has.<sup>3</sup> But most have taken what they chose from Bruno and said that that is all there was.

For example, the religious free thinkers of Italy have adopted him as their martyred saint and have named their newsletter after him.

Marxists championed him, explaining his interest in idealism and the occult as a search for something beyond the normative beliefs of his day and stressed his work in mathematics and astronomy as steps along the way to progress in those areas. The best of this kind of approach is that of Irving Louis Horowitz,<sup>4</sup> who includes both these directions in his analysis and emphasizes the contemplative psychological effect which results from Bruno's concerns. Other Marxists, such as Jack Lindsay,<sup>5</sup> seriously underestimate the centrality of Bruno's mystical side, so important for the present work.

The occultists have made an arch-magus of him, attributed skills such as a vast and profound knowledge of alchemy for which there is no particular evidence (albeit Bruno was, obviously, interested in the subject), and pointed out his interest in astrology and the mnemonic powers that are, in fact, a part of the overall picture. But they never attempted to understand the overall reasons for his involvement in these areas.

The most prominent of recent scholars on Bruno has been the late Frances Yates. In her *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*<sup>6</sup> she stresses Bruno's magical or non-rational side, as do the occultists, but she sees it as cultural evidence of the medieval in his thought. In that book she minimizes his modernism and syncretism, although in some of her earlier writings collected in *Lull and Bruno* this is less true.

None of these pictures is false, but each results from what we call a synecdochic approach to Bruno, seeing the part as if it were the whole. A great deal of this distortion can be explained simply: the texts which have received the most attention are those which Bruno wrote in Italian, not his Latin works. The former are the ones which have been translated, and there is not, as yet, any body of serious criticism concerning the Latin works.

Bruno's productive life lasted scarcely more than a decade. Thus, although there is some slight shift between the early and the late works, the main evolution of Bruno's thought has to do more with his shift in concern from analyzing the nature of physical reality to probing mental and spiritual dimensions.

In our opinion, the real division in Bruno's works is between the Italian-language pieces which were evidently intended for a broader public, and the Latin works, which are, in the main, more erudite, evidently intended for scientific and scholarly peers whom he seldom knew in life, where he wrote what he really thought for those few who might understand him. If one reads through the *De Magia* ("On Magic"), left in manuscript at the time of his death, one does not wonder that the inquisitors saw fit to burn him but that, given their mentality, they took so long to do so.

But until we did our work, not one single major Latin opus of Bruno's had been translated into any modern language. When we pay as much attention to the Latin works as the Italian the images of Bruno which a scholar might develop will not be so unidimensional.

Yet virtually all the biographies, from Bartholomess (1846-7) to Frith (1887) and so on to Boulting (1914) and even Singer (1950, the best of the lot in spite of its dated style), stress the Italian works above all. Only two works present a fully rounded view of Bruno. One is Spanpanato's scholarly *Vita di Giordano Bruno* (1921), a biography which remains untranslated into English, and

that is backed up by a companion volume of source materials, *Documenti della Vita di Giordano Bruno* (1933). The other is Nowicki's *Lampa Trzydziestu Spotkan*, also untranslated, an assemblage of quotations from Bruno, arranged as dialogs and interviews, which, taken as a whole, form a sort of collaged intellectual apologia.<sup>7</sup>

Bruno had high ambitions; he was what we might call an over-reacher, like Agrippa before him, and it is from Agrippa that Bruno picked up much of his knowledge of cabbalism, rather than from the more restrained Reuchlin.<sup>8</sup> Yet had Bruno been more modest, a scholarly humanist like Erasmus, for example, there is no way he could have investigated many of the areas with which he was concerned, no matter if they were forbidden or not. He would have held himself back. But we find Bruno attempting to reconcile the old Greco-Roman faith with Christianity, and, in the present work, taking steps towards a synthesis of Christian with Chaldean, Zoroastrian with the simply very archaic. Here we do not find him playing that typically renaissance game of masking dangerous views by attributing them to exotic sources. The result, in *De Imaginum... Compositione*, suggests a certain credulousness on Bruno's part, as Charles Nauert has pointed out,<sup>9</sup> but, in his own more radical way, Bruno is following in the train of the more discreet Nicholas of Cusa when he suggests that there are similarities among what normally are seen as opposites or unrelated areas. This constitutes one of Bruno's most challenging aspects.

## ii

So what was the nature of Bruno's thought? First, it is worth repeating our distinction of a moment ago between his Italian and his Latin works. We do not wish to minimize the former, but his

concerns there with the nature of justice and speculations on human relationships are not the issues of the present work. The Italian works almost all predate the Latin ones, and, for the most part, concern themselves with ethics, science and mathematics. They do not discuss the art of memory in any substantive way. At times, in the Italian works Bruno is involved in dialectics, and implicitly in dialectical method. This is rarely the case in the Latin works and never in *De Imaginum, Signorum et Idearum Compositione*, which, from now on for brevity's sake, we will refer to as *De Imaginum... Compositione*. There are only two minor prose passages in dialog in the work, both portions of anecdotes. Bruno's method in *De Imaginum... Compositione* is literary rather than philosophical; he describes, asserts, gives symbols and allegorical figures, but except for certain sections in Book One, he presents only the barest minimum of ratiocinations. He had to proceed intuitively, with neither the benefit of symbolic logic to check his text's inner consistency or the advice of professional academic colleagues. But Bruno, like Empedocles or Lucretius (and some might say, like Plato himself) but, unlike most other philosophers, he is as much poet as thinker. To clothe his ideas in memorable images and vigorous poetry is not a way open to many philosophers, even should they desire to do so.

The main shift from early to late in Bruno, then, is mainly one of emphasis; the vision which the later Latin works present bespeaks a new religion that reconciles by art and imagination, and not by dogma and tradition, those many fractures and dichotomies in European thinking that manifested themselves in the religious wars in Bruno's lifetime in France and elsewhere, leading up to the even greater horrors of the Thirty Years War, which broke out less than two decades after Bruno's death. Bruno's spirit violently opposes the bigotry on both sides of the Counter-Reformation, for his problem at hand is to explore as many seemingly contradictory aspects of human inquiry up to his time as possible, and, through



this, to attempt the reconciliation of body and soul, mind and matter, thought and feeling, dichotomies that would not have comprehensible to people in antiquity before their outlook was realigned by the Christian worldview. Religious schisms and heresies, social and dynastic rivalries, between Catholic and Protestant, England and Spain, Spain and France, France and Germany, medieval tradition and the new spirit of free inquiry from Erasmus to Galileo, these would have appeared as obscenities to a Homer or a Plato. Nonetheless, these are some of the issues Bruno successfully addresses in *De Imaginon... Compositione*, and elsewhere in the Latin works.

We should also bear in mind that Bruno and his contemporaries did not distinguish between Platonism and Neo-Platonism and, in fact, included the Hermetic texts with the Platonic canon. Usually, authorship of some of these was attributed to Thoth, traditionally identified as Hermes—“Hermes Trismegistus.” It does not seem unnatural, then, given his interests, for Bruno to focus on the Hermetic tradition, accepting its magical lore and contributing to it his mnemonic investigations, to benefit from its traditional gentleness, permissiveness, and beauty.

To represent the complex syncretic revival of the Hermetic tradition, which, as Edgar Wind has shown in his *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, was well known, thanks to the Florentine Academy, from the Quattrocento to the Counter-Reformation, we use the term “The Church of Thoth,” although we use it metaphorically since Bruno never indicates literally any intention to found a new church as such. But it can stand for a set of principles that embody reconciliation and tolerance that will in time replace ecclesiastic inquisition and persecution, that argue for the advancement of knowledge and a general rise in living standards and cultural conditions, as opposed to the closed and sterile world of papal hierarchy, privilege, magisterium, and preordination. The Christian church might claim eternity for itself, but Bruno’s ideal Church would be even more eternal and time binding, since it

harked back to the remarkable antiquity of the Hermetic texts. Much, perhaps too much, has been made of Isaac Casaubon’s dating of them (in 1614) to the Second or Third Century C.E. But what Casaubon and, most recently, Nock and Festugière (the modern editors of the *Poimander*) have dated, is the Greek texts in their surviving form. Present understanding suggests they are, in actuality, based on hieroglyphic Egyptian originals, now lost, from the Second or Third Millennium B.C.E. Perhaps this is surely why a conceptual Church of Thoth attracted Bruno. One might imagine him assuming that, since Christ was Prince of Peace, he, as distinct from his church, could also claim a place in this new Church of Thoth. One can sense as well, here and there in the *De Imaginon... Compositione*, Bruno maintaining that, just as the Aristotelians had distorted Plato, Christ had suffered the same fate at the hands of the Christians. Only by attributing such a view to Bruno can we explain his return to Italy or the substance of his final remarks at his trial.

But Bruno never actually intended to found a church as such, he never even attempted to convert anyone to full-time membership in it; and he never completely gave up hope of renovating Christianity and never felt that his positions had gone beyond what might, some day, be reconciled and accepted in the Roman Church. Yet, in the intellectual and theological system which he seems to espouse, he acts very much as if he were attempting to synthesize many of the most attractive aspects of past religious systems and present them as elements of a new faith.

Here, then, are some of the underpinnings of Bruno’s syncretism. It was directly in the spirit of his time. Yet what he was proposing went against the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Nothing in Bruno’s thinking directly contradicts Christianity, but he views Christianity as just one of three major pillars, along with the Egyptian mysteries and the Olympian faith, that support a vaster and more embracing religion. This, to a presumably sincere

Roman Catholic of Bruno's time, must have been even more frightening than the new theologies of the Protestants; Bruno did not merely offer new articles of faith as the Protestants did, he struggled against the whole fabric of what Matthew Arnold, in the nineteenth century, would call the "Aberglaube,"<sup>10</sup> the poetry of life, perhaps, but something extraneous to pure belief. Unlike Martin Luther or Jean Calvin, for example, Bruno acted alone. Yet so alien was his spirit to the Roman Church of the Counter-Reformation that he was considered a genuine threat. When the inquisitors realized that Bruno would not recant, Bruno had to die, and die he did.

When Bruno was burned at the stake, there were no reported public protests at the time. Not even a contemporary diary is known in which, safe in the confidentiality of its pages, someone expressed doubt as to the morality of Bruno's execution. Bruno was, indeed, the only martyr to his Church of Thoth.<sup>11</sup> But since *De Imaginum... Compositione* is the work in which he describes this faith on the largest scale, it is, extending our metaphor, the unfinished bible of his new faith. We, unlike Bruno's contemporaries, can see what it might have been, for all that this hypothetical Church of Thoth was destined never to become a real force in the world. Others in Bruno's tribe or lineage, the heterodox illuminati of the Renaissance and Baroque, Paracelsus, Ramus, Dee and others before, or Fludd, Kepler and Kircher after, never got quite so far.

Agrippa, the alleged prototype of Goethe's *Faust*, from whose works Bruno in his own derives the centrality of the seal, wrote only the most technical and specific of texts.

Paracelsus, arguably the most mystical of the group, is also the most inaccessible. His grave at Salzburg is visited mostly by those who honor him, not as a philosopher, but as the father of preventive medicine.

Ramus, who became a Huguenot, perished in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, a victim of the Guise faction's ultra-

Catholic bigotry. Forgotten by all but a few specialists for the next four hundred years, he becomes important only in the twentieth century when the significance of his dialectical logic was appreciated, at least for its historical importance.

As for John Dee, usually described for years as an eccentric bibliophile with an unfortunate interest in necromancy, lately he has returned to the limelight, at least in the history of mathematics, because of his introduction to an edition of Euclid's geometry, an important document in cultural and educational history, and for his *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (1558 and 1668), a work about earth-centered astronomy.

As regards later members of this heterodoxy, Fludd's fate was to have his books collected as graphic masterpieces, and their illustrations reproduced as fine examples of schemata and concepts for their time. For example, we reproduce his chart of the universe and his picture of a monochord. He is usually discussed, if at all, as part of some larger picture or as a participant in some controversy, seldom because anyone took a serious interest in his ideas, religious or otherwise.

Kepler is best remembered for his very real and major contributions to astronomy, and sometimes for his interesting musical ideas,<sup>12</sup> but their underlying intellectual or religious structures are seldom discussed now. Nor did Kepler's ideas usually find expression in any major literary or philosophical work by others.

Kircher remained, for all his speculations and visionary proposals in architecture, acoustics, and world culture, a devout Roman Catholic and Jesuit; one sees pictures from his books reproduced here and there, as with Fludd, but, once again, his works are seldom read and, for the most part, do not form the subject of much significant research.

None of these three figures wrote any special commentaries on Bruno or hailed him as their messiah, in spite of certain basic affinities. Nevertheless, we can say with Irving Louis Horowitz,

that "in every era, a philosopher with an encyclopaedic sweep emerges; a thinker who synthesizes and transforms all past contributions to thought in terms of the situation of his own times. This is the greatest accomplishment of Giordano Bruno's philosophy."<sup>13</sup> This, we might add, is also what sets Bruno and his ideas above and apart from his contemporaries whom we have just discussed.

## iii

To fit *De Imaginum... Compositione* into Bruno's career, we can suggest that perhaps the most important fact that emerges from Bruno's life is his death and the circumstances which surround it. He was, for most of his life, a wandering scholar and thinker with an admittedly difficult and argumentative personality. As of 1591, when he completed *De Imaginum... Compositione*, he had no particular destination or plan for the immediate future that we know of. It was at this time he gave the text of *De Imaginum... Compositione*, to Johann Wechel for publication.

It was also then that a prominent Venetian, Zuane Mocenigo, approached Bruno's friend, the bookseller Giovanni Battista Ciotti, bought Bruno's *De Minimo Magno et Mensura* from him, and asked him whether he knew and could bring Bruno to Italy to teach him his secrets of memory and invention. All this is documented in the transcript of Bruno's trial.

Bruno had always wanted to be reunited with the Roman Church and consistently said that he taught nothing which could not be reconciled with Christianity. Furthermore, he was after all an Italian and never quite at home in the northern countries. One might well imagine that he would be delighted by the prospect of a return to Italy. Bruno received two letters at Frankfurt from

Mocenigo, repeating the invitation. He then accepted and went to Italy (1591), ultimately moving into Mocenigo's home. There survive several manuscript fragments of a work drafted at this time, *De Vinculis in Genere* ("On Chains in General"), now in the Rumianzov Museum in Moscow. Had Bruno completed it, it would have been fascinating, because it seems to expand the metaphysical arguments in Book One, Part Two of *De Imaginum... Compositione*.

Mocenigo's real motives are unknown; presumably he wanted to know about Bruno's memory system in order to amass wealth and was perhaps disappointed by the lack of results, after Bruno arrived and instructed him. Also, it seems incredibly rash to us, as indeed it did to Bruno's contemporaries, that he should have returned to Italy at all. Perhaps he had second thoughts about coming. In any case, he told Mocenigo that he intended to return to Frankfurt, presumably to oversee the printing of *De Imaginum... Compositione*. By this time Mocenigo had, however, decided to denounce Bruno to the Inquisition and have him incarcerated. So when Bruno reiterated his intention to go north again, Mocenigo determined that the time had come to act. Bruno was roused from his bed by Mocenigo, arrested on Friday, May 22, 1592, and the following day conducted to the jail of the Holy Office, never again to be a free man. In due course (February 1593) Bruno's transfer from Venice to Rome was authorized by the Doge's Council, and Bruno was moved to Rome to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The story of Bruno's trials is in all his biographies. We need not repeat it in any detail. After Napoleon conquered Rome, transcripts of Bruno's interrogations and trial were discovered in the Papal archives and later published by Spanpanato in his *Documenti...* (1933). To this volume we refer the reader who wants full details. We will simply summarize the actual events. They make chilling reading, although some people such as Giovanni Battista Ciotti, a Venetian bookseller, gave daring testimony on Bruno's behalf.



Bruno first testified on May 26, 1592, and from then on, until the conclusion of the trials, he did not defend himself or recant so much as attempt to justify his intellectual and religious positions. From April 1594 until March 1597, he was given every opportunity to recant, but since his ideas were, for him, matters of firm conviction and conscience, he did not. A serious attempt was made to persuade him to recant in December 1598. Once again he did not. Evidently, of the inquisitors, only one, Tommaso Morosini, truly wanted to burn Bruno. The others were more concerned for the prestige value of a recantation from so eminent a heretic.

Time passed.

Bruno did not recant, although in January 1599 alone he was given two opportunities. Finally on January 25, Bruno declared his readiness to accept the personal decision of Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) as to his guilt. Why did he do that? We can only speculate: this pope was a great patron of the arts. Perhaps Bruno imagined that, when all was said and done, the pope would excuse him on the basis of his artistic achievements. No such luck. On February 4, 1599, the pope, in full Congregation, announced his decision: Bruno was to be given forty more days to recant, and, if he did not, he was to be burned.

On February 18th, this decision was read to Bruno in the dungeon. Bruno still did not recant. In August and September he was given yet two more last chances to do so. He did not. On December 21, 1599, he was visited by the papal officers once more, but he said that he would not recant since he had nothing to retract, despite the fact that the Inquisition claimed to have found at least eight heretical passages in his writings. On February 4, 1600, he was brought from the dungeon and the sentence of death pronounced. On February 8, the Inquisition transferred him to the Secular Arm, to be burned alive on February 12th. There was yet one more postponement. Bruno was tortured by the Bishop of Verona's staff, yet he did not recant, did not appeal for mercy. And

so, on February 17th, 1600, at the age of fifty-two, Bruno was burned alive in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome. Legend has it that his last words were: "I die a martyr and willingly. My soul shall mount up with the smoke to paradise." Actually, however, he was gagged to prevent any last outburst.

*De Imaginum... Compositione*, since it is the last of his works that is anywhere near complete, must stand, then, as the final indicator of his thoughts prior to martyrdom. It is also, perhaps, the most outspoken and intransigent of the works published in his lifetime, at least from the viewpoint of Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

## iv

We can only indicate other aspects of Bruno's thought and work, here, by turning to *De Imaginum... Compositione* itself. What kind of book is it?

As we have noted, it was published in Germany in 1591 at the time Bruno left on his final trip to Italy and the stake. Evidently, he never saw proofs, and the printers did an inadequate job both of typesetting and printing the book. Little attention was given to such details as pagination, so that, for instance, pages 18, 142 and 158 appear as pages 10, 124 and 188. No manuscript survives, so we will never know how finished the original text was. Parts, especially in Book One, read more like lecture notes or outlines intended to be filled in later. Yet other parts are undoubtedly finished and polished, with rugged verse sections, Lucretian or Ovidian in inspiration, interspersed throughout the prose.

But *De Imaginum... Compositione* is not simply another of Bruno's mnemonic texts, a "magic memory system" or "power source," as Yates puts it,<sup>14</sup> but an attempt to investigate and lay bare the images themselves, to discover what makes them work,

and how, both in theory and by example, they are constructed. The images do, in fact, add up to assemblages of extraordinary vividness. As for the underlying theory, Bruno seems to be approaching something like modern semiotics, the study of signs and codes (though of course he does not call it that). But semiotics also considers how things acquire meaning, and how such meanings are conveyed. Thus, the centrality in semiotics of the distinction between sign and word, the "signifier" and "signified," the thing it refers to or means.<sup>15</sup> In the following passage from Book One, Part One, Chapter Ten, Bruno discusses the importance of both:

Images do not receive their names from the explanations of the things they signify, but rather from the condition of those things that do the signifying. For in a text we are not able to explicate passages and words adequately by signs like those we trace out on paper, unless we think of the forms of sensible things, since they are images of things which exist either in nature or by art and present themselves to the eyes. Therefore images are named not for those things they signify in intention, but for those things from which they have been gathered...

One wonders if Fernand de Saussure, the father of modern semiotics, who did his researches in the 1890s just after the first collected volumes of Bruno's Latin texts appeared, read it. Saussure published nothing about this; in fact most of what we have comes via his and his students' notes. But it is not

inconceivable that he knew Bruno's Latin texts, since the 1890s were a time when Bruno was very well known, at least as a martyr figure. But this, of course, is only speculation, yet leading to a line of inquiry, in our view, well worth pursuing.

## v

Turning to the text of *De Imaginam... Compositione*, the careful reader *must not* skip the "Dedicatory Epistle" which begins the work, since there Bruno describes what he is setting out to do, namely to present idea, imagination, analogy, figure, arrangement and notation, the universe of God and the world of nature and *reason*, so that one may understand precisely how and why analogs among things reflect and imitate divine action. In this way, he will reach a more developed state of knowledge and enlightenment.

*De Imaginam... Compositione* itself is divided into three books. The first presents philosophical reasons and underpinnings, the second provides a vision of the Olympian deities, and the third assembles a methodology of mnemonics, games and ludibria, and diagrams. The first book is further divided into two parts, the first concerned with philosophical and psychological principles and pure logic. It even discusses Christian cabalism in i-1-5 (Book One, Part One, Chapter Five). The second part has to do with the world of communications, and also introduces the mnemonic materials that are further developed in Book Three. In other words, where Part One is general, Part Two is more specific. Neither part deals as such with traditional metaphysical issues like ontology, cosmology, etc. All the issues are discussed in an ongoing dialectic without dialog, resembling in Bruno's works only the much earlier [*Lo*] *Spaccio*. Perhaps the best overview of the First Part is that it

summarizes Bruno's views of philosophy and psychology as a whole, while in Part Two he presents what seems to be his new matter and its practical application. Along the way are many fascinating implications drawn from the main line of development. For example, in i-2-20, the climax of Book One, Bruno argues for the unity of all the arts in a way that suggest Nineteenth Century ideas about synesthesia or Twentieth Century ones about intermedia. We have already noted the semiotics passage in i-1-10, with its particular relevance to contemporary concerns. Some may find Bruno's description of rebuses, also in i-1-10 and in Bruno's time still a novelty, especially delightful.

Book Two is an imagistic approach to the twelve Olympian deities of the old Greco-Roman religion Neptune does not appear because traditionally he does not dwell on Mount Olympus but in the sea. Neither does Pluto. Each divinity has a court of virtues and personifications, so that one gets something suggesting Renaissance painting with its often multilayered crowd scenes. Here resides the literary center of Bruno's work, for let us not forget that *De Imaginum... Compositione* is both philosophy and art, where Bruno interweaves passages of durable lyrics, with prose that is by turns lofty and didactic.

In Book Three the images are broken down into parts; now specific means of approaching the mind and revitalizing it with images are suggested. Although passages of poetry are less frequently encountered than in Book Two, here, too, there are some chapters with solid poetry: iii-5, "Proteus in the House of Mnemosyne," explores dazzlingly the interconnection of things by means of language. Here, starting with the familiar opening lines of Vergil's *Aeneid*, which any educated contemporary of Bruno might be expected to know by heart (as our own grandfathers did),

he points out how this implies the daily world existing outside the text. Since Bruno characteristically insists, especially in his later works, on the interconnection of things, that accepting one part of reality means acceptance of some or even all of the rest of it, this forms one of the most important statements in his entire corpus.

## vi

Up until now, there has been a good deal of confusion regarding the illustrations in Bruno's last works, not just in *De Imaginum... Compositione*, and we believe that we are now in a position to shed some light on the problem. Wandering into an occult book store with a friend, one of us (Dick Higgins) happened to pick up a popular work, Derek and Julia Parker's *A History of Astrology* (1983), and opened it to page 97. There, staring up at us, was a color version of something extremely close to Bruno's "Sun" and "Venus" illustrations from ii-11 and ii-13, taken from "a 1495 copy of the *Flores Astrologici* of Albumasar." We have been unable to locate an edition of 1495, but there is indeed an edition of 1500 of Albumasar's *Flores Astrologiae*, published in Venice by Giovanni Baptista de Sessa, whose illustrations, beautiful wood engravings by an anonymous artist, are also included in Albumasar's *De Magnis [Con]iunctionibus*, also published at Venice but in 1515 and by Jacopo Penzio de Lecho for Melchior Sessa. Although these editions are in black and white, and the copies we have seen are not even hand colored, our belief is that the Parkers' illustration comes from the 1500 edition.



"Albumasar" is the Latin name of Abu Ma'shar, short for Abu Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Balkh (ca. 805-886 C.E.), a Moslem astronomer from Balkh in Central Asia. One of his major works is the *Kitab Ahkam Sini al-Matalid*, translated into Latin as *De Magnis Conjunctionibus*; the core portion of this work was first published as *Flores Albumasaris* in 1487, 1488 or 1489 by Erhard Ratdoldt at Augsburg, and the complete version appeared later that year with the same publisher and also at Augsburg. In both these early editions there are wood-engraved illustrations which are similar to Bruno's, with superior impressions in the earlier book, and slightly more worn ones in the later one. They are printed over and over again in both works, according to the combinations of the heavenly bodies with the signs of the zodiac; in the complete work, for example, a gentler-looking Saturn than Bruno's is at D<sup>I</sup> and D<sup>3</sup>, Mars at D<sup>I</sup>, Jupiter at E<sup>I</sup>, Sol (Sun) at E<sup>4</sup>, Venus at F<sup>I</sup>, Mercury at F<sup>V</sup>, and Luna (Moon) at K<sup>2</sup>. This last differs the most from Bruno's; Luna has two youths pulling her chariot, not women, but on its wheels is the sign for Cancer, the crab.

Albumasar's work was, we know, highly regarded; it was reprinted into the seventeenth century, for example the *TraumBuch Apomasaris* (1655). In modern times the *Flores Albumasaris* (1487) has even been reprinted in a bibliophile edition. There are serious studies of his writings, concerning their place in the history of science both in German and in English, for example Pingree (1968) and Sarton (1927-31; 1,568 and 2,170). No wonder, then, that an Italian edition should appear so soon after the German one, and that its illustrations should be closely redrawn from the earlier one. The main difference in the Italian edition concerns the image of Luna, which now shows women instead of two youths pulling her chariot.

We do not know how many editions of the *Flores Albumasaris* appeared under various names in the sixteenth century, but there must have been at least seven of them. These

Below (clockwise from top right): Jupiter, Sol, Luna, Venus, Mars and Saturn, from Albumasar's *Flores Albumasaris* (1487), from the reprint of the Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum zu Leipzig, Zwickau: F. Ullmann, 1928. Courtesy of the Rare Book Room, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. \*KB/1489.



Below (clockwise from top right): Mars, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Sol and Jupiter, from Albumasar's *De Magnis Coniunctionibus* (Venezia: Mandato expensis M. Sessa, per J. Pentium de Leucis [=Jacopo Penzio de Lecho]. 1515. Courtesy of the Rare Book Room, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. \*KB/1515.



to have become one of the normative ways in which standardized and popular images of the Olympians spread even after Bruno's death. Nowicki (1970, fcg.334) includes the Moon (the earlier version), Sun, Venus, and Moon (the version appearing in Bruno), reprinted from Caspar Hersbach, *Curzer Discurs...* (Koln: printer unknown, 1616); this work discusses, among other things, the appearance of a great comet in that year, and the illustrations could only have come from Albumasar.

However, it is not directly from Albumasar that Bruno borrowed his illustrations but from an important edition of the Venerable Bede, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis Presbyteri, Anglosaxonis...* (Basel: per Ioannem Heruagium, 1563), where they appear on pages 403 and 439, used as illustrations for Bede's "Mundi Sphaera." These illustrations are, line for line, Bruno's actual wood engravings, reused by the printer and slightly more battered than when they first appeared in the Basel edition of Bede. Whether they were used for the first time in the Bede book we do not know; they may have been lifted from some unknown earlier source. But the Bede work deals with heavenly bodies, as does Albumasar's book. It also agrees with Bruno's remark in ii-12, the "Luna" section, that "In Germany I came upon this not inappropriate illustration of the Moon," since at least part of the Bishopric of Basel was included in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. He could well have encountered the book itself in Germany proper. And finally, Bruno, as he considered these images that were made for works on astrology or astronomy, could then see how different they were from traditional views of the Olympians, thus giving us such sometimes puzzling discrepancies as the "German Sun" in ii-12.

But, of course, *De Imaginibus Compositione* includes other illustrations as well: diagrams in Books One and Three. The following passage appears in the introduction by Johann Wechel

to another book by Bruno, *De Triplici Minimo et Mensura* (1591), ill (1889:1 pt. 3,123-4), already mentioned in another context:

*Opus aggressus, ut quam accuratissime absolveret, non schemata solum ipse sua manu sculpsit, sed etiam operationem se in eodem correctorem praebebat. (He [Bruno] having energetically begun the work, so that he could finish it as accurately as possible, did not just engrave the charts with his own hand, he even made changes in them).*

A few of the diagrams in the 1591 edition of *De Imaginum... Compositione* are printed in "reverse," that is, with white lines on a dark background. These must be the ones which Bruno engraved himself. As anyone knows who has tried to carve a linoleum or wood block, it is easier to etch lines into a piece of wood (or linoleum) than shave away just enough wood so as to leave only a thin, raised portion. But when one carves the lines into the material, the raised portion is what catches the ink and prints dark; the incised lines do not catch ink, and there the paper shows through as a white line on a dark background. Therefore, we believe that it is these negative cuts which were made by Bruno's own hand, that he was not skilled enough (nor did he attempt) to make the more complex illustrations or the diagrams which are printed in type.

Finally, there is one diagram which appears twice, the "Archetypus" at i-2-19 and iii-4. In its second appearance, however, there is only a smudge in the center of the picture. Could it be that Bruno attempted to make changes on this block after it had already been used in i-2-19? Do we detect, perhaps, a tone of dismay in Wechel's remark above, that Bruno was "also" trying to make changes? Publishers have lamented authors' changes since that industry began; perhaps Wechel had this in mind as well. We

In Tocco's edition, the illustrations have not been reproduced photographically from the originals but have, instead, been completely redrawn, made more elegant, cleaned up and refined. The diagrams are all positive (dark on a light background), and the Olympians are rendered as handsome and beautiful as possible, although technically such details of the iconography as the horoscopic signs on the wheels of the Olympians' chariots are unchanged. What is lost in expressive impact is gained in clarity. However, the current reprint (1962) of Tocco's edition does not do these illustrations justice; it is about fifty per cent smaller than the original edition, and inevitably visual impact is lost. Tocco's illustrations are fairly good nineteenth-century book plates, correct in imagery, but perhaps too pretty for Bruno's text. This is especially true of Tocco's Saturn, who looks like a nice middle-aged gentleman, not the fearsome figure in Bruno's text.

## vii

A short introduction is no place to go into a detailed study of sources and influences. Sources here, in any case, are very hard to determine. However, Bruno may well have had access to texts which disappeared in the burning of libraries such as John Dee's during the religious controversies and wars of the time; and some of these lost works might indeed have influenced him.<sup>16</sup> We know Bruno is not always accurate when he quotes sources. On the one hand, as a travelling scholar he must have had to depend a lot on his memory. On the other, he may have known variants of texts which are no longer accepted and are thus not always easy to recognize. For instance, he may well have known works on natural history, since lost, which provided him with the lists we could



could not identify in, for instance, iii-1. We doubt he made up his names from whole cloth; that would not be in keeping with his spirit.

Whatever else he is, he is no carbon copy of the others in his lineage: Llull (whose relationship with Bruno has only just begun to be explored, by Frances Yates, Anthony Bonner and others),<sup>17</sup> Ficino, Agrippa, Paracelsus, Ramus, Dee, and, later, Kepler. He strives to be inclusive in his moving into the vast and the unknown, to incorporate into his thought every idea or system which appeals to him.

As for influence, *De Imaginum... Compositione* had, as such, virtually none, because it was considered a rare and difficult text for hundreds of years, and the 108 known surviving copies of the 1591 edition were usually inaccessible. There was no other one until Tocco's in the *Opera Latine Conscripta* (dated 1890 but probably 1891), published almost exactly three hundred years later. However, in the Brunonian corpus, it provides the best summation of his thoughts in general and of the more specialized ideas presented in the Latin works in particular. Apart from the *De Imaginum Compositione*'s intrinsic interest, if Bruno himself is important, then the role this work plays in his entire corpus becomes extremely significant.

About Bruno's influence in general, many have attempted to document it, with varying degrees of success, on this or that literary or philosophical figure and to describe just what it was. Passing over Spinoza, Leibniz, and Jacobi, where the influence is quite complex, Beyersdorff attempts to show influence on Shakespeare (unconvincing, except, perhaps, for Prospero in *The Tempest*);<sup>18</sup> Lakin's PhD dissertation attempts to detect it in Chapman;<sup>20</sup> Warnlof's in Sidney (Sidney was a friend of Bruno for a time, and is the dedicatee of the *Heroici Furor*);<sup>21</sup> Saenger in Goethe;<sup>22</sup> Frye in Novalis;<sup>23</sup> Snyder in Coleridge (her views are balanced and hold up well);<sup>24</sup> and Boldereff and Voelker in Joyce.<sup>25</sup> This list could be extended;

as of yet, nobody, to our knowledge, has tackled the Schlegel brothers, whose ideas in the *Athenaeum* "Fragmente" overlap extensively with Bruno's (more so than with their fellow *Athenaeum* author Novalis).

For the most part, it is not, however, the work of Bruno that has had the greatest impact but the mythic figure, that of the martyred magus. The romantic philosopher Schelling presents his Bruno as a dramatist would, as an interesting character but not a mouthpiece for Bruno's ideas. Joyce appears to have read some Bruno, but seems more delighted by his name (*bruno* means "brown," of course, and is a traditional name for a bear) than by any specific concepts or ideas. In such a situation, it should be *De Imaginum... Compositione* which one consults as a touchstone Latin text, if only to establish influence.

But having suggested a dissociation of Bruno from those names with which he is most often associated, we can also suggest other important areas. In the context of our own time, when "postmodernism" has been made an issue by many, it is interesting to see a mind from so long ago working on the basis of semiotics.

Another "postmodern" concern is myth; it is clearly also a preoccupation with Bruno, who uses it as a way of extending language and concept by tapping into what was, to his day, either the familiar or perhaps, as Bruno often makes of it, the dangerous. His synesthesia, which sometimes becomes an aesthetic, the convergence of poetry, prose and visual art, is of interest today also, and it is noteworthy that Bruno provides a historic paradigm for this. Perhaps the main influence of Bruno's *De Imaginum... Compositione* is yet to come, in some area as yet unknown.

But to stress only the historical significance and contemporaneity of *De Imaginum... Compositione*, to look for its influence, is to miss part of the point. This work is not just a recast

Bible for Bruno's hypothetical "Church of Thoth," as we called it earlier, not just a source for others or even only a paradigm. It is a literary monument. Philosophers tend to mistrust literary philosophy, and with good reason; their objectives are, however, different. But *De Imaginam... Compositione* is, as we have noted, midway, intermedial as it were, between philosophy and work of art. As we read it, we not only discover the philosopher, the scientist and the believer, but we encounter the man speaking to us in his own voice, complete with feelings. Sometimes in *De Imaginam... Compositione* he rages, at another moment, as in the "Venus" chapter of Book Two, he sings us love songs, or perhaps, as in Books One and Three, he will play word or number games for our amusement. In Book Two he creates, in word and image, a vast portrait of the Olympians and their friends, with dazzling and sometimes horrifying vividness (as in the long chapter on Saturn, with its visions of grief, hunger and death). Even if one rejects the work as philosophy, has no particular interest in history or even the slightest interest in Bruno's religion, the work can still be appreciated as a work of art that achieves a measurable awareness and heightening of the purposes and methods of mental and spiritual development.

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Charles Doria

## On the Composition of Images, Signs and Ideas

## Dedicatory Epistle

*To the most noble and illustrious  
Sir Johann Heinrich Heinzel,<sup>1</sup>  
Lord of the Castle Elgg:  
from Giordano Bruno the Nolan  
[signed]*

Your most noble nature's shining instance, your mind's most vital loftiness, your fully formed humanity's kindness, illustrious Lord Heinz, have summoned, compelled and driven me to reveal to you, as a personal monument of that respect with which I embrace you, one child from among the principal children of my genius, conceived and formed a long time ago. Its main theme is the composition of images, signs and ideas, for the purpose of mastering universal invention, arrangement and memory. If it turns out here that I also attain, comprehend and grasp what I am proposing, examining and discussing, such that the trouble is easy where it may not be easy enough, short where it cannot be brief enough, sufficient in a matter where something like this could hardly be (or at least be believed) satisfactory and worthy enough, I shall seem to have realized something quite uncommon. The idea, the imagination, the shape, the designation, the notation, is the universe of God, the work of nature and reason, and is controlled by analogy with them,<sup>2</sup> so that nature may admirably reflect divine action, and then innate human ability rival (as if reaching



towards even higher things) nature's operation. Who does not see with how few elements nature constantly makes so many things? Indeed there is no one who does not know that this happens, because Nature places, orders, composes, moves and guides these same four elements, and under signs varied according to the thing formed and figured she drives them from possibility's abyss to the summit of act. But by immortal God, what can be easier for people than counting? First, since there is one, there are two, three, four; second, because one is not two, two is not three, three is not four. Third, because one and two are three, because one and three are four. To do this is to do everything; to say this is to say all; to imagine, signify and shape this makes all things objects to apprehend, to understand once apprehended, remembered when understood. The full light of this is more present, clear and arrayed for our intelligence than sunlight which can be marshalled for our outer eyes. For it<sup>3</sup> rises and sets, and as often as we turn ourselves toward it, is not there. But that other magical light<sup>4</sup> is no less present to us than to itself for us, so present in the mind it is even in mind itself. Nevertheless, do you wish me to tell why so few know and comprehend this? Why (I say) do we consider what is continually present for us in so much of the sky to be remote? Because the eye sees other things, it does not see itself. Yet what is the nature of the eye that so sees other things as to see also itself? It is that sort of eye which sees all things in itself, and which is likewise in all things. By this sublime method we could be like that sort of eye, if we could discern our species' substance so that our eye could perceive itself, our mind enfold itself.<sup>5</sup> Then it would be as possible to understand all as it would be would be simple to do all. However, the nature of things in composition and that possess body does not permit this. For its substance abides in movement and quantity, even if by itself it neither moves nor is moved.<sup>6</sup> From this, for example, we can see that we do not

exist in some deep and divided abyss, but that certain things exist as accidents of ourselves according to their external surface (that is, color and shape) and as the very eye's likeness in a mirror. For our intellect can not see itself and all things in themselves except in an outward appearance, likeness, image, shape or sign. This according to the ancients was first expressed by Aristotle and is understood by few of the neoterics:<sup>7</sup> "Our intelligence is either phantasy or not without phantasy."<sup>8</sup> And again: "We do not understand except by observing phantasies." This means that we do not understand by any simpleness, condition and unity, but by composition, combination, plurality of terms, by means of discourse and reflection. But if our gift is such, its efforts should doubtless be of the same quality, that specifically by inquiry, discovery, judgment, arrangement and memory it and they may not stray beyond the mirror and not be moved except by images. If a polished and flat mirror were placed here, and if, by art, the light of the canons<sup>9</sup> were to grow strong on the horizon immediately after and because of the special ability conferred on us by things' clear and conspicuous images coming into view, then we are guided towards the highest happiness in the manifold genus of act that is most appropriate of all to a human being insofar as he is a human being.

And so as the complement of this teaching I have assembled these three books. The first contains those generalities which are concerned with various sorts of signifying. In the same fashion Book One explains the various conditions by which subjects are prepared and disposed, and images imprinted and depicted. Next we show how to construct the different genera's atria and fields;<sup>10</sup> then we present them fully constructed. In them finally are all that can be said, known, imagined; here are all arts, languages, works and signs. In the Second Book are the images of the twelve principal figures that are the authors, signifiers, bestowers of all the things of the

second and middle nature (under the one that is the best, and biggest, unnamable without form).<sup>11</sup> Everything that assists, surrounds, lies adjacent to, adjoining and belongs to each of them we explore to such advantage that each, as a grammarian to grammarians, offers itself to poets, speakers, natural scientists, astrologers, those who study mechanics, finally to everybody in every way. I would like it to escape no one's attention that I am not playing games by synonymy<sup>12</sup> and manipulating the speechwriter's bag of tricks (with its lack of sense). So those different words, that when seen by the grammarian's eye are synonymous, for us signify one thing at one time and another at another. For example, "lord," "owner" and "master" are not the same things as "ignorance," "a servant" and "a horse."<sup>13</sup> This is why in philosophy's court there can be no synonyms, unless in this day and age we wish to reckon grammarians among philosophers who have acquired their chief distinction from the despised power of words while harmonizing in a style like parrots and monkeys, unless we wish to compete with Cicero in the profession of sciences, to trade small Greek words for Latin ones by mixing the knowledge of language among the other matters under consideration. Let us count all those known by their finger rings as brute life forms rather than as men who merit a better title than that of arrogant and petty grammarian.<sup>14</sup> In the Third Book, however, I present the images of the thirty seals whose likeness and explanations I presented elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Only those men who are disciplined and endowed by nature with keenness of mind will be able to understand with one attentive reading, since here require no Oedipus or Tiresias.<sup>16</sup> But probably no one will comprehend everything in all modes, unless he shall also perhaps so believe. Yet except the blind none will be disappointed by reading this book. Stay well, and love one who esteems you.

### Book One, Part One, Chapter One *On light, radius and mirror*

Being is perceived and distinguished under three headings, universally called metaphysical, physical and logical, as these are the three principles of everything: God, nature and art; and three effects proceed from this, divine, natural and artificial.

Every agent should be constituted for a specific purpose, and not out of any such necessity as the appearance of effective matter, so that it has a preconceived aspect.<sup>1</sup> Plainly, this appearance in advance of the world of natural things is called form or the vestige of ideas. In the world of postnatural things, it is called reason or intention, and is further distinguished into primary and secondary, which we usually call the shadow of the ideas.

These ideas are the cause of things before the things exist, the vestiges of the idea are the things themselves or what vestiges are in things; the shadows of the ideas are from the things themselves, or exist after the things which are said to exist with so much less reason than those things which proceed out of the lap of nature, just as in the same way the things themselves are less than mind, while idea and principle are effective, supernatural, substance-generating and transphysical.

Thus, beings are distinguished into those which are things, and into those things which are their signs or indications. This distinction is just about the same as the one given

above, and which the uninformed public proclaims as the division into substance and accident.

We are deliberately proposing a method which by no means concerns things but which treats, rather, the significance of things, a method in which may be easily ascertained that there exists beyond a doubt a productive power of all things, by those who will contemplate the word and characters of Nature in the usual way, who will call calmly to us from all sides and describe the species of things; since matter, less than idea and form, seems to contribute to the specification<sup>2</sup> of producing all things. For in this principle all things come together and are one; and truly in this and through this all things are distributed into the genus, the species and their numbers. But from this it is apparent that generally the same nutriment becomes, in a dog, the dog's substance and seed, in a man, a man's substance and seed, in an ape, an ape's substance and seed because of the idea which is present in dog, man and ape, which we discover is not separated from things but most things joined to themselves. Thus, we specify that all things have a ratio of matter of either the prime, middle or the proximate degree, in the action of the inventive or memorative faculty according to the condition of assumed significance of anything; and we invent and accommodate in such a way that everything may be elicited from everything, and all things signified by all, and all things contemplated in all. And, to say it in one word, let everything be considered by application as one, and one by its formation as all; just as by practicing the following method it will be better and more aptly explained.

Therefore, starting once again from the beginning, we say concerning matter and species that, after we have understood supernaturally one infinite being, an intensive whole discovered everywhere and completely in boundless immensity, in the same way we have placed before all eyes one extensive universe, which is physically visible, sometimes in

some parts and at other times in other parts, and in one place at one time and in another place at another. Yet on the other hand the species of substance, what really are in substance, are discovered as accidents. The order of the cosmos is rational,<sup>3</sup> as it is in the likeness of the natural, of which it is the shadow, as it is the image of the divine, of which it is the vestige.<sup>4</sup>



**Book One, Part One, Chapter Two**  
*Concerning those things that go towards the mirror,  
 and those things which are in the mirror*

Now we propose to shift our attention, as regards the universe, towards the full signification which is, as it were, a sort of living mirror in which is the image of the natural and the shadow of the divine.<sup>2</sup>

Plainly this mirror treats idea as if it were the cause of things, just as the image that is to be made in the mind of any efficacious thing affects the understanding of that efficacious thing. It conceives of form as if it were the thing itself, in sum, its appearance. For all the whole substance of a thing refers to this image, since a thing does not exist physically without being material, if we are to go along with the discussions of the Peripatetic School,<sup>3</sup> who understood that matter is the substance of all things, since it brings forth *forms* from its own womb and innards, just as a mother gives birth to her offspring; it sends forth, gives birth to, conceives and then conceals its own children in one and the same way though with some reciprocal changes. Matter conceives images as if these were the result of one thing from another thing, one which emanated from a particular thing's surface and informed its capability of being recognized first with a certain light of the senses, then with one which was truly rational. Here, specifically, for those who speak about things in general, are their images and figures, located as it were in their proper places, where they are

protected and preserved after being produced and propagated from their sources and wellsprings. It is perfectly possible that their names will be confused by the layman, and often even rashly usurped by those who are "quite wise." It is perfectly possible that in their every argument that it suits their purposes that there should be no intellectual rigor in their pleadings, even where the significance of things is fixed and very plain to see. Nevertheless, at the present time this significance, as we also said in our book *Concerning the Shadows of Ideas*,<sup>4</sup> we consider that there is nothing wrong in repeating ourselves, so that we may plainly offer distinct definitions for the following terms:

- |                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. idea [ <i>idea</i> ]           | 7. seal [ <i>sigillum</i> ]         |
| 2. trace [ <i>vestigium</i> ]     | 8. indication [ <i>indiciu</i> ]    |
| 3. shadow [ <i>umbra</i> ]        | 9. figure [ <i>figura</i> ]         |
| 4. sign [ <i>nota</i> ]           | 10. analogy [ <i>similitudo</i> ]   |
| 5. character [ <i>character</i> ] | 11. proportion [ <i>proportio</i> ] |
| 6. mark [ <i>signum</i> ]         | 12. image [ <i>imago</i> ]          |

First of all, idea is indeed properly termed "form" before things and their metaphysical correspondences; obviously it [*idea*] is the appearance itself of the universe, and of those things which are supersubstantial in the universe, since just as it is appropriate for idea to exist more truly than the universe which is physically constituted, and as it is for those things which are natural and have a real existence,<sup>5</sup> and the physical universe as well, since it is more appropriate that they enjoy an existence more true than that of the reflection of the the material world which is inscribed on our senses.<sup>6</sup> For just as our intentions originate from natural things, and also because they could not originate from those things which do not exist naturally—because, as it were, if no physical body exists there could be no shadow—so, too, could physical things themselves, indeed the physical universe, by no means exist if

the famous metaphysician himself<sup>7</sup> as well as the idea which bears all according to the act of mind and of divine will which communicated itself, and which did not enjoy prior existence according to the act of mind and of divine will which communicated itself and which did not enjoy prior existence

Secondly, after idea, therefore, there follows the physical universe which, following Zoroaster, we call the trace [*vestigium*] of the idea, where it enjoys, peculiarly to itself, the name of the essence of the forms.

Third, in sequence, is the rational world, which is the aggregate of things in intention, which is abstracted from and coalesces in its species from physical things. Because the proportion [*ratio*] of its being is less than that of the physical world it is farther from the ideal truth than the trace, and therefore, by the best usage, is conceived of under the notion of shadow [*umbra*]. The parts of the aggregate are bounded on all sides by the name of the species and the genera as they are logically signified. And so, according to those who philosophize with any subtlety and who speak properly, to these three names, idea, form and species, we attribute three vastly different meanings.

### Book One, Part One, Chapter Three *Explanation of various ideas*

Now in this third category, it is convenient as well as consistent to assume the concepts behind the different names in various ways, as, for example, "sign" which denotes everything which in any way displays or indicates another thing either in its primary, secondary proximate or remote, immediate or mediate reason or meaning.

"Character" denotes that which, by a fixed drawing of lines or siting of points signifies something, such as the elements.

"Mark" [*signum*] is, in a certain way, the genus for all those things which have signification, either as idea or trace or shadow or otherwise.

"Seal" [*sigillum*] (which is the diminutive of mark) signifies the more notable part of the sign or the sign as it is generally accepted, as, for example, when we signify a person or his action by his head alone or only by his hand.<sup>1</sup>

"Indication" [*indicium*], like mark and seal, is one term whose function it is not so much to represent or to signify as to show, just as when one who points does not *per se* signify the thing which is being indicated, but rather he invites or summons it to his inner or outer contemplation.

"Figure" [*figura*] is different from all the preceding terms, because they are ideas, traces and shadows, as much related to the intrinsic as to the extrinsic aspect of things; "figure," however, pertains only to the extrinsic.

"Sign," "character," "mark," "seal" and "indication" can be called, just as well and at various times, lines or points, all things which do not contain space. "Figure," nevertheless, is that which ought rightfully to contain space.

"Similitude" [*similitudo*] differs from all the preceding terms, because here the species [of the things covered by the term] is not necessarily the same. When a person is signified in letters and characters as well as in marks, indications and signs, less [will be signified] than with a simile or likeness, as in a painting or a statue or its appearance as received by the senses and preserved in the imagination.

"Proportion" [*proportio*] differs from "similitude" because it [proportion] is known to exist perpetually between two terminal points; just as A is a letter, so is B; or just as "mule" is like a "horse." But proportion is perpetually discovered among four or more—or at least three—terminal points; just as alpha is among the Greeks, so too is A among the Latins, where there are four terminal points: 1. alpha, 2. Greek, 3. A, 4. Latin. Now, the proportion among these at least three terminal points is obvious; just as two holds itself in relation to four, so<sup>2</sup> does eight in relation to sixteen (here there are the four terminal points: 2, 4, 8, and 16). Just as two is related to four, so too is four to eight, where there are three terminal points: two, four, eight.

Finally, "image" [*imago*] differs from "similitude" because it embraces a greater energy, emphasis and universality, for there is more *being* for image than for similitude. Image tends more to unequivocal than does similitude. And it is the same for things not only when they are in the same genus but also when they are outside their own genus. Just as one artifice is said to be similar to a certain artifice, nonetheless it is not called similar either in relation to its image, or *in* its image unless it is in a very close genus or in the same species.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Four**  
*Every sign should be referred to the*  
*atrium of sense and the tribunal of sight*

In this art all things can be used under the name of image: marks, signs or indications very easily may be properly named in another manner, because to those who very diligently consider a thing by itself, it will not seem to lack its proper proportion [*ratio*]. For all things, in whatever way they signify and represent, are referred to and led back to species comprehensively by sense, and the genera of all perceptible species are finally limited to the visible, that is assuredly to the liveliest and most effectual species, since sight is the most spiritual of the senses. This will quickly become apparent when we examine the steps by which the genera and species are inferred or transported back to their proper objects. For touch, in the internal as well as external organs, conceives only those things that linger, while smell perceives only the exhalations given off by the body of those things which are conspicuously placed; hearing conceives those things which lie rather far away, but sight comprehends very swiftly those things which are the most remote; and, for this reason, we recall rather quickly to mind those things apprehended by that sense, and retain them more effectively than by the other senses, and through the objects of this sense we signify the objects of all the appetites and the cognitive facilities in the same way that we describe and reveal all things by means of visible letters.



**Book One, Part One, Chapter Five**  
*On the movement, physical, mathematical [and]  
logical of images, according to the general reception  
of these modes*

Images confer signs and characters for doing, perceiving and signifying physically, mathematically and logically at the same time, since to nature it is agreeable to bring forth definite species from indefinite material by an actual or a non-physical idea or form. An indefinite material, I say is not first in intention but second, as it is a common nutriment that is converted into the substance and seed of a particular species. Then mathematically the simulacra, images and characters lead to producing and preparing many things, since it may be observed the cosmos is threefold: archetypal or original, physical and umbral; thus, from the first (the archetypal) a descent through the middle (the physical) is available to the third (the umbral), and from the third through the middle an ascent is available to the first, in the same way that we descend from the sun to the aspect of the moon's light, which is imparted by the stars and the air, and from it we move down to the shadowy light, or as in a mirror, notwithstanding the fact that the light can be sent directly into the mirror from the sun, and that from the mirror light can be turned back toward the sun on a direct and immediate track. Thus our mind-and-sense<sup>1</sup> procures, prepares and receives for itself certain favors directly from the supernal cosmos, but these favors come through the medium of nature and sensible things. We do not prepare and understand all these things, whether they be in one

**Chapter Five**

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mode or another, save by sure signs, archetypes, gestures and, as they maintain, the sacraments.

Thus forms, simulacra and signacules<sup>2</sup> are vehicles and, as it were, some sort of chains by which the favors<sup>3</sup> of lofty things emanate, proceed and are dispatched upon the lower orders of things at the same time as these are conceived, retained and preserved. Concerning them I omit too close a review, lest I seem to wander more than is proper from my original purpose.

One thing I do wish, nonetheless, to recall to memory—that the planets seem to seek out similar faces to their own in subjective and informing things according to the counsel and practice of the Magi.<sup>4</sup> The teachings of the cabbalists and the example of Moses confirm this same fact. Moses, who at one time, compelled as it were by some necessity, erected a golden calf to gain the favor of Ceres and Jove, likewise offered for worship a bronze serpent to assuage the violence of Mars and Saturn; there are many other things like these to see, which they say lie hidden and veiled in both his acts and words.

There is a similar rationale [*ratio*] in those stories which are retold about Prometheus who it is said, when he stole light and fire from Jove, brought them down to earth from heaven in a lump of mud, that is science and the arts, as a boon for human life.<sup>6</sup> When they perceive someone in some way stealing and purloining a simulacrum's virtue, the favor and in addition the privilege of the gods, for the sake of some (I don't know what) personal, expert and secret analogy of higher forms with lower material, hence then, as if allured, they descend and communicate themselves by images and by likenesses.

Consider, moreover, that just as every species is separated from every other species by an image and a figure, so too does species run into it and become dissipated and mingled in the same species. In all these species, however, arrangement and constitution fitted out with its own configuration is preferred, just as the cylinder's species<sup>7</sup> receives the form of the rainbow stone and

projects colors on the wall opposite it, while a concave surface, gathering, as it were, the light rays of the sun and moon into one central point, participates more effectively in the virtues of these same entities [sun and moon]; and an opening formed by a cone shapes in the shadows the species of those things which are made and move about in a circular fashion. Of such movement is figure.

The most potent effects of the celestial bodies are to be added here for consideration, effects which are thought to conceive virtue, principle and perfection upon the hinges of morning, evening and noon. From this come all those things which astrologers and diviners of every sort diligently recommend concerning solstices, equinoxes, the points of noon and midnight, when larger orbits intersect each other. From all this come those crosses, those charms and incantations that we see at road intersections, likewise those seasons during which the sun or moon or a particular planet stations itself in the assembly of the four adjoining corners of the universe.

In this way are all things protected by figure, to defend themselves from adversaries, to repel contraries and to gather for themselves the favors of both helpful and lofty things, and of other things as well.

This is what we see taking place physically, nor do we see it condemned divinely; thus, just as we indicated a little earlier, they [figures, etc.] seem to provide a rationale for the formation, ultimately, of mind, intellect, reason and sense; because Aristotle, compelled by the truth if not by sure knowledge and obvious reason, says: for one who wishes to know something, it is proper to speculate on the phantasm; likewise, to endeavor to find out that something is either a phantasm or something to phantasize about.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, not without particular form or figures, which are conceived by the external senses from sensible objects, and which are located and digested in the inner senses do we know how we can achieve an operation suitable to our nature.

There are many things which we could adduce for the elucidation of subsequent differences from those things which we shall speak of next, concluding as it were inductively and applying by case, unless we are to fear the censure of certain supercilious people along with their deadly ignorance.<sup>9</sup>

Nonetheless, we wish this to be signified only to the more adept minds—that manifold is the force in the light of preordained principles as well as in the grain of living salt.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, too, it is in those things which seem to conclude and infer easily and soberly, and not, as it were, according to their breadth, from principles of this sort, since we descend from a universal which is broader than is proper to the particular, as the law of dialectic forbids, which ordains that we assume a particular knowledge, and a particular definition from its proper object nearby, from the next genus, and not from the remote and primal.

But a little is sufficient for one who understands. As for what remains, it is necessary to treat next those matters which have to do with the purpose of specifiable signs and images that will seem to pertain not only to all the operations of the cognitive ability and which confer not just some modicum of benefit, but also to those which we in no less way term operations as well, since a very clever mind may attain them by very easy application, intention and conception.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Six**  
*Separating image and sign<sup>1</sup>*

Some images and signs are of sensible things, others of intelligible ones; some of substance, some of accident, some of size, some of virtue, some of number, action, passion, act, cognition, appetite, habit or relation, of giving, receiving, possessing, of time, place, opposition, contrariness, intention and speech, and of those things which are reduced to those categories. In regard to principles, means, instruments, differences, harmony and comparison consider: greater, smaller, equal, superior, inferior and sharing.

Some images, on the other hand, like signs, are in things, others in intention, others in words, others in graphic delineation; others, I say (to reduce these to two headings) are parts of things, others of words or of distinct voices.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Seven**  
*Concerning the images of things<sup>1</sup>*

From what preexisted in us we solely seek out not just the images of things, but also their shapes, virtues or properties and, lastly, their very substance to the point at which they communicate and participate. Thus, we establish the unknown from the known by reasoned argument and discourse. From the previously existent and conceived, we pursue what we lack and have an appetite for. There is no one who reaps save he who sows, and nothing will be given to one who has nothing. Therefore, from established or pre-prepared images we strive not only after other images, but also after those forms which make up the images either:

[1.] by composition, that is, through the way that they, themselves countless, are, in their primary state, coalesced into certain fixed and tiny elements,

[and 2.] by transmutation, that is, through the way in which, by another process, the visible shapes of all things are brought forth into act from fire or water or air by the graduated combining of two species, just as by metamorphosis we can bring forth shapes of all sorts from the same wax, so too, in the same manner, by separation the visible shapes of countless things move forth from one and the same chaos, while by composition<sup>2</sup> everything is constituted from four contrary elements variously combined. Therefore it is fitting that certain principles and seeds have preeminence, since from them may be set forth the boundless supply of images or of what may be images.



**Book One, Part One, Chapter Eight**  
*On the modes by which  
various figures and intentions are made*

Thus we provide figures for things and describe them to the external as well as the internal eye:

I. From that which is singular or unique, in itself it also creates its own distinguishing marks, as when, for example, we describe the Snake because of its spiral track or the twisting of its outline; the Ram by reason of his shape with horns curved in; the Twins because they are equal, bound up in two swaddling clothes; the Lion by his famous mane; the Crab by his shell. In this way astrologers preserve the character of the heavenly signs as first drawn up by the Egyptians.

II. From ratio comes gesture, just as we describe love with two figures embracing each other, either in characters or strokes, and hatred in turn by the opposite, by figures turned away, separated and disconnected. These and similar things enchanters and wizards, as well as the learned, customarily honor,<sup>1</sup> and in no small way do the figures contribute to the effectiveness of things, as, for example, some purgative potions, if taken by mouth, conceive the power of vomiting through the upper passages, but if taken down below, expel through the lower passages, as we know by experience.

III. From a simple custom like this let us plunge into the signifiable intention of the visible species as well as the invisible ones. By this we refer to the genealogical tables, insignia [heraldic devices] and the established seals of gods and men.

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These come not from any sort of reason, etymology or nature, but from a simple decree of the institution.<sup>2</sup>

IV. From convention, which we understand as something different from institution, and from it comes that which follows some historical fact or precedent. For example, we signify peace with an olive tree, not because the power or significance of peace is in the olive tree per se, but because it recalls to mind the story in which Neptune gave the horse as a gift to the Athenians to use in war, the horse sprang out of the earth when Neptune's trident struck it, and Athena presented the Athenians with the olive tree after his spear had shaken the ground. The olive evolved into an archetype of peace, at least on the grounds that it was distinct in purpose from the sign of war the horse.<sup>3</sup>

V. Figures also arise from similarity of fortune or life. Because of this, the prophets examine by judgment and not by madness, as it were, and thus divine the fate of a later republic or empire from that of a particular empire, priesthood or republic which flourished in other ages. But among these, moreover, the destiny of one embraces the image of many destinies; for example, Rome's destiny subsumes not only the condition of the Babylonian, Persian and Greek empires, but outdoes them. In the same way, in large measure, it surpasses the regimes and pomp of republics and high priests of the present.<sup>4</sup>

Truly, for all things the constitution of human life is a most general and appropriate image, because all things enjoy a helpless infancy, a growing period, maturity, decline and death. But some things have been constituted so that, as soon as they are born or are in their very adolescence, they die and dissipate themselves. Some things fill the spaces of their whole lifetimes; some things, in the likeness of certain species, complete all the stages of their lifetimes in a short space of years, while other things do so over a longer span of time. Dogs,

for example, age more quickly than horses, horses more quickly than people, people more quickly than stags.

VI. By analogy it has been reasoned that from the motion of lower things as well as from the effects of higher and invisible things and from the motion of higher things as well as from the causes of lower things, we receive the impulse to signify.<sup>5</sup> From sensible substances, I say, there arises the intelligible, that which can be understood.

VII. From the concrete comes the abstract, just as "such" [*qualis*] comes from "suchness, quality" [*qualitas*], as "white" [*albus*] from "whiteness" [*albedo*], and the reverse, the concrete from the abstract, for example, just as we can conceive *albus* from *albedo*.

VIII. From the relative comes the correlative, just as, for example, from the adjacent master we conclude the existence of a servant. We can depict a giant on a small pebble by virtue of relation and comparison, while a man is proportioned to the size of a single fly, and many people standing together to a swarm of many ants.

IX. From the same or similar effects, we have the explanation of the same or similar causes.

X. From the antecedents we divine the cause, as, for example, from clouds rising up in the south and from hens rolling in the dust we presage rain.

XI. From concomitants we divine the cause, as, for example, when we see fire kindled from flame.

XII. From consequences we divine the cause, as, for example, we understand that it has rained when the ground is damp.

XIII. From results we divine the reason, as, for example, needle, reed pen and fly are associated with tailor, writer and corpse, to those who better rouse their senses to a higher pitch, and we infer an arrow with an archer.

XIV. From something composed sensibly arises a division [*divisum*] which is not sensible, as, for example, from "alive" [*animalis*] comes "soul, life force" [*anima*].

XV. From a clear division comes something composed that is not clear as, for example, when we prepare oxymel [honey-vinegar] with one part honey, one part vinegar.

XVI. From the conjunct arises the adjunct, as, for example, when we see the sick person by the bed where he will lie down, while the doctor assists him in his illness.

XVII. From the season we divine the seasonal, as, for example, when from the grape and ripe fruit we perceive autumn harvest, or from a hog ready for slaughter we perceive the winter months. Likewise:

XVIII. From the tool we perceive the skill, as, for example, the astrologer by the astrolabe or sphere in his hand, the farmer by his hoe or his plow.<sup>6</sup>

XIX. By the badge of office [*insignia*] we recognize the office holder [*insignitus*] as, for example, we recognize Janus by his key, Saturn by his sickle, Mars by his sword.

XX. The agent [*agens*] is recognized by his mode of action [*actio*], or the receiver of action [*patiens*] by reason of his suffering his receptivity [*passio*].<sup>7</sup> For example, a corpse dragged by the wheels behind a particular leader's chariot leads us to recall Hector, and someone slicing through a complicated knot with a sword reminds us of Alexander, who thus swiftly untied the Gordian knot.

XXI. From the person located there we recognize the place, as, for example, from Roman, Rome, from Italian, Italy; and the reverse: from the place, the object located there, as, for example, from treasure chest, treasure, from the wine jar, wine, since wine does not exist by itself.<sup>8</sup>

XXII. Likewise, from sensible activity we understand the imperceptible, as, for example, from adulterer with adul-

teress we understand adultery, from someone murdering somebody, murder.

XXIII. From the part the whole, as, for example, from the wheel, the chariot, from four or five people together we understand people.<sup>9</sup>

XXIV. From the whole the part, as, for example, from a blind man we understand weakness of the eyes.

XXV. From the proportional the jointly proportional, as, for example, from the potter who diligently handles and spins his wheel we understand divine judgment and predestination; the governance of affairs by a particular prince is marked or indicated by the paterfamilias.

XXVI. Through something's subject and its susceptible property we pursue the thing itself or its property. For example, with someone whom we have recognized as a just man who judges justly, we have an approach into his way of thinking: a just man shall judge the people.<sup>10</sup> From a simple person who fears nothing and is worry-free we have a way into his thinking, which is: he who goes around simply goes around confidently.

XXVII. From one who is able to speak well, we seek to learn his mode of thought, just as from someone who habitually drinks, we seek an encounter with his sort of thinking: let him who thirsts come to me and drink.<sup>11</sup>

XXVIII. From the denominator we get the denominated, as, for example, from "a strong man" [*fortis*], "strength" [*fortitudo*], from a woman musician, the science of music.

XXIX. Likewise, from a hieroglyph, its denotation. With instances of this, this whole book is cluttered; for example, from the balance scales we infer justice; from the fox, cunning; from the ass's head, ignorance.

XXX. From the effect we infer the cause, and from the cause the effect; for example, from something skilfully made we understand skill; from an architect architecture, and the reverse.

XXXI. Likewise, from a certain allusion we intuit that to which allusion is made. For example, from a little old woman standing between two very young and pretty girls we comprehend an eclipse, the earth's position between sun and moon.

XXXII. From contrary we discover contrary. For example, when ironically calling to mind a stupid person, both useless and worthless, whom for the occasion we wish to consider wise, clever and generous, we are moved toward remembering opposites; so too does nature better incite contraries from contraries, and very frequently works by thesis-antithesis [*antiperistasis*].

There are other reasons by which certain things are figured and signed by other things; these explanations refer back to these first chapters for example, or, in a smaller number of cases, to some specific ones. To those who conceive their forms either singly or collectively, that is, either by virtue of one or more of two modes, to their lot it will fall to discover the infinite diversity of images and likenesses.



When the proper season brings back its encompassing gifts.

April arrives with flowers, Autumn trickles with grapes,  
Winter weighs in with snow, Summer is armored

in ears of wheat,  
"One who has" [*habens*] gives "outfit" [*habitus*], "king"  
[*rex*] gives "kingdom"  
[*regnum*],

"Rich man" [*dives*] the power of riches [*opum vim*],  
The "envious" [*invidus*] "envy" [*invidia*], the  
"lawmaker" [*legista*] the "law" [*lex*].  
And genus is tied to species, just as the "animal" [*brutus*] is  
nonetheless tied to the  
bull [*bos*].

The agent grants the sign, which the mode of action will  
not of itself provide;

Envy [*invidia*] grants the envious [*invidus*],<sup>7</sup>  
The adulterer [*adulter*] is made famous by his act,  
a crime [*stuprum*].

¶ In the past the Greeks, clever with words, taught  
That images of things should be ascribed to figures<sup>8</sup> that fit,  
So that then the gifted man is not restrained from acting;  
We see certain Latinists so very foolishly

agreeing with them  
That they totally lack any reason about things.  
Simply standing still changes the names round  
about me;

A concept figure will make each and every thing,  
once assembled,  
In its person, verb, case, number and gender.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Ten**  
*On the images of words*  
*or of utterances and expressions*<sup>1</sup>

As to what pertains to the images of words and vocables, it escapes no one's notice that, just as words and vocables attain no figure, so neither are they explained in and of themselves by the appropriate indicative forms of sensible things, which are contained not in the category of images but of signs and notations. Yet, nonetheless, we bring up the explanation [*ratio*]<sup>2</sup> of this term as, particularly in this case, images do not receive their names from the explanations of the things they signify, but rather from the condition of those things that do the signifying.<sup>3</sup> For, in a text, we are not able to explicate passages and words adequately by signs like those we trace out on paper unless we think of the forms of sensible things, since they are images of things which exist either in nature or by art and present themselves to the eyes. Therefore, images are named not for those things that they signify in intention, but for those things from which they have been gathered. As for how this may be, species by right should always be conceived in advance and predetermined in such a way that they can simply be signs for those things,<sup>4</sup> so that likenesses may exist for those things which the species have assumed.

Some have contrived certain tools and instruments for the enhancement of a text, or certain sorts of natural things which seem to approximate closely the shapes of letters. For example, a sphere approximates the letter O, a ladder or a compass A, a column I, while M is signified by someone slung between two yokes or on

a tripod.<sup>5</sup> By fixed relationships and arrangements of the letters people used to make a word one syllable or two by this method when other syllables are added on and would delineate for themselves according to part or whole with better results than they had been able to before.

To these grammatical operations were added, after the sign of the simple word,<sup>6</sup> the diversities of case, gender, and number by analogy with touch or movement or by analogy with the sign of the members of the human body. For example, the nominative case is indicated by the head, and the oblique cases by the remaining members: the dative by the right hand, the genitive by the genitals, the vocative by the mouth, the ablative by the left hand, feminine gender by a woman, the plural by double agents or means. Cases, moods, tenses and other things of this sort are indicated by position, leaning, genuflecting, sitting, turning this way or that, by this or that animal standing erect, by a fall,<sup>7</sup> a fracture, an inflammation, a disorder.

Thus in past years it fell to me to knead this art for more particular distinguishing signs in a way not revealed in the methods of the ancients but by calculations prompted by the similarity of a word's head or tail. For example, by its head's likeness "ass" [*asinus*] leads to the figure of "asylum" [*asylum*]; "he who generates" [*generans*] to Genesis; and "she who gives birth" [*parturiens*] to the Paralipomena.<sup>8</sup> By the likeness of a word's tail, a temple [*templum*] leads to "contemplation" [*contemplatio*]; by the likeness of the whole body of the word, "mirror" [*speculum*] leads to "speculation" [*speculatio*]. Assembling the diverse parts of "flesh" [*caro*], "snow" [*nix*] and "excrement" [*fec*] creates the word "criminal" [*carنيفex*], just as for someone "grain" [*granum*], "vine" [*vitis*] and "pear" [*pinum*] signify "great blame" [*grande vituperium*].

In this regard, other matters also pertain which, because they are of minimal use to us, we choose to omit, for example what is conveyed by "metalepsis," "division," "contraction," "etymology" and "interpretation," although they have been useful and sufficient

terms for most people. Nevertheless, with greater effort they seem to require work to make ready something that may be thought worthy at long last of being set forth by us.<sup>9</sup>

We shall, however, undertake more completely, fully and economically for the use of many people a different explanation, which will be found in what follows. We judge it would be impossible that at any time another similar or better explanation could be offered, since, with fewer images, the labor involved grows rather confused and less distinct, but with more images the toil and effort are more vain.<sup>10</sup> Intelligence and sense proceed from images that are suitable for any purpose; thanks to them, many arts (which we explained in *On the Thirty Seals*)<sup>11</sup> will be effectively comprehended.

However, before we come to an explanation of each and every image, how to calculate them, and what forms and makes them live, contain and advance, let us offer some words.



**Book One, Part One, Chapter Eleven**  
*Conditions under which the images adhere  
better to subject and object in the Temple,  
as we suppose it, of Mnemosyne<sup>1</sup>*

Let skill plant her crop in the tilled field;  
Let the internal sense survey it also in its proper order,  
With just measure let them beat upon the eyes' line of sight;  
For sight extended in a body that is overly large  
destroys itself;  
Moreover, the contractions of places  
by comprehension's power  
Are accessible to your desire as if embraced in your arms.  
Little people embrace a giant's limbs,  
A winnowing fan the wind, a shield a fly as well as a corpse.  
A different doorkeeper makes these things come  
alive in the vestibule,  
And that robust species of things which have no color<sup>2</sup>  
Should be rejected; let it not be present in your work  
Nor conceived as if coming from afar, but cleaving close,  
So that you won't conceive a hodge-podge,  
overly heaped up and confused,  
In the very seat of the species, at which time  
No matter how eager you might be, you would be  
Wretchedly cheated of your heart's reward,  
Of all species, the human is best; of course it  
Seizes upon each and every instrument, is born for everything,  
And I live simply, endowed with an impulse for all life.

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¶ Therefore, beware of writing too much, lest,  
while you trust writing,  
A species vanish in the meantime, cast off into the void;  
Let it be entrusted to art, as if to nature.  
Let members be placed, I say, beside the members of their  
contracted place;  
Let a head be by the doorpost, a hand touch the column,  
And as a shining sword is brandished, so let yours  
Shine with glory on this side and that, but let mine decide.<sup>3</sup>  
¶ Whatever comes your way as useful and serviceable,  
Comprehend it eagerly and completely in your mind's eye,  
Lest you dismiss matters somehow adjacent to  
the edge of the field.  
¶ Let not the same thing that is present to the eye  
remain motionless,  
But let it be truly effective, act, suffer and move.  
¶ Cautiously shun the many things with similar shapes,<sup>4</sup>  
They may have the outward appearances, expressions and  
gestures of other things.  
But if the same figure comes exactly,  
It does not run in the same numbers or in one color;  
Let a place's structure, the situation of its junction  
vary its shape,  
Assisting the change according to its multiple condition.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Twelve**  
*Of light, the vehicle of images*

Light indeed, according to the opinion of those who contemplate it very deeply, is some sort of substance; in fact it is the prime substance, as Moses explained, of those things which are in nature, when he called it the first-born, since by distinguishing the species of the creations (which are not taken from the realm of the accidental but from that of the essential), he understood that it was not only substance but also the prime substance, from whose being all other species of substance are conceived. For both in the first volume of Moses,<sup>1</sup> as well as in Mercury's *Poimander*,<sup>2</sup> after that great dark shadow of Chaos had been laid down, the darkness of deprivation, God said: "Let there be light."

Thus, then, from the meeting of light and dark, form and substance proceed, according to the various levels and measures, as well as in the composition of various things coming into existence, including the myriad species, in some of which there is more light present, and in some more shadow. Herein indeed there is present a light which is some sort of substance, invisible in itself, and diffused throughout the immense cosmos and seeded everywhere. With the mixing in of shadows and by specific association and composition it moves towards the sensible light. Certain people<sup>3</sup> thoughtlessly do not distinguish between the first-born light and the sun (sensible light), between plain and simple substance and that light which has been composed, between the work, I say, of the

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first day of creation and that of the fourth. With that light which is some sort of spiritual substance, with no sun or fire providing light, no object from without instructing our sense's faculty, soul was given, not just ours, but a universal one spreading itself through the immense cosmos.<sup>4</sup> This, I say, is the light which visibly pours over the species of absent things, and is that light by which, while we sleep, we see and learn about the species and figures of sensible things, which even if, as the Peripatetics affirm, they are forms reserved in the power of the interior sense, after they have been introduced to the soul. There is no one at all who can deny that the visibility and presence itself of the primal light emanates from and exists in some sort of seeds of light, not only in those things which have received it from without, but, even more, in those things in which light is innate and sown for the quickening spirit. For, when one stands still while the sun recedes, when every external source of light carries off with itself its rays and the power of those rays and, as it were, pulls back from the horizon and leaves behind in the hemisphere of the world no such tracks, which, if they had been there, would remain very lightly impressed, and, because of its rather weightless and fluid condition, we experience the primal light as if by the traces of heat. Furthermore, it is very obvious that when a desire strikes someone by an act of the external senses, as for example in dreams, the species of things offered to the senses start taking on light to such an extent that, when someone sleeps, he does not at all consider that he has been asleep for a while, and he is informed more accurately, as it were, by some sort of inner light than by the external one.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Thirteen**  
*On the subject of the images*

Of course, this conceiving and impressing of the images of visible things is proven not to have happened like that which is practiced on other materials (plainly on the surfaces of their bodies), where the greater ones have greater bodies and the smaller ones have smaller. Indeed, on many a tablet or paper we depict many images; on a larger scale we paint large things and write large characters. Yet here is each undivided substance, which likewise conceives the figures and characters of many things, as well as of great ones. For instance, we conceive in the center of our eyes' pupils a whole forest of things at one undivided glance, and each thing's mass we contract and judge at one single probe. Not only the interior but, in a certain way, the more spiritual power of the soul receives these species and arranges them, existing in a phantastic spirit,<sup>1</sup> and should be judged to be something individual, from the genus of light, illumination and the act of the perceptible thing and form, differing from external sight, which is formed by another alien light, because it is both light and sight at the same time, just as, proportionally, the sun's light is distinguished from the moon's. For, just as natural light is visible from without, the other the light phantasm is visible from within. Finally, eyesight differs from the seeing power of the internal spirit, as a mirror that sees should be distinguished from a mirror that does not see, but is only distinguished by him who represents it as a mirror informed and illuminated by itself, and which is both light and mirror at the same time, and in which a perceptible object is one with a percipient subject.

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This is a certain world and inlet, as it were, brimming over with forms and species, which contains not only the species of those things conceived externally according to their size and number but also adds, by virtue of the imagination, size to size and number to number. And, on the other hand, just as in nature innumerable species are composed of and coalesce out of small elements,<sup>2</sup> so too by the action of this intrinsic cause not only are the forms of natural species preserved within this most ample inlet, but also they will be able to be multiplied there for the multiplication of the innumerable images conceivable beyond compare, just as when we figure winged centaurs from a man and a stag, or winged rational beings from a man and a horse and a bird,<sup>3</sup> we can produce, by a similar mingling, the infinite from the countless, more ample than all the words which are composed by the various kinds of combination and coordination out of the numbered elements of many languages.



**Book One, Part One, Chapter Fourteen**  
*On the effector of images*

For these reasons, it is apparent that the power of images is effective, or, rather, insofar as the soul is effective.<sup>1</sup> In connection with this, let me make known the opinion of Synesius the Platonist, who asserts in this way concerning the power of phantasy:<sup>2</sup> while awake, a human being is wise, but God himself makes him a participant of Himself while the man is asleep, which opinion we adopt for preserving [*asservandum*]<sup>3</sup> the worth of the phantastic or imaginative life. For, if it is a blessed thing that God by Himself inspects a gift, no wonder that it is a gift of the more and particular investigation to perceive by phantasy.<sup>4</sup> For this phantasy is the sense of senses, since the phantastic spirit itself is the most general sense organ and prime body of the soul, but, in truth, it remains hidden and works within us, it possesses the best part of the living organism and occupies as it were the citadel of the organism (for all around nature has constructed it as the universal workshop of the head); hearing and sight are, however, not senses but instruments of sense administering to one common sense, just as certain beings that are gatekeepers and porters point out to their master what can be perceived from without).<sup>5</sup> All the while, this inner sense [phantasy] remains intact in all its parts; for it hears with the whole spirit and sees with the whole,

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whence it shares some things with some, and others with the rest of the senses, and, as it were, radiates and casts innumerable lines from a single center out to the fullness<sup>6</sup> of its circumference, lines which go out from there as if from a common root, and go back into it as if participating in the eternal, where for the most part we live; an indivisible unit, it creates and receives all the senses that there are.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Fifteen**  
*On the storehouse of the species and its gates*

Those species which this phantastic spirit gathers, enfolds and composes, it so directs that, just as it brings forth or rather abstracts from these same species same things that are conceivable, so too does it introduce, dispatch, insert and establish them in the storehouse of the retentive faculty<sup>1</sup> (unless it [the phantastic spirit] itself is the retentive faculty). The gatekeepers or else the gates,<sup>2</sup> the keys of whose storehouse are the genera or types of the affections, which are defined by anger and greed, by love and by hate, fear and hope, joy and sorrow and the various sorts of astonishment, concerning which we have discussed more fully in our book *On the Shadows of Ideas*.<sup>3</sup>

From this the explanation is obvious why certain things, whether considered often or suddenly cast in front of the eyes of cognition, must be kept far away from a storehouse of this sort or from the dwelling place of the sacred couch of Memory. Other matters, however, plainly slip down into, as it were, a sloping gate and along a downward path.

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Sixteen**  
*On the fixers of images<sup>1</sup>*

Natural forms, for example, do not exist without matter, nor are they described without any subject matter (for each that comes into composed existence requires material and size); however, everything is composed in a place. Therefore, in other similar treatments of this subject by others as well as very copiously by us, figures are presented from the outer if not the inner sense, but they exist by no means without a set subject even if it is imaginary, as well as compositions that are not only real but also phantastical, but not unless they are examined in set places and receptacles as well as in their conditions as regards substance, size, quality, figure, light, site, relation, order in which they are comprehended, intervals at which they are discerned, numbers by which they are distributed, increments by which they become very alive and active, souls by which they are given life. Now only this will be expressly insisted upon as if by a kind of analogy with patterns by those species by which more effectively the external sense of sight is directed towards what is externally visible, towards those species by which the inner sense is directed, that is, this phantastic faculty strives with just about the same thought processes towards phantastical species. On behalf of which, with thoughts of this sort, below, we restore together aphorisms, some on the condition of sight, others on the condition of the visible, others on the condition of the medium or space, some on the condition of the radii.<sup>2</sup>

**Book One, Part One, Chapter Seventeen**  
*Aphorisms on the condition of sight, the visible,  
the medium and the place*

Sight is one thing when it is simple, something else when combined with another sense, one thing when direct, another when oblique. Vision is far more secure in the act of imagination or phantasy, and how much more simple becomes the viewing of an apprehensible likeness. Yet in a certain way, the phantastic spirit and the inner sense are in difficulty, and are easily rendered liable to harm because of a certain confusion, when they perceive something visible with a reflected twofold nature.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, most of all and most manifestly, direct sight surpasses oblique sight, because, of course, a visual horizontal ray is, maximally and most manifestly, preferable to a vertical glance.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, simple sight, by its first likening of whatever is seen to whatsoever it sees, apprehends the truth of a thing, whereby the visible species hastens towards the eye along a straight path. Likewise, direct sight is stronger than oblique sight, whence in the act of phantasizing the species of place, as well as the images' receptacle and the image itself, the reward of one's labor is to experience a sight created by what is directly and diametrically opposite; so that even a visible object may be apprehended not obliquely, but directly by the cognitive power, and a visible species travels, as it were, along its easy course and is collected by virtue of the visual ray.

On the other hand, for instance, in external vision, between the sense of sight and the visible medium,<sup>3</sup> it is necessary for a certain space to exist, because a sensible object, when placed directly over any sense, is not noticed; also, when it is removed to a distance, it is reduced and diminished in size and fades into the distance after a while. So, too, is the phantastic species, when removed not too far away from the phantasy's eye, perceived by it, but not when brought too close; for it is necessary that a visible object touch but not be right next to the sense of sight.

The objects which affect sight, internal and external, both by signs as well as more often when many or every one of the objects come together as one, are, first of all, the light of all visible things which is both visible by itself, as well as that light by which other things are visible. Secondly come colors, which are the proper objects of vision; next, size or multitude, shape and motion, which are common, sensible things,<sup>4</sup> and whose duty it is to create very thriving likenesses of themselves. For these species are more often perceived readily, and from their place of residence they give forth light very vividly within range of sense, internal and external, whenever they are affected by any figure, size or motion and disturbance.

As to what pertains to medium, lensmakers<sup>5</sup> observe that the dissimilar itself, when it encounters oblique visual rays, snaps those whose perpendicular they discover is strongest, but as for every other ray, the closer it is to perpendicular, it is so much the stronger.

As for what pertains to place, the species of a convex place makes the rays cast upon it flow apart, while the species of a concave one makes them hold together, as for example in all matters of perception, a perspective lens is helpful, and we learn by experiment that images are better directed and retained in corners and hollowed-out places. There are other rules of the lens-makers, about which one could multiply canons on the present theme, but these are those which are sufficient. They only require



this, that by means of an analogy, which is from the outer sense to the inner, they be applied purposefully. And let it be sufficient to have drawn attention to these matters in the first part of this study.

## END OF BOOK ONE, PART ONE

### Book One, Part Two, Chapter One

#### *On places, order, chaos, coordination, composition, complement and distinction of species*

As demonstrated in the sections above, images and species, about which we are presently concerned and speculating, for the most part exist and are discovered in matter, to give it shape. Everything that is produced from these twin principles [images and species] can neither be perceived nor imagined without a place in which to exist. For that reason, for example, in the order of creatable things (either they have a beginning or they do not), first there should be a certain space and receptacle, in which they then may be received, measured, and next a certain terminus of some sort, a limit and a boundary, by which things may be separated from each other and exist in separate regions; then, finally, the differences of the figures are seen, with whatever variety of expression nature may triumph and rejoice in when she creates everything, unfolding as if from the center of matter and then, as it were, painting everything on her surface when formed. In this general consideration, and for those who are proceeding in a methodical way and following the argument, it will first be useful to discuss the places of the species.

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Two**  
*Concerning the places of species*

Just as a category, when it is distinguished as a subaltern<sup>1</sup> in the most particular and individual character of other characters, so too do we proceed purposefully by a certain order, as it were, of nature that designates the characteristics of that category and of art that explains all discovery and research. First we recognize some sort of immense and endless object, then a space and receptacle, then a body in that receptacle and space, then a multitude of species coalescing out of such material or matter. In the same way among the infinite and countless species we recognize one space cast before the power of our senses as the sky, which most people perceive because of the change of diurnal motion [night and day], and the species of stars as finite. We leave to them<sup>2</sup> those distinctions and numbers of the heavens,<sup>3</sup> the distribution of each in various spheres, likewise the scale and boundaries of the elemental zone, and the universal parts of this round world represented in a way as if fashioned out of earth and water the two elements predominating in the great composition of the earth.<sup>4</sup> We descend to places that are special and in common, wherein the operation of the external sense as handmaiden of internal sense aids their cooperation, for this reason, so that we will not be disturbed either by their absence or their multiplication, as if we were limping along on shorter legs or else with more added on than is right.

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Three**  
*Form of the Atrium<sup>1</sup>*

Accordingly, let the atrium be viewed as a quadrangular shape, whose center is the earth and the eye. Of the four corners let one be east, the one opposite west. Of the two remaining corners diametrically opposite, let one wear the label of the north, the other of the south. In the four spaces in between, that lie in the middle of the sides or walls, let east, west, north and south be indicated.

Thus you have eight distinct points and places first, each of which should determine for itself two collaterals [or secondary lines], that is, right and left, then east's right and left, west's right and left, and so on with the remaining spaces. In the same way the east corner's right and left, the west corner's right and left, and so on with the remaining corners.

This is the atrium's shape is:<sup>2</sup>

1591 version



Tocco's version

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Four**  
*On the number and name of the atria*

Let the atria be constituted after the number of the twenty four elements, and, if it please, let them mutually follow the elements' order as they are divided according to the elements' number into their proper residences, so to speak, their proper areas.<sup>1</sup>

The atria's names are:

- |              |                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. altar     | 13. nest                          |
| 2. basilica  | 14. sheepfold                     |
| 3. prison    | 15. food                          |
| 4. house     | 16. four horse chariot            |
| 5. colt      | 17. net                           |
| 6. fountain  | 18. mirror                        |
| 7. sword     | 19. hot springs                   |
| 8. horoscope | 20. carriage                      |
| 9. fire      | 21. gate                          |
| 10. yoke     | 22. Pythagorean fork <sup>2</sup> |
| 11. lantern  | 23. gift                          |
| 12. table    | 24. key of jealousy <sup>3</sup>  |

Let the common places be set up for you as so many residences whose proper places may be examined as laid down in the very same order with the obvious differences. The names of the places should be arranged by you in the following way, so that

**Chapter Four**

if the atrium of the altar is the underlying form,<sup>4</sup> there should be an altar situated in the altar's eastern corner, a colt in the altar's western one, an image [*icon*] in the altar's southern corner, and a sheepfold in the altar's corner. In the same way, all by yourself you will be able to learn the names of the four sides and their collateral abodes, which concern the naming of the substantive places. There, so that my description of the substantive [noun] places' order in one atrium that is set apart may briefly be sufficient for you, that which pertains to the adjective places, which should be understood, some in one, and others in still another, should be provided shortly, along with their number and division, in the explanation that follows.



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Five**

*The division of the places,  
whose common places support a five fold relationship  
with access to the east, west, south, north and middle*

Here through these common places we perceive the particular coordination of the places, as, for example, a temple or one area of a temple, a bolt or lock, the concept of a basilica or great palace, in which you will be able to perceive distinctly the aforesaid angles and spaces of the angles and the variations of the spaces. However, through the substantive noun's particular places we understand the angle itself, the angle's left and right themselves, the lateral space's middle itself, and all of the others by seals.<sup>1</sup> They are called some parts of the common places, joints and limbs. By means of the adjective places<sup>2</sup> we learn whether something is alive or dead, which may be taken as something different at various times and in various ways, and may move and be moved, so that it brings an image or form to life and makes it prosper. All that remains now is for us to determine for the centers and the angles (of all the atria) the adjective places of this sort.

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Six**

*The adjective places<sup>1</sup> of the atrium of the altar  
you will now vary with five forms  
with an assisting atrium's five fold situation<sup>2</sup>*

In the atrium of the altar at its eastern angle there is water flowing down, at the right one a plow, on the left a chain. At the western angle there is a tree, at the right a ram, on the left a banquet. At the southern angle there is a horse, at the right an anchor, on the left a chariot. At the northern angle there is a prison, at the right a giant, on the left a goat. On the eastern side there is an ewer, at the right a son or young man, on the left an amphora. At the western side is an oven, at the right a fork, on the left a consuming fire. At the southern side there is a cloud of smoke, on the right fruit, and on the left a stable. At the northern side is a desk, at the right a skiff, on the left a throne.<sup>3</sup>

THE FORMS OF THE ATRIA AND THE NAMES OF  
THE PARTICULAR PLACES

East  
Corner

East

South  
Corner

North

IMAGE OF  
ATRIUM

South

North  
Corner

West

West  
Corner

[I.] ATRIUM OF THE ALTAR

Water  
Plow  
Chain

Bath  
Breastplate  
Amphora

Palm  
Anchor  
Chariot

Desk  
Skiff  
Throne

ALTAR

Stable  
Fruit  
Smoke

Prison  
Jar  
Stool

Oven  
Sword  
Fire

Tree  
Globe  
Banquet

## [II.] ATRIUM OF THE BASILICA

Pool  
Relics  
Offering

Hot springs  
Stool  
Treasures

Desert  
Mirage  
Delight

Furies  
Bottles  
Hoe

## BASILICA

Horn  
Badge  
Basin

Inferno  
Dragon  
Yoke

Camel form  
Quiver  
Box

Lantern  
Ghost  
Bier

## III. ATRIUM OF THE PRISON

Noose  
Handcuffs  
Stake

Parrot  
Psaltery  
Axe

Bridge  
Cloud  
Maniple

Dung  
Snow  
Bearskin

## PRISON

Bracelet  
Quartal  
Pair of  
Compasses

Ghosts  
Basket  
Winnowing Fan

Dirt  
Frogs  
Old woman

Old man  
Specter  
Mud



## IV. ATRIUM OF THE HOUSE

Coal  
Ash  
Bellows

Key  
Icon  
Lute

Dog  
Canister  
Idol

Hair  
Screech Owl  
Cypress

HOUSE

Sword  
Spur  
Dog

Clock  
Lagoon  
Nail

Hook  
Cat  
Shrine

Cat  
Tile  
Platter

## V. ATRIUM OF THE COLT

Panhard  
Javelin  
Thorns

Flies  
Linen  
Lance

Fillet  
Rod  
Ulcer

Fork  
Net  
Seine

COLT

Law<sup>1</sup>  
Book  
Stone

Butter  
Square  
Reins

Garland  
Axe  
Club

Dart  
Thyrse<sup>2</sup>  
Nettle

## VI. ATRIUM OF THE FOUNTAIN

Stag  
Horn  
Sickle

Wagon  
Stone  
Cross

Lime  
Water  
Palm

Hay  
Gourd  
Cat

## FOUNTAIN

Lard  
Lamp  
Bolt

Bowels  
Water Pot  
Oar

Millstone  
*Mar. Ca.<sup>3</sup>*  
Sedan Chair

Trumpet  
Burial Urn  
Must

## VII. ATRIUM OF THE SWORD

Sack  
Broom  
Womb

Trireme  
Chamber Pot  
Urn

Papyrus  
Balance Scale  
Hammer

Mud  
Knot  
Lead

## SWORD

Oyster  
Mitre  
Flask

Linen  
Burden  
Pyre

Title  
Blood  
Door

Vine  
Pruning Hook  
Comma

## VIII. ATRIUM OF THE HOROSCOPE

Wheel  
Rake  
Tongs

Seat  
Demon  
Mirror

Mountain  
Divinity  
Radius

Tumult  
Wind  
Bottle

HORO-  
SCOPE

Moon  
Flask  
Wagon

Circle  
Rein  
Sword

Well  
Spade  
Dust

Forest  
Sulphur  
Magnet

## IX. ATRIUM OF FIRE

Icon  
Comb  
Reins

Mystery  
Woman  
Couch

Cup  
Mixture  
Birth

Death  
Cell  
Heap

FIRE

Straw  
Rushes  
Wool

Forma  
Coin<sup>4</sup>  
Copper Kettle

Rivulet  
Flint  
Pillar

One Fallen  
Ditch  
Seall



## X. ATRIUM OF THE YOKE

Geyser  
Pullet  
Little Ball

Gnome  
Heap  
Signet-ring

Way  
Rain  
Hole

Eclipse  
Goose  
Goblet

YOKE

Wheat  
Whirlpool  
Tumulus

Crock  
Throne  
Branch

Cup Shape  
Kindling  
Feast

Candelabrum  
Halter  
Lyre

## XI. ATRIUM OF THE LANTERN

Feather  
Gallows  
Frying Pan

Nymph  
Discus  
Quiver

Glass  
Coins  
Goldleaf

Foot Stool  
Fish  
Laurel

LANTERN

Ivy  
Torch  
Tuba

Hedge  
Bum  
Hedgehog

Keel  
Nest  
Haruspici-  
ation<sup>5</sup>

Fulcrum  
Bird  
Griddle

## XII. ATRIUM [OF THE TABLE]

Vegetables  
Statue  
Rock

Shrine  
Hunting  
Girl

Straw Bed  
Oats  
Beans

Wax  
Orb  
Door Bolt

TABLE

Fleece  
Innards  
Bundle

Vow  
Bear  
Honeycomb

Sand  
Desecration  
Gimlet

Clay Pot  
Furnace  
Onions

## XIII. ATRIUM [OF THE NEST]

Winter Wheat  
Rivulet  
Brick

Sheath  
Whip  
Token

Grinding Mortar  
Hammer  
Rabbit

Fountain  
Stole  
Breast Band

NEST

Manger  
Tiara  
Grove

Moon  
Vine Tendril  
Key

Thread  
Pumice  
Eye

Door  
Nuts  
Anvil

## XIV. ATRIUM OF THE SHEEPFOLD

Pastorale  
Mitre  
Hood

Chorus  
Balance Scale  
Bramble

Fennel Stalk  
Dart  
Target

Den  
Harpoon  
Cane

## SHEEPFOLD

Pine  
Ornament  
Wallet

Priest  
Guts  
Rooster

Poison  
Straw Mat  
Grape Peel

Wolf  
Pit  
Ballista<sup>b</sup>

## XV. ATRIUM. FOOD.

Coop  
Acorns  
Strawberries

Fat  
Swamp  
Trough<sup>7</sup>

Spoil  
Spoon  
Trunk

Hut  
Star  
Rite

## FOOD

Wood Beam  
Trident  
Tin

Triangle  
Sponge  
Money

Apple  
Turtle  
Wheatfield

Winnowing Fan  
Drum  
Tripod

## XVI. ATRIUM, FOUR HORSE CHARIOT.

Riches  
Archetype  
Rust

Willow Tree  
Girl  
Turnip

Womb  
Broom  
Veil

Punishment  
Tumulus  
Spoil

FOUR HORSE  
CHARIOT

Poppy  
Lyre  
Stage

Purple  
Covering  
Horse

Food  
Flower  
Mallows

Ape  
Vial  
Magic

## XVII. ATRIUM, NET.

Vine Shoot  
Lead  
Winnowing  
Fan

Piece of land  
Targeon  
Platter

Wooden Foot  
Crescent shield  
Grape Arbor

Progeny  
Mortgage  
Ball

NET

Chisel  
Sickle  
Violet

Light  
Reflection  
Ball<sup>a</sup>

Noose  
River Bank  
Seedling

Golden Head  
Breather's Wheel<sup>b</sup>  
Weaver's Shuttle



## XVIII. ATRIUM. MIRROR.

Serpent  
Seed  
Chirping Bird

Emerald  
Sorcerer<sup>11</sup>  
Scroll

Garland  
Breadbasket  
Lion's Head

Helmet  
Ploughshare  
Yoke

MIRROR

Pillar  
Roman Shield  
Glue

Orcus<sup>10</sup>  
Orbit  
Small Wine  
Ladle

Spire  
Sieve  
Hamper

Hand  
Pig's Head  
Page

## XIX. ATRIUM. HOT SPRINGS.

Conch  
Linen  
Muslin

Smoke  
Bellows  
Vulture

Penates<sup>12</sup>  
Obsonium<sup>13</sup>  
Pyre

Nest  
Grass  
Serpent

HOT SPRINGS

Temple  
Path  
Skiff

Pyramid  
Fork  
Potter's Wheel

Spade  
Ash  
Sulphur

Sorceress  
Ointments  
Hot Coals

## XX. ATRIUM. CARRIAGE

Spoil  
Woven Twig Box  
Fruit Basket

Olive Press  
Wine Skins  
Small cask

Basket  
Wine Jar<sup>14</sup>  
Breadbasket

Whirlwind  
Iron Hoop  
Strings<sup>15</sup>

## CARRIAGE

Owl  
Lily  
Purse

Tapestry  
Saddlebag  
Rope

Pearl  
Handkerchief  
Fetter

Reed Basket  
Jug  
Fruit Basket

## XXI. ATRIUM OF THE GATE.

Oracle  
Garden  
Brick

Goad  
Hinge  
Crowbar

Scoria<sup>16</sup>  
Doll  
Distiller

Ram  
Crowbar  
Wooden Beam

## GATE

Key  
Door Bar  
Chain

Shield  
Ditch  
Bulrush

Label  
Insignia  
Mask

Egg  
Rubric  
Dripper

XXII. ATRIUM. PYTHAGORAS' FORK<sup>18</sup>

Ladder  
Feathers  
Cone

Table  
Reflection  
Tripod

Lichen  
End Table  
Flageolet

Matter  
Pebbles  
Spear

PYTHAGORAS'  
FORK

Bellows  
Puffer  
Flask

Crow  
Canal  
Stork

Room  
Cross  
Pedestal

Duck  
Catapult  
Cauldron

XXIII. ATRIUM. GIFT TO A GUEST.<sup>19</sup>

Bowl  
Stall  
Punch Bowl

Nuts  
Chestnuts  
Honey

Broadsword<sup>20</sup>  
Snail  
Bucket

Laurel  
Golden Apple  
Fig

GIFT TO  
A GUEST

Flower  
Stone  
Tree

Cookpot  
Griddle  
Stovehandles<sup>22</sup>

Farthing<sup>21</sup>  
Scepter  
Bramble

Cement  
Pebbles  
Thornbush

XXIV. ATRIUM. KEY OF JEALOUSY.<sup>23</sup>

Jaws  
Whip  
Goods

Oil lamp  
Girdle  
Seal

Waterfall  
Walking Bird  
Forge

Leathecap  
Pole  
Trowel

KEY OF  
JEALOUSY

Castle  
Molten Metal  
Reed

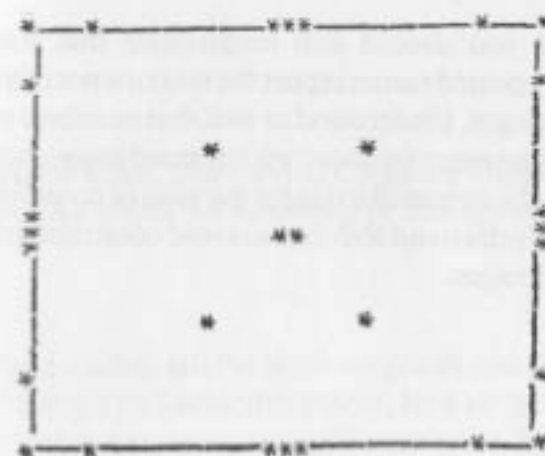
Ditch  
Plumb Bob  
Forked Yoke<sup>24</sup>

Scarecrow  
Javelin  
Osiers

Dove shape  
Breeze  
Current

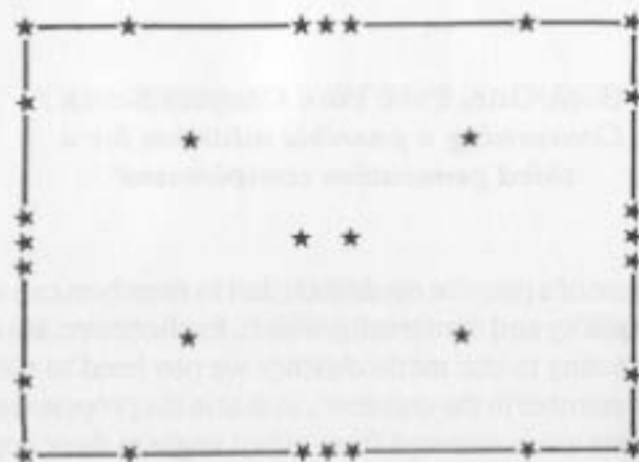
Book One, Part Two, Chapter Seven  
*Concerning a possible addition for a  
third generation complement<sup>1</sup>*

Let the figure of a place be made such that its members can suffice for their equality and conformity, which, furthermore, are designated according to our method (since we pay heed to the third generation number in the universe), so that in the proposed atrium the members are connected from either angle to their opposite angle by a double diameter in the middle of the four sides, which stand equidistant from the center and the four angles, and may be perceived as seats and additions. In the center, however, allow a left and a right for the two additions.





Tocco



The remaining members should be viewed as they are, in the arrangement and order of the preceding atrium.

¶ Here you should also understand that some of the occasionally repeated names report the motions not of their figures but of their images. Understand as well that numbers twenty and sixteen can by no means suffice for a biformed image; nevertheless, to have filled the atrium like this for the sake of countless benefits pleased me. Understand also that to avoid confusion images may be linked by images.

### Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eight *On the order or ranking of the species*

When you have marked out the common places and the particular as well as the noun and adjective places, let a series of effective shapes be drawn in the same or in a different order. Some of these forms are adjacent, accompanying them, while others, however, harmonize. Indeed, for the accompanying forms, twelve chambers [cubilia] are sufficient, but for the harmonizing forms thirty atria are required.

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Nine**  
*The twelve chambers of the harmonizers*

These are the chambers of the accompanying forms, since, of course, what produces sound precedes what harmonizes:

Chamber 1. The Bacchant. 2. The Guard. 3. The Stonecutter. 4. The Artisan. 5. The Gambler. 6. The Musician. 7. The Sailor. 8. The Shepherd. 9. The King. 10. The Slave. 11. The Tyrant. 12. The Haberdasher. For some of them their form is quadrangular, but for others it is, by necessity, diagonal.<sup>1</sup>

THE CHAMBERS<sup>2</sup>

Abstinence ————— Obstacle  
 Absolution ————— Oblivion

REVELLER

STONECUTTER

Addition ————— Idolatry  
 Adolescence ————— Idea

Accusation ————— Poverty  
 Acceptance ————— Sickness

GUARD

Icon ————— Occasion  
 Here ————— Occupation

Affliction ————— Effusion  
 Affection ————— Efficiency

ARTISAN

Office ————— \* \*  
 Offering ————— \* \*

Alien \_\_\_\_\_ Election  
 Height \_\_\_\_\_ Element

---

 GAMBLER
 

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Revenge

Lures \_\_\_\_\_ Olfaction  
 Illusion \_\_\_\_\_ \* \*

Ambition \_\_\_\_\_ Emendation  
 Embrace \_\_\_\_\_ Emission

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 MUSICIAN
 

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The meek

Imagination \_\_\_\_\_ Omen  
 Weakness \_\_\_\_\_ Omnipotence

Narrowness \_\_\_\_\_ Inanity  
 Aversion \_\_\_\_\_ Intention

---

 SAILOR
 

---

Unity

Speech \_\_\_\_\_ Onus  
 Enumeration \_\_\_\_\_ Honor

Apparatus \_\_\_\_\_ Itself  
 Appetite \_\_\_\_\_ Iphis<sup>4</sup>

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 SHEPHERD
 

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HABERDASHER

Hearing \_\_\_\_\_ Good temper  
 Audacity \_\_\_\_\_ Good fortune

Arcanum \_\_\_\_\_ Error  
 Argument \_\_\_\_\_ Erudition

## KING

\_\_\_\_\_  
 The Prompter

Ire \_\_\_\_\_ Ornament  
 Vanity \_\_\_\_\_ Order

Ascension \_\_\_\_\_ Hunger  
 Aspect \_\_\_\_\_ Being

## SLAVE

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Use

This \_\_\_\_\_ Showing  
 History \_\_\_\_\_ Kiss

Attention \_\_\_\_\_ Ethics  
 Usefulness \_\_\_\_\_ Eternity

## THE TYRANT

Utility \_\_\_\_\_ Repetition  
 Leisure \_\_\_\_\_ Thus



Book One, Part Two, Chapter Ten  
*The thirty chambers of the  
 harmonizing forms*

The chambers of the harmonizing forms (since, of course, the harmonizer precedes what produces sound) are in this order, such that the middle of the atrium retains its species, from which the name of the atrium and its definition are made. Let the four angles' sound refer to the four elements: 1. west, 2. east, 3. south and 4. north; the middle, however, should refer to the fifth. Then, around the middle, as well as around the angles, let a triangular space be drawn, where the angle further from the center should be called the upper, one of the next two angles should be considered the righthand one and the other the left, of which triangles let one be seen as the bounding one, and the other as the equidistantly bounded, so that the seats as well as the images are considered doubled.

1591

CATALOGVS CVBILIVM.

B. BL. (vel PI) BR.	M.
C. CL. (vel G L.)	N.
D. (CR. CH)	P. PR.
F. (vel PH) FL. FR.	Q.
G. GN. GR.	R.
H.	S. SC. SP. ST.
I.	T. TR. vel DR.
L.	V.
☿	♂
♂	☿

CATALOGVS CYBILIVM.

B. BL. (vel PI) BR.	M.
C. CL. (vel G L.) CR. CH.	N.
D.	P. PR.
F. (vel PH) FL. FR.	Q.
G. GN. GR.	R.
H.	S. SC. SP. ST.
I.	T. TR. vel DR.
L.	V.

Tocco

Here B signifies bounty, BL. blasphemy and pleasure, BR a trophy, C cause, CL. clarity, CR creation, CH charity, D doubt, F fallacy, FL shame, FR fraud, G joy, GL glory, GN knowledge, GR grace, H humility, I jest, L liberty, M soldiery, N nobility, P power, PR prudence, Q quiet, R rigor, S health, SC science, SP specter, ST study, T timorousness, TR tranquility, and V life.

FIGURE OF THE SMALLER CHAMBERS

Where A is the triangle of the earth,  
 E the triangle of the East,  
 I is the triangle of the south,  
 O that of the east,  
 and V is that of the north.

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Tocco

In this shape the particular chambers are formed as a square in the four angles, and a fifth is formed as a triangle in the center duplicated by the bounding triangles, where the middle of each triangle designates the preceding one with the quintupled one producing sound. They [the triangles] mark out those forms in three inner and three outer triangles, which are very frequently situated as the second and third after the one producing the sound in the middle. But, as for the rest of things like this, they do not lack for apparel, since we learn of one of the two elements not only by the double acceptance of their forms (if a form should be considered as one and the same in one mode or the other, for example, if sitting or standing) but also by the addition of something else; just as if here and there, hither and thither, we were beholding a wild beast goring with his horn, and snapping and stomping, or something else of that sort.



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eleven**  
*Conspicuous images*  
*in the center of the minor chambers*

Not only for matters of this sort, but also for multiple use and contemplation thirty images have been set up and defined, so that in what is the center there should be:

I. in the atrium or chamber of Bounty, a priest dressed in linen, burning incense at the altar with a censer.

II. in the atrium of Blasphemy (facing the atrium of pleasure) in the center, a priest in red vestments sprinkling an altar with a victim's blood.

III. in the atrium of the Trophy, a goal and over it a necklace and cloak decorated with a white hen.

IV. in the atrium of Cause, a boy embracing a lovely black girl.<sup>1</sup>

V. in the atrium of Fame (or Glory), a matron carrying water in her right hand, a mirror in her left.

VI. in the atrium of Creation, a farmer sowing seed.

VII. in the atrium of Charity, a fountain gushing out on all sides.

VIII. in the atrium of Doubt, a twoheaded young man holding a large double-tined fork in one hand, lurching now to the right and now to the left.<sup>2</sup>

IX. in the atrium of Fallacy, a pope offering a mitre to someone who, having drawn near him, casts himself down before the pope.

X. in the atrium of Shame, an old man falling off of an ass.

XI. in the atrium of Fraud, an old woman holding a grappling hook in one hand, a honeycomb in the other.

XII. in the atrium of Joy, a girl dressed in a green robe sprinkled with specks of gold like stars, scattering different sorts of flowers from a basket.

XIII. in the atrium of Glory, a man sitting crowned on a throne, and an old man on bent knees touching the king's scepter with his right hand.

XIV. in the atrium of Knowledge, an old man with long hair, conspicuous because of the thick beard hanging down from his chin, reading from a closed book.

XV. in the atrium of Grace, three very lovely girls decked with garlands and with joined hands leading the chorus.<sup>3</sup>

XVI. in the atrium of Humility, a boy playing with a puppy.

XVII. in the atrium of Jest, a young prince leaps about.

XVIII. in the atrium of Liberty, a virago with a bare head supports a plow under her feet and holds a silver cup in her right hand, a serpent in her left.

XIX. in the atrium of Soldierly, an armed man carries a banner in his left hand, a sword in his right.

XX. in the atrium of Nobility, a hero is resting on his left side against a shield, carrying an open helmet under his right hand.

XXI. in the atrium of Power, a king is holding a sceptre in his right hand, a book in his left.<sup>4</sup>

XXII. in the atrium of Pleasure, a young man in a green outfit has a naked girl on his right hand, a nude boy on his left.<sup>5</sup>

XXIII. in the atrium of Prudence, an old man contemplates in a mirror what is reflected at him from behind.

XXIV. in the atrium of Quiet sits an old man on an ivory chair, his head on his elbow.

XXV. in the atrium of Rigor, a man with an open book in his left hand, holds a torch in his right, while a black man precedes him carrying an axe.

XXVI. in the atrium of Health, a boy carrying water and a girl bringing fire.

XXVII. in the atrium of Science, a pyramid supporting a burning torch at its apex, which, depending on how the wind blows, now flares up and now is extinguished.

XXVIII. in the atrium of the Specter, someone who has a humanoid face, the mane of a lion, is horned, who holds a trident in his hand while he looks about with eyes of flame.<sup>6</sup>

XXIX. in the atrium of Study, a young man who, with wings on his right hand, strives for the heights, but, because a stone is tied to his left hand, it looks as if he were hindered, and might fall down.

XXX. in the atrium of Fear, a pale, thin woman runs about, totters and hides in a cave that is there.

XXXI. in the atrium of Rest, kingfishers roosting, while all around them the sea is on view.

XXXII. in the atrium of Life, a tree is loaded with fruit and supports a vine; a boy climbs up it.<sup>7</sup>

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Twelve**  
*An explication of the sensible images, first by  
 the action of other accompanying things*

Furthermore, in addition to the places of the images mentioned previously, you have:

¶ First, in the first atrium in the center, someone removing or setting free; in the east, a drunkard; in the west, an ibis; in the south, a barrier; in the north, the sign of ubiquity.<sup>1</sup>

¶ Second, in the next atrium, in the center, an accuser; in the east, a cleric; in the west, an image of Icarus; in the south, a murderer; in the north, a pitcher.

¶ III. In the center of the third atrium, an adversary; in the east, a glutton; in the west, an idolater; in the south, the image of a hater; in the north, a grapevine.

¶ IV. In the center, someone afflicted; in the east, someone efficient; in the west, someone vacuous; in the south, someone officious.<sup>2</sup>

¶ V. In the center, a foster father or an alligator or the image of height; in the east, someone climbing up or slipping back or charitable; in the west, an enlightener;<sup>3</sup> in the south, a potter or someone sniffing and smelling; in the north, an avenger [*ultor*] or someone further back [*ulterius*] or all the way back [*ultimatus*].

¶ VI. In the center, someone embracing or the image of amplitude;<sup>4</sup> in the east, the image of height or of someone sending something forth; in the west, the image of someone filling something; in the south, the image of someone auguring or letting go;<sup>5</sup> in the north, the image of someone who humbles.

**Chapter Twelve**

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¶ VII. In the center, the image of a proclaimer; in the east, the image of an enumerator; in the west, the image of a sower; in the south, the image of a loader; in the north, the image of a joiner or an anointer.

¶ VIII. In the center, the image of someone putting in place; in the east, the image of a bishop; in the west, the image of hypocrisy; in the south, the image of an opposer; the north is vacant.

¶ IX. In the center, the image of an armed man; in the east, the image of someone wandering or erecting something; in the west, the image of someone angry or smiling; in the south, the image of someone arranging or ornamenting; in the north, the image of someone urging.

¶ X. In the center, the image of someone ascending or sprinkling water; in the east, the image of a hungry person; in the west, the image of a theologian; in the south, the image of someone kissing or pointing to something; in the north, the image of someone acquiring property by usucaption.

¶ XI. In the center, someone turning away or an athlete; in the east, the image of an ethical person; in the west, the image of a wanderer; in the south, the image of a lazy person; in the north, the image of someone rendering a service.

¶ XII. In the center, someone taking away or turning away; in the east, someone taking a sword out of its sheath or disembowelling somebody; in the west, someone who is casting something out; south and north are vacant.

¶ XIII. In the center, the image of an axiom; in the east, the image of an explicator; in the west, the image of Ixion<sup>6</sup>; south and north are vacant.



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Thirteen**  
*An explication of the sensible images secondly  
 by the action of other harmonizing things*

Likewise, in the first of the minor chambers where the image of Bounty stands for sensible things, even in the triangle in the center perceive someone baptizing or carrying a load, with the six angles ordered in various ways according to the six signs of the bearers. In the east, behold someone baptizing or a warrior, around whom in the angles of the triangles six forms of benediction or the sensible attributes are either in those things which are organic or causative, or both. In the west, perceive someone drinking or a bookseller with their usual actions and implements. In the south, perceive cattle or a shepherd or plowman in the same manner; in the west a trumpeter. Similarly, let the sections of the remaining chambers be formed while retaining the center and angles in their order in all that follows. For us, let a catalog of the operators be sufficient, whose six operations conceive each of them in its art or function, and if it pleases (for a better and more plentiful use) the operators as well.

Baptizans Bellator Bibliopola Boarius Buccinator  
 Caupona Cerdo Circulator Colonus Custos  
 Danista Delirus Digladiat Domitor Dux  
 Famulator Festivus Figulus Fossor Fur  
 Gaudens Geometra Gyranus Go Gulosus

**Chapter Thirteen and Fields**

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Hauriens Herbarius Histrio Hospes Humiliator  
 Iaculator Ieiunans Incantans Iocans Iustitians  
 Lacerans Lector Licto Locator Luxuriosus  
 Maculans Medicus Miles Motor Musicus  
 Nauta Nectens Nidificans Nodans Nutrix  
 Pastor Percutians Pictor Ponderans Puerpera  
 Quadratus Quæstor Quiescens Quodlibet Quumulus  
 Raptor Rector Rigator Rotator Rusticus  
 Saltator Sepultor Sigillator Sonans Superbiens  
 Tangens Temperans Tincto Tonsor Turbator  
 Vacuans Venator Vitarius Voluptuarius Vulneratus

\* \* \* \* \*

Blactearius \*Ble as Ple \*Bh as Ph \*Blo as Plo Blu as Plu  
 \*Bra as Pra \*Bre as Pre \*Bro as Pro Brutum  
 Claviger Clericus Clitellarius Clostrarius Cludens  
 Crapulo Cremans Cribrans Crocians Crucians  
 Flagellans Flectens Fligens Florans Fluctuans  
 Frangellans Frenans Fricans Frondes spar. Fructuarius  
 Gladiator \*Gle as Cle \*Gli as Cli \*Glomer \*Glu as Clu  
 Grassator Gregarius \*Gri as Cri \*Gro as Cro \*Gru as Cru  
 Placans Plectens Plicans Plostrarius Pluens  
 Practicans Precans Privans Propola Prudens  
 Scalpens Scenicus Scindens Scortator Scutifer  
 Statuarius Stercorarius Stillator Stomachatus Studiosus  
 Strangulans Strenuus Strigillans Stropharius Struens  
 Trapezitans Trepidans Triturans Trophæarius Trutinans

Each one of these receives the six differences which are sought in the six double triangles of the minor chambers.<sup>3</sup>

## [I.] FIELD OF THE KING

Hook	Divinity	Throne
Cone	Reign	Seat
Flame	Empire	Tribunal
Dais	Duke	Bench
Horse	Count	Seat of Honor
Statue	Embassy	Tapestry

Banquet	Law	Scripture
Marriage	Seal	Chamber
Concubinage	Scepter	Banner
Ganymede	Sword	Cup
Parasite	Trumpet	Family Tree
Fool	Rod	Cubicle

Caldron	Duties	Muslin
Straw Mat	Places	Stripe
Tiara	Satrap	Swordbelt
Crown	Consul	Feathers
Laurel	Counsel	Horns
Mitre	Secret	Trident

## [II.] FIELD OF THE PRIEST

Sacrifice	Prime <sup>5</sup>	Holy Water
Book	Patriarch	Asperger
Pentacle	Bishop	Thurible
Mitre	Superintendent	Incense Box
Gems	Abbot	Altar
Relics	Archimandrite <sup>6</sup>	Statue

Exorcist	Acolyte	Preacher
Collier	Convert	Priest
Kindler	Laic	Sacrificer
Sentinel	Crusader	Sacristan
Ledger	Frankincense	Sacristy
Reader	Light	Cantor

Baptizer	Prior	Cottage
Bell	Administrator	Stole
Mante	Anchorite	Maniple
Vestments	Vicar	Paten
Rain water	Curator	Taper
Chalice	Rector	Napkin

## [III.] FIELD OF THE STYX

Arthritis  
Paralysis  
Jaundice  
Apoplexy  
Epilepsy  
Nightmare

Hunger  
Thirst  
Fever  
Chill  
Sweat  
Shakes

Hemorrhoids  
Consumption  
Heartburn  
Nausea  
Diarrhea  
Strangury

Rabies<sup>7</sup>  
Fury  
Melancholy  
Frenzy<sup>8</sup>  
Mania  
Delirium

Pain  
Affliction  
Torment  
Vexation  
Distress  
Dire Straits

Ferment  
Mindlessness  
Pytho<sup>9</sup>  
Raving  
Possession  
Fainting

Kidney Stone  
Dropsy  
Fox-mange<sup>10</sup>  
Horned Owl<sup>11</sup>  
Leprosy  
Scabies

Poverty  
Fear  
Sorrow  
Suspicion  
Envy  
Tedium

Pinkeye  
Deafness  
Toothache  
Angina  
Coughing  
Asthma

## [IV.] FIELD OF THE ELEMENTS

Amber<sup>12</sup>  
Terebinth<sup>14</sup>  
Moss  
Onomon<sup>16</sup>  
Myrrh  
Nard

Water  
Snow  
Spring  
River  
Geyser  
Cloud

Zythos<sup>13</sup>  
Honey  
Saccharine<sup>15</sup>  
Wine  
Vinegar  
Cardamom

Air  
Breath  
Breeze  
Wind  
Whirlwind  
Storm

Sun  
Ray  
Halo  
Comet  
Moon  
Rainbow

Fire  
Furnace  
Thunderclap  
Flame  
Lightning  
Heat Discharge

Olive Oil  
Butter  
Milk  
Elixir  
Sublimate  
Manna

Frost  
Dew  
Droplet  
Rain  
Hail  
Ice

Storax<sup>17</sup>  
Mastic<sup>18</sup>  
Labdanum<sup>19</sup>  
Balsam  
Galbanum<sup>19</sup>  
Gum Arabic<sup>20</sup>

[V.] FIELD OF PLUTUS<sup>22</sup>

Marble	Gold	Emerald
Flint	Silver	Adamant
Whetstone	Bronze	Carbuncle
Porphyry	Steel	Pearl
Alabaster	Lead	Snailshell
Fossil <sup>23</sup>	Tin	Ivory

Quicksilver	Sawdust	Ceruse
Red Lead	Gypsum	Alum
Sulphur	Pumice	Salt
Bitumen	Whetstone	Salnitrum
Limestone	Gravel	Blacking
Tartarus	Blacking	Sawdust

Gum	Borax	Porphyry
Ivory	Mercury	Coral
Glass	Antimony	Crystal
Pitch	Cinnabar	Onyx
Incense	Magnet	Asphalt
Cinnabar	Silver Scoria	Amber

[VI.] FIELD OF ZOROASTER<sup>24</sup>

Sunstone	Apistos	Alectorius <sup>25</sup>
Leekgreen Stone	Baroptenus	Frog-green Stone
Moonstone <sup>26</sup>	Brontia	Anancite <sup>27</sup>
Siderite <sup>28</sup>	Chelonia <sup>29</sup>	Calais <sup>30</sup>
Syrtium <sup>31</sup>	Cinædia <sup>32</sup>	Chelidonia
Telocardios <sup>33</sup>	Chlorites <sup>34</sup>	Topaz

Meroctes	Synochitis	Striped Jasper
Nebrides	Sauritis <sup>35</sup>	Hephastites
Ombria <sup>36</sup>	Whitestone <sup>37</sup>	Ammonite <sup>38</sup>
Oritis <sup>39</sup>	Snakeheart <sup>40</sup>	Hyænia <sup>41</sup>
Paneres	Opal	Liparis
Pæantis	Telirrhizos <sup>42</sup>	Mithrax <sup>43</sup>

Galaicos <sup>44</sup>	Dracontias	Tecolithos <sup>45</sup>
Hematite	Epimatron <sup>46</sup>	Venus' Hair <sup>47</sup>
Hieracitis <sup>48</sup>	Galactites	Zoronitios <sup>49</sup>
Nasimonitis	Gasidane[s] <sup>50</sup>	Zmilaces <sup>51</sup>
Medea <sup>52</sup>	Glossopetra	Eupetalos <sup>53</sup>
Polythria <sup>54</sup>	Gorgonia	Epimelas <sup>55</sup>



## [VII.] FIELD OF JUNO AND DIANA

Boar	Peacock	Bull
Bear	Eagle	Ass
Lion	Phoenix	Horse
Panther	Woodpecker <sup>56</sup>	Mule
Sphinx	Crane	Pig
Hyena	Halcyon	Calf

Hawk	Magpie <sup>57</sup>	Quail
Owl	Raven	Landrail
Chicken	Griffin	Bustard
Stork	Diver	Swallow
Dove	Partridge	Wild Duck
Crow	Ostrich	Goose

Stag	Parrot	Elephant
Roe	Vulture	Camel
Mule	Osprey	Rhinoceros
Goat	Hawk	Gazelle
Dog	Rooster	Onager
Antelope	Swan	Unicorn

[VIII.] FIELD OF THE LAR<sup>58</sup>

Ditch	Builder	Olive tree
Planter	Gilder	Wolf Cub <sup>59</sup>
Pruning	Cabinetmaker	Vine tendril
Vintage	Carter	Pomegranates
Grove	Plasterer	Golden Apples <sup>60</sup>
Garden	Welder	Elm

Bread	Wine	Charioteer <sup>61</sup>
Sausage	Beer	Hay
Fish	Farina	Wool
Meat	Honey	Tamer
Cheese	Vegetable	Milker
Fruit	Miller	Rustler

Herder	Potter	Plower
Goatherd	Iron	Sower
Sheep	Cementer	Harvester
Mare	Tin	Threshing
Groom	Glassworker	Granary
Swine	Lathe <sup>62</sup>	Straw

[IX.] ATRIUM OF NEPTUNE<sup>63</sup>

January	Sailor	Nymph
February	Stripe <sup>64</sup>	Nereid
March	Watchtower	Belides <sup>65</sup>
April	Celeusma <sup>66</sup>	Kingfishers <sup>67</sup>
May	Vicar	Deucalion <sup>68</sup>
June	Rowmaster	Arion <sup>69</sup>

Bilge	Scylla	Urinator
Water	Charybdis	Rope
Twice-boiling	Sirens	Sail
Strap	Syrtes <sup>70</sup>	Tar
Chains	Orion	Oakum
Arms	Hyades <sup>71</sup>	Mast

Tethys <sup>72</sup>	Harmony	July
Ocean	Prow	August
Triton	Oar	September
Proteus	Lentrum <sup>73</sup>	October
Ino <sup>74</sup>	Keeler	November
Melicertes <sup>75</sup>	Harbormaster	December

## [X.] ATRIUM OF MERCURY

Lawyer <sup>76</sup>	Meddler	Hireling
Performer	Dicer	Merchant
Procurer	Coiner	Gypsy <sup>77</sup>
Accomplice	Cutpurse	Usurer
Emissary	Jester	Fortune's Urn <sup>78</sup>
Vagabond	Parasite	Penitent

Warlock	Dialectician	Marsian <sup>79</sup>
Magus	Astrologer	Harlequin
Miracle worker	Surveyor	Jester
Grammarians	Arithmetician	Mime
Logodædalist <sup>80</sup>	Orator	Actor
Midget <sup>81</sup>	Poet	Diviner

Prophet	Wrangler	Doctor
Raver	Dicer	Herbalist
Dreamer	Wrestler	Shaver
Alchemist	Dancer	Pharmacist
Figurine	Imposter	Thief
Averter	Ropeskipper	Informant

## [XI.] FIELD OF MARS.

Slingshot	Soldier	Spear
Poniard	Executioner	Ballista <sup>82</sup>
Dirk	Surgeon	Sclopus <sup>83</sup>
Battering Ram	Veterinarian	Rifleball
Dart	Fencing-master	Sword
Caltrop <sup>84</sup>	Gladiator	Lance

Butcher	Leader	Arsonist
Flogger	Guard	Breastplate
Gunpowder <sup>85</sup>	Scout	Cuirass
Mercenary	Signaler	Helmetliner
Harrier	Ensign	Helmet Plume
Assassin	Sentinel	Shield

Lance	Athlete	Drum
Axe	Pugilist	Bugle
Club	Castrator	Shield
Bow	Coward <sup>86</sup>	Scourge
Quiver	Skinner	Scepter
Swordbelt	Brander	Scimitar

## [XII.] FIELD OF LUNA

Square	Fisher	Snubnose
Long	Bathboy	Blubberlips
Brawny	Dyer	Goitred
Gross	Engraver	Humpback
Bigheaded	Fuller	Herniated
Bald	Baker	Monocular

Willow	Fishseller	Pumpkins
Poplar	Innkeeper <sup>87</sup>	Cherries
Rushes	Fruiterer	Pears
Bur <sup>88</sup>	Wool <sup>89</sup>	Medlar
Sorrels <sup>90</sup>	Tanner	Horns
Cucumbers	Potter	Crabapples

Blond	Milk	Bleareyed
Weak	Butter	Broadheaded
White	Cheese	Toothy
Stutterer	Grapes	Cheeky
Nasal <sup>91</sup>	Hot Coal	Potbellied
Womanizer	Gourds	Eunuch

## [XIII.] FIELD OF SATURN

Prison	Goatish	Poisoner
Cage	Black	Necromancer <sup>92</sup>
Tomb	Blind	Witch
Gibbet	Hoary	Jew <sup>93</sup>
Bier	Lean	Pallbearer
Dusky <sup>94</sup>	Monocular	Beggar

Ibis	Lead	Cemetery
Horned Owl	Sulphur	Spellbinder
Screech Owl	Coal	Enchanter
Cypress	Ashes	Hostler
Asphodel	Glass	Groom
Wolf's Bane	Sawdust	Property

Monk	Lentigo <sup>95</sup>	Doomsayer
Craftsman	Gibbous	Swineherd
Repairman	Bowlegged	Honey Dipper
Cobbler	Thickankled	Mouse
Smoke	Bent	Cat
Pitch	Shaggy	Toad

## [XIV.] FIELD OF VENUS

Ointment	Girl	Large Chelys <sup>96</sup>
Comb	Boy	Small Chelys
Mirror	Whore	Windorgan <sup>97</sup>
Girdle	Madam	Scimitar
Bracelet	Pimp	Augur's Wand
Necklaces	Bridesmaid	Flute

Girl	Doves	Hairstylist
Voice Coach	Sparrows	Barber
Panpipe	Satyr	Hairdye <sup>98</sup>
Lyre	Cupids <sup>99</sup>	Chorines
Zither	Flowers <sup>100</sup>	Candymaker
Lyre	Adonis <sup>101</sup>	Silk Merchant

Castanet	Policrepus <sup>102</sup>	Apples
Drummer <sup>103</sup>	Haircurler	Beans
Shrimps	Hairdresser	Violets
Dildo <sup>104</sup>	Painter	Roses
Slavebells	Polisher	Myrtle
Monochord <sup>105</sup>	Parfumer	Almond

## [XV.] FIELD OF CERES

Bread	Plow	Straw Mat
Relish	Plowshare	Sieve
Table	Plowhandle	Hamper
Claypot	Rake	Shovel
Cookpot	Hoe	Broom
Tripod	Spade	Winnowing Fan

Rollingpin	Barley	Wheel
Grapple	Wheat	Carriage
Lever	Rice	Chariot
Whip	Farina	Stagecoach
Ears of grain	Panicgrass <sup>106</sup>	Yoke
Threshing floor	Millet <sup>107</sup>	Apse

Barn	Mattock	Dactyls <sup>108</sup>
Harvester	Pickaxe	Nuts
Sharecropper <sup>109</sup>	Yoke	Hazel
Surveyor	Scythe	Chestnut
Shepherd	Sickle	Acorn
Pastrycook	Caterpillar	Pinecone

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Fourteen**  
*Concerning the establishment of species  
 by a chain*

A chain must be provided, so that these species of adjective places may be comfortably preserved. Therefore, in the middle of the atrium of the altar is the altar itself with those things which are positioned adjacent to it, while in the angle of the east there is a plow suspended on a chain on one side,<sup>1</sup> and, on the other, a jug of water. In the angle of the west, a tree rises from the terrestrial globe, and over it a sumptuous feast has been spread. In the angle of the south, there is an anchor over a chariot that has a palm tree on its right. In the angle of the north there is a jar in a prison over a chair. In the eastern side, a human chest is bathed by an amphora. In the western side, a sword is tempered by a flame in a furnace. In the southern side, in a barn fruit is smoking.<sup>2</sup> In the northern side, in the middle of a small boat there is a writing desk which supports a throne.

¶ Understand that, similarly, the same could be done with everything else.<sup>3</sup> Beneficially, you will be able to increase the number of adjective things of this sort up to the limit you set. Even if you add one adjective thing to each limit, these atria can serve you no less than the fields,<sup>4</sup> whenever the thirty-two adjectives are around the altar. Then you will not only have thirty images of the first compositions around you, but also (depending on the site and arrangement) the concepts of other presentable things most suitable for forms.



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Fifteen**  
*Concerning the conditions of the parts  
 in the observable houses, atria and fields*

Thus we explain the conditions of the receptacles,  
 From ordinary signs and by all things observed in

Mnemosyne's Temple.

The sensate faculty holds fast in its internal bosom  
 The images of those things which sight has abstracted  
 From things themselves that have clearly existing shape.

¶ Never in their vast embrace do they fit small  
 locations,

Or receive what is too small or large.

A figure chased from its full seat vanishes and  
 Void of sight<sup>1</sup> it flees in its tiny body.

Let there be what may seize upon a man, so that,  
 shaking his arms,  
 Sword drawn, he touches the heights in no broad way.

¶ Let the wise man spurn the unattainable, what is  
 far from his hands

As he goes forth everywhere; the high roofs may not  
 Receive you, nor the standing tips of the tower,  
 The window far removed, the chimney stack

smoking on high.

¶ Condemn whatever is shielded by trees and  
 concealed by shifting mist,

Whatever exists in many numbers;<sup>2</sup> when they intertwine  
 Themselves in shifting appearance as they jostle each other;

**Chapter Fifteen**

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Who plows a black field<sup>3</sup> and wishes to rewrite what is  
 already written?

¶ Similarly, shun blind alleys; for just as they  
 Make the external sense's eyes go awry  
 with doubtful species

Consider they can do this even more  
 When they remain impressed as traces, footprints  
 in thin shadow.

¶ Nor will things aimed towards the sun with excess light  
 prosper,

For, plainly, just as a species drunk by the vast deep  
 vanishes,

So does too much lightning harm the senses' eyes.

¶ In this continuum let all things be  
 situated next to one another,  
 Whose sequence is given as duty to everything else,  
 Which follows a fixed rule that's also the future's  
 pattern;

Let these first and foremost be endowed with this light.

¶ By no means let there be complex things for you to  
 behold that wear the same face,

But let them be strong in expression perpetually varying,  
 Which nature effortlessly has provided with things.

¶ There let them be endowed by you with  
 such a power that

To whoever reveals himself they show themselves  
 readily taking on form,

No differently than gessoed wall, wax or tablet.<sup>4</sup>

¶ But watch out that too close together they don't  
 display themselves,

For you who cannot puzzle out a text if the letters

By mutual contact conceal their shapes,<sup>5</sup>

Because, to their examiner, they can't be perused  
 in their arrangements.

¶ When you gaze at something from afar,  
Don't blunt your sight; when something has been  
brought too near,  
Don't scatter your viewing because no pyramid  
has been mentioned  
That binds sensible objects and the viewer's line of sight.  
For this purpose now this place, now that, may please, but  
Another you condemn. Therefore, the faithful journeys  
More some places than others; obviously they have not  
Been chosen by the same rule. This act makes you search  
For species where, previously, you had located none.

† It will befit you, who desire to have remembered many species,<sup>6</sup>

To arm yourself with more than a few of them, as by effort  
Chart is attached to chart, and seat to fitting seat.

When certain moving elements have been added,  
they will be full of life,  
Since, in the case of adjoining species, species will be  
immediately receivable;

Because as different species approach differently  
The matter is handled differently, so in secrecy they advance.

¶ Let this provide an added reason to number's first duty;

Let them be continuous, with no obligation intervening.

At various times likewise, let different regions  
be selected for wandering species,  
Since for a little while you desire to grasp them  
according to time and use.

Therefore, let people not, with new-found cry,  
Refer to cast-off species; rather, in three days' time  
after they've been repulsed,  
Again let them seek for things in their nakedness.

For that reason beforehand, prepare a diagram of the places and keep it nearby, To commit to the field for sowing seeds.<sup>7</sup>

Whether you blow them about or  
Search them out after they've been blown,  
Separate them from the righthand areas,  
move them to the left.

As many write and read concerning natural order,  
By an easy act we are all shifted:  
Sower, plower, knight, boxer, smiter, reaper, horseman.

Among them<sup>8</sup> are sought definite perspicacity, color, order, variety, distance, magnitude, selection, number, distinction, composition, purity, seclusion, retention, reillustration, familiarity, accessibility, tractability, configuration, view, proportionality, vivification. In those discussed below is discovered a site hugely hollow and angular, to or from which all species that are less well-positioned may be able to flow.

**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Sixteen**  
*On the composition of the species, or  
 the images' configuration*

The species which have been already numbered and classified are simple, and they show us their elements' function and logic; now the composition of things and image from these same simple species is attempted and completed in multiple series for multiple use.

However, it is done first by remaining or letting them remain diverse orders of the same genus, third by taking from their places the parts of the forms which are more accommodating. The matter itself is better understood by practice than by getting there by other preconceptions.

FIRST EXAMPLE OF COMPOSITION

Regarding the first method of composition by remaining (that is, in one order), we construct ART; then from the altar's parts,<sup>1</sup> when at the east corner's right and the north corner's right, and at the east side's right, the bust which coalesces as fire consumes it is washed in the bath basin at the west side's left by the water flowing down from the prison. Then, from the prison's parts, where there will be a hand clasping a psaltery on the right, on the left a parrot grips in its beak an eye plucked from an old woman. Then, from the crown's parts, a camel carrying treasure will go to the pool from the inferno, and then from the inferno towards the hot springs.

SECOND EXAMPLE OF COMPOSITION

As for the second method of composition, by wandering through the diverse orders of the same genus, as from the altar to the basilica, fountain or mirror, or even by proceeding from any one of these towards other images and towards those suitable for image composition, when the vowel precedes the consonant, as in *altar*, *equuleus* [colt], *icon*, *ovile* [sheepfold], then the images are expressed according to their absolute condition. But when the consonant precedes the vowel and does so simply,<sup>2</sup> as when a figure consists of two elements, then the image of the atrium alone is sufficient, since it [the atrium] may be referred to a fivefold relationship in the sky's different regions,<sup>3</sup> sited according to stature, seat, apodiation, inclination and prostration, or by binding it to what surrounds the middle or center, as when a sheepfold will be present in the center of the house's atrium, or an altar or anything like that added. It receives both, that is it receives both proper difference from the varied siting of its element which is in the center, as well as by its consimilar which is at the circumference, when, that is, after one vowel a second vowel is added with a consonant or two consonants, or only another vowel. That is, in a word a consonant in the middle assumes the final vowel, or vowel with consonant, or liquid with vowel or consonant. By the modes of these three possibilities, all this has been provided according to the atrium's express condition.<sup>4</sup> Yet, where a liquid is between a vowel and a consonant, as in *canis* [dog], *equus* [horse],<sup>5</sup> *serpens* [snake], *mordens* [biting], *calcitrans* [kicking], it will achieve its purpose by means of active agents<sup>6</sup> or by the actions of its apposite. However, where a second consonant is added after a vowel which is at the outer regions,<sup>7</sup>

provide for the signs of mutations and alterations of this sort, which are revealed in the twelve signs or circumstances below:

By bearing.....	By falling.....	By division
By breaking.....	By spinning.....	By raising
By biting.....	By nodding.....	By beating
By breaching.....	By hanging.....	By rolling

Therefore in this order we shall complete ART in such a way that we assume from the atrium of the altar and the hot springs the throne with the temple, thus in the temple, in which a dog is biting a Knight Templar.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Seventeen

### *A third example of composition*

As for the third method of composing images, that is, by journeying through the diverse orders of the diverse genera, you have the chambers of the twelve that sing along,<sup>1</sup> wherein the vowel precedes the consonant, and the chambers of the thirty that harmonize, wherein, on the contrary, the parts of the composition are ordered. There, a warrior who shows restraint makes ART from the explication of the sensible languages, the thirty other images that harmonize and the other twelve that sing along, according to the sign which is in the center of the nine and that tempers and harmonizes with those that sing along and harmonize in the temperate image's corner,<sup>2</sup> along with the addition of that interior triangle which is in the left corner.

There is, as well, a very universal explanation [*ratio*] by which the species are coordinated and composed, where you complete the first composition by adjectivization, the second by agency, the third by action, the fourth by species, the fifth by an image that co-operates or assists, the sixth by the action of an assistant image, the seventh by the species of action, two or three or all of whose members may be grasped according to the necessity of the matter.

For these compositions of images you may purposefully and easily select and define shape elements from the double order of their images that combine, which we have explained in the poems in my books *On the Shadows of Ideas* and *Song of Circe* in the guise of a puzzle.



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eighteen**  
*On the first complement of the species<sup>1</sup>*

For the species' complement, which of them obtain the space of a seat and the use of a place, a definition or determination is sufficient, by which the beginning of an atrium or the area of a second atrium is connected to the end of one atrium's region or second region or area,<sup>2</sup> since the connection may be perceived either by an added image's likeness, or by some signifying order,<sup>3</sup> in the same way page is sewn to page, or intentions described and depicted elsewhere by a set indication or sign joined to those intentions or extensions depicted and described here. In this way, the gates of Athens adjoin the gates of Thebes, and Diana's temple abuts Apollo's just as easily.

ON THE SECOND COMPLEMENT OF THE SPECIES

¶ Once again, places are attached to places, when atrium follows atrium in its order, and what is in one atrium exists with what is in the next atrium,<sup>4</sup> just as if they had been arranged in a definite series, so that everyone may investigate (by the function of action or passion or by the species of any commutation whatsoever) the logic [*ratio*] of the thing to be signified, even according to the appearance of the thing summoned by this second complement.

ON THE THIRD COMPLEMENT OF THE SPECIES

¶ Furthermore, when the diverse genera of the places are discovered, as we have explained in other treatises, we perceive matters set forth in words, in simimathematics,<sup>5</sup> in objects that are man-made and natural that are exposed to human sensing, as parts of a second species in the parts of a first species.

ON THE FOURTH COMPLEMENT OF THE SPECIES

¶ But as for those which are attached to the places, provision must be made for the elements of the diverse genera, lest the elements of one genus exceed in number<sup>6</sup> a second genus's elements, and some elements of one genus differ from another genus's particular elements, so that these elements which here are another's, these may be vicarious, and those which are there may be here.<sup>7</sup>

ON THE FIFTH COMPLEMENT OF THE SPECIES

¶ Finally, after you have the atrium's center shaped with its angles and its sides' differences along their collaterals on the right and left, there is a place for linkage, so that one may inspect all images of all things in their proper orders. For all images are reduced to heads in their proper atria, whose bodies and different members under the same heads are revealed by different conditions and additions. We have laid out the form of the linkage in my book *On Thirty Seals*.<sup>8</sup> And it will, very conveniently, appear if in the discussion of a story or fable about a monster or a building, where the actions are clearly distinguished and the elements' shapes marked and ordered by



signs, that we are extending the strength of the lineage and its stability; so that, under the head of Æneas, multiple subsequent members of a different genus may be revealed through the order of his actions. But this requires explanation, plainly, just as in the woods when a tree spreads itself in the middle of a clearing.

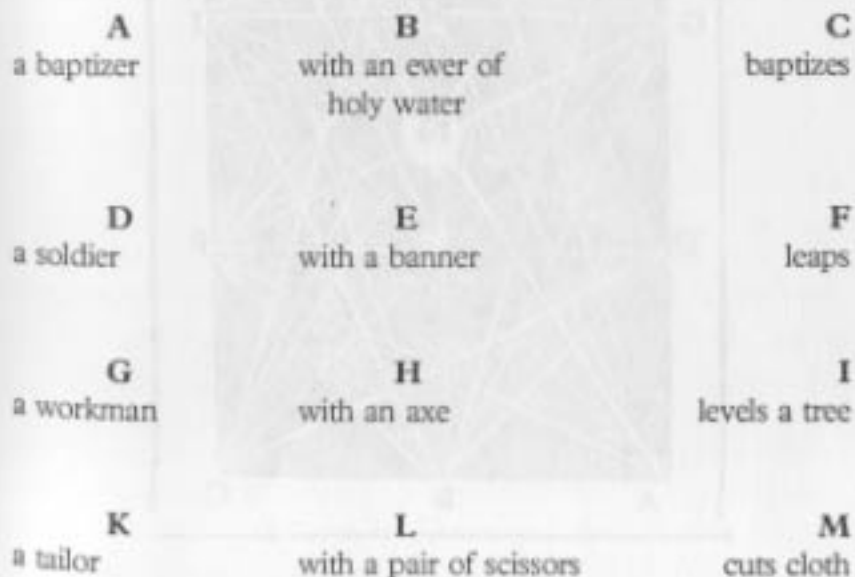
- |  |                            |  |
|--|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Juno addresses Æolus                    | A<br>E<br>N<br>E<br>A<br>S | 8. Story of the Trojan War                 |
| 2. Æneas tossed by waves in the Ionian Sea |                            | 9. Narrative of Æneas's travels            |
| 3. Æneas visits Carthage                   |                            | 10. Narrative of his love affair with Dido |
| 4. Æneas is received by Dido               |                            | 11. Æneas' flight                          |
| 5. Æneas arrives at Juno's temple          |                            | 12. Dido's death                           |
| 6. Æneas enters the palace                 |                            | 13. Æneas visits Sicily                    |
| 7. The banquet                             |                            | 14. Æneas sails to Cumæ                    |
|  |                            | 16. Æneas is received by Evander           |

Even thus does the image of the story exist, while under the same head, from the same head, with the same head and around the same head, some images will be embraced and others unfolded, by the addition of words and the linkage of extensions, and the signs of the primary combinations will be conceived according to the elements by region and site.

### Book One, Part Two, Chapter Nineteen

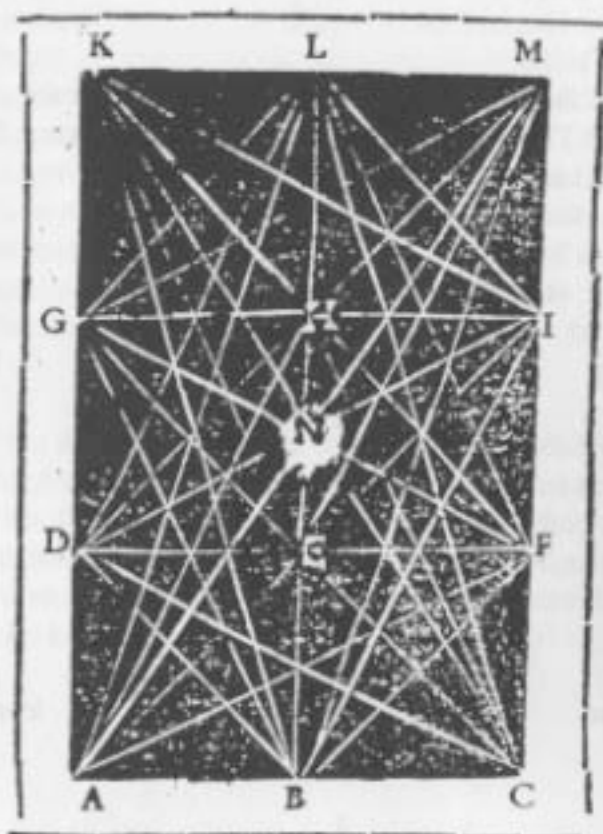
It remains for us to discuss the form of the composition. Each of the images may contain three parts and refer definitely to:

- I. AGENT,
- II. INSTRUMENT (whether added or circumstantial), and—
- III. OPERATION, as when the agent refers to the same things as its arms and action do.<sup>1</sup>

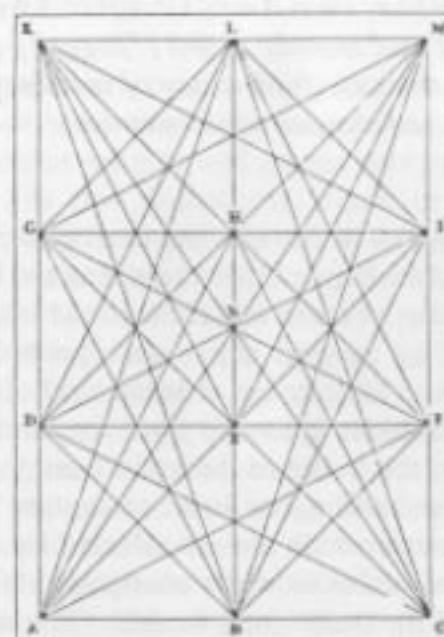


Here ABC yields  
 DEF yields  
 GHI yields  
 AHM yields  
 KHC yields  
 GEI yields  
 DHC yields

Ba ba ba  
 Mi mi mi  
 Fa fa fa  
 Ba fa su  
 Su fa la  
 Fa mi pu  
 Mi fa la

1591 version<sup>2</sup>

Tocco's version



**Book One, Part Two, Chapter Twenty**  
*The Platonic word ["logos"]*  
*concerning the two-fold sense of intellect ["nous"]*  
*as shaper and harmony<sup>1</sup>*

From hearing as well as from seeing most of all we are able to distinguish sensible shapes. Objects are seen and heard through the outward action of sense and through the inner working of the image-making power,<sup>2</sup> active and passive impressions perceivable as in a faint image or some kind of mirror, move the spirit and conduct it toward both the likeness of divine harmony and to the image of the gods' beauty. By these two senses hearing and seeing, we strive to capture those perceptible forms through which we are affected by unreason and frenzy, by whose mediation we fly unerringly to the conception of the forms of the intellectual world.<sup>3</sup> Through the ears a deeper sense in us is awakened for apprehending the divine music by some keener effort and virtue. In fact, compelled by the effective light of truth we understand the music that emanates from the order of things as threefold: one and first, in God's mind, second in the order and movement of things, and third in the design that our spirit touches in objects themselves, by virtue of that harmony which it enjoyed previously (according to the idea of the Pythagoreans and the Platonists), of which, I say, our spirit partook before it was locked in the body's chains. For this reason, lighthearted and popular musickers insist on the sounds of live vocal and instrumental music,<sup>4</sup> while serious people, possessed of firmer judgement and an abundance of deepest thought are frequently inspired by some sort of divine afflatus and receive nourish-

ment poured upon them from the mind of the celestial ambrosia. For they, unlike the lighthearted, receive the harmony of the universe sufficiently through the eyes, for the others, the lighthearted ones who delight in light music, take in what they do by some sort of lighter destiny through their ears. Elsewhere<sup>5</sup> I spoke of a certain marvelous kinship that exists among true poets, who are referred to the same species as musicians, and that exists as well among true painters and true philosophers. For true philosophy, music or poetry is also painting, and true painting is also music and philosophy; and true poetry or music a kind of divine wisdom and painting.

Elsewhere I have discussed how any painter is naturally an establisher of infinite images who, by his image-forming power<sup>6</sup> constructs from sights and sounds by combining in a multiplicity of ways. Shape-forming, which is regulated by reason's balance, can easily be recognized, for by expression in the surfaces of sense it continually demonstrates the order and extremely closeknit connections of element to element. However, we have also taught in our book of explanations, *Thirty Seals*,<sup>7</sup> the art which makes all out of all. Notwithstanding this, over-clever minds, without any philosophical attainment, know how to twist even empty words into ordered ideas, as is the case with those who explain the confused garden of words, with their happy endings and tall tales, observed coming from the mouths of the mad in such a way that the latter are indeed taken for prophets, while the former are regarded as interpreters of these prophets. In this way Cerinthus<sup>8</sup> promoted the virgin he seduced into a sibyl; that indeed is why he brought her to such a pitch of reckless daring that whatever came into her head she would blurt out to the public at large, not only without fear but with a certain marked seriousness: "You have only to speak," he told her, "and you will prophesy." And he, after a brief pause, found his voice again, wrinkling his brow as if astonished and visibly moved by her, his eyebrows raised:

"O great oracle," (he would say) "O admirable mystery of divine voice." Then this manipulator of appearances, this arch-sycophant would adjust everything she said to actual events and popular belief, so that it was nothing less than miraculous how long he triumphed over all other sects of bloodsuckers, for his personal gain, by mocking and conning people. Now, signifying of this sort may be elaborately clever, but coin of this type is not traded in the Kingdom of Philosophy. Yet these imposters are the very ones who will attribute their undisciplined talents to the images of wisdom and truly divine oracles, while the eyes of owls cannot bear the sun's light. But as for ourselves, although we do not write in such a way that we wish to or can be understood by all about everything, nonetheless there is no one who if he will pay attention with eager trust and faithful application<sup>9</sup> proportionate to his sufficiency in whatever discipline he is versed, whom we cannot help greatly and by some chance please.

#### END OF BOOK ONE

#### Book Two, Chapter One

*Wherein are discussed the images of the gods,  
and first concerning those images  
which pertain to Jove*

First there appears:

An infant on top of a mountain; around the mountain a river flows; two young girls stand beside the infant, and a nursing goat is nearby.<sup>1</sup>

II. ¶ A boy and a girl in Fortune's lap; he is holding her right breast, and she holds his left breast.<sup>2</sup>

III. ¶ Corybantes from the countryside, making noise around Jove's cradle on drums and cymbals.<sup>3</sup>

IV. ¶ A matron follows, who offers an old cannibal a rock wrapped in linen, which he eats.<sup>4</sup>

V. ¶ A hero who holds a shield all covered all in goat skin. From it, which is sprinkled with twinkling golden droplets, clouds arise.<sup>5</sup>

VI. ¶ A very charming young man crowned with laurel, who holds a cithara in his left hand and someone's cut-out testicles in his right, leaps over a table.<sup>6</sup>

VII. ¶ Three monstrous giants supplied by nature with three hundred of the brawniest arms, who hold one hundred fifty shields and as many swords, appear as bodyguards around a great king (who, sitting on a throne, crowns others).<sup>7</sup>

VIII. ¶ A likeness of a hero upon a throne of cloud, whose right hand wields the great lightning, while he defeats a giant by hurling a mountain down on him.<sup>8</sup>

IX. ¶ From the southern zone of the earth there comes a king dressed in a cerulean robe of that is like a gleaming sapphire; with naked sword he rides a stag that shakes antlers, radiant with gold, branching far and wide. Then, while the figure of a woman warrior<sup>9</sup> marches forward, holding in her right hand an oak tree laden with acorns, lightning flashes, sudden flames play all around and whirlwinds and the all-terrifying fury of the winds, thunder and fiery mist. But with affable and most serene expression, his court of fellow Olympians crowns him Lord.

X. ¶ Next come his familiar forms: an eagle snatching a boy wrapped in his talons,<sup>10</sup>

XI. ¶ A naked boy offering a cup to the king, who bends his left hand towards the boy's knees, while his right reaches for the cup,<sup>11</sup>

XII. ¶ A bearded man who wears a ram's horns; around him stand a satyr, bull, swan, and cuckoo, in which guise Jove is worshipped in Lydia.<sup>12</sup>

### Book Two, Chapter Two *Other images which appear in Jove's campus*

The first image which appears is that which is called Juno's: in an image of the sea, seven small girls assist one girl, venerable because of her lustrous brightness.<sup>1</sup>

II. ¶ A virgin comforting a cuckoo concealed in her bosom, which flew there out of an extraordinary storm.<sup>2</sup>

III. ¶ A man moving someone else's baby to his sleeping wife's breasts.<sup>3</sup> Around them stand a cow and fourteen nymphs.

A second image which is called Hebe's: a girl sprouted from wild lettuce, who holds a cup in her right hand in the presence of a king in scepter and august diadem.<sup>4</sup>

A third image of a king and judge, around whom, as he is about to sacrifice, a crowd of people stands. A bull from the sea has gone toward him. Then the elder (whom a winged boy follows who is about to fly across a nearby sea) leaves the ramparts.<sup>5</sup>

The fourth image is a king who holds a balance beam scale in his hand, a rod in his right, and tablets of law in front of his eyes.<sup>6</sup>

A fifth image is a flaming body in the shape of a man who enfolds a virgin.<sup>7</sup> From their absolute union a king steps forward, while a countless army departs as her father begs for help beside a hollow tree.



A sixth image is a tree sublime in its lofty height, touching the stars with its tall tip. It stays green above the whole horizon, its branches spread all around everywhere, always leafy green, ever flowering and fragrant, bearing fruit, perpetually giving birth, fertile the year round with its solid oak trunk; supported on firm roots, it flowers throughout the ages.<sup>8</sup>

### Book Two, Chapter Three *Jove's attendants. Antecedents.*

Cause, Principle, Beginning, Enterprise, Commencement, Way, Vestibule, Boundary, Approach, Entrance, Undertaking, Starting, Element, Foundation, Root, Seed precede Jove.

#### ATTENDANTS<sup>1</sup>

¶ Secondly, Jove is surrounded by Fatherhood, Domination, Dictatorship, Empire, Monarchy, Principate, Dukedom, Presidency, Government, Guidance, Power, Reins.

#### CROWN OF THE FIRST ORDER

¶ Thirdly, Jove is crowned by Counsel, Truth, Piety, Trust, Integrity, Purity, Honesty, Candor, Frankness, Sincerity. And their complexions (as well as those of their followers) are first: Truth has counselled, pious Deliberation, faithful Piety, honest Purity, noble Faith, upright Empire, and more. Likewise, their second complexions are like Sincerity true in her candor, Truth faithful in counsel, Faith with her paternal piety, and a thousand others.

## CROWN OF THE SECOND ORDER

¶ Fourthly, the crown of the second order: amiable Worship, generous Gratitude, special Grace, harmonious Tranquillity, safe Innocence, blessed Liberty, sweet Asylum, sacred Anchor, prompt Assistance, useful Protection, protective Custody, supportive Patronage, favorable Guardianship. Along with them come fit Aptitude, foursquare Convenience, competent Accommodation, harmonious Apposition, expert Adaptability.

## [IMAGES] STANDING BY

¶ Fifthly, Jove is attended by Judgment, Discretion, Division, Expense, Discussion, Decision, Separation, Transaction, Definition, Limitation, Measurement, Opinion, Decree, Statute, Approval, Sanctity. And their complexion is formed along with those things that crown him: true Discretion, pious Discussion, counselled Limitation, and their complexion is also shaped by those who stand around him: moderate Opinion, potent Statute, paternal Expense.

## PRÆTORIAN GUARD

¶ Sixthly, in the Prætorian Guard there are instruments and tools: a carpenter's level, a plummet, a balance-beam, a steelyard, a pair of scales, a scale, a sieve, and other things that may come forth of similar appearance from the atria and the campuses. And among them are the forms of blameless Censure, candid Norm, emended Revision, Correction, Castigation, Punishment, ruling Ratio, candid Law, vigilant Justice.

## THE CHARIOT ON JOVE'S RIGHT

¶ Seventh, Jove is positioned with a chariot on his right with the following around him: governing Life, uncorrupted Innocence, erect Integrity, frank Purity, honest Probity, stainless Sanctity, kind Humility, benign Mercy, charming Amenity, humane Clemency, easy Companionship, gentle Placability, affable Hilarity, quiet Serenity, entreatable Leniency, agreeable Suavity, softhearted Composure, placid Moderation, silent Support, patient Suffering, unconquered Tranquillity, Equity with unbroken spirit.

THE CHARIOT ON JOVE'S LEFT<sup>2</sup>

¶ Eighth, Jove is positioned with a chariot on his left with the following around it: castellated Pride, steep Loftiness, intemperate Disdain, disdainful Intem exalted Ambition, puffed up Haughtiness, haughty Puffed Upness, likewise the she-pair wanton Savagery, savage Wantonness, fastidious Flatulence, windy Madness, turgid Inanity, imperious Vanity, noisy Immoderation, Indignation, puffed-up Heart, turgid Breast, Crown-of-the-Head raised-too-high, upraised Eyes, bragging Mouth, arched Eyebrows, Self Admiration, Scorn for Others, Usurpation, Arrogance and Abuse-of-those-that-stand-next-to-Jove-and-surround-him.

## JOVE'S THRONE

¶ Ninth, at his throne are Majesty, Beauty, Brightness, Preference, Presence, Decoration, Magnificence, Spectacle, Conspicuousness, Splendor, Emphasis,<sup>3</sup> Energy, Personification, Singularity, Prominence, Stature, Elevation, Altitude, Amplitude, renowned Celebrity, choice Ornament, heroic Nobility, great-

est Dignity, best Reputation, memorable Celebrity,<sup>4</sup> most illustrious Name, most august Fame lifting herself up, rising up, seeking, touching, striking, penetrating, sundering, flying beyond sky and stars.

#### IMAGES THAT COME FROM JOVE'S REGION

¶ Tenthly, from Jove's region there are palms, triumphs, applause, glory, veneration, reverence, honor, worship, adoration, admiration, title, acceptance,<sup>5</sup> praise, encomium, commendation, hymn, vow, offering, consecration, sacrifice.

As the image of Germanic Jove<sup>6</sup> could show itself to me at this time and occasion, he is present as well, a king always clad in pelts for the sake of His Majesty's ornamentation, his hair cut in the round, beard smooth-shaven, whose two eagles draw his chariot, where two constellations have been [designated] as his due signs. The one on the left holds a ladle from the cupbearer's hand, the one on the right a scepter. Facing him is a beardless Ganymede,<sup>7</sup> as is customary (about whom Erasmus complains in his *Hospitium*).<sup>8</sup>

#### GERMANIC JOVE (WODAN)

1591

IVPITER



Tocco's version



Book Two, Chapter Four  
*Images of Saturn*<sup>1</sup>

First he rises up, winged and helmeted, his helmet covered by a black veil. Around it a serpent wraps his tail that he catches in his mouth.<sup>2</sup> He is dark skinned, his beard hangs down, long tufts of hair jut from his eyebrows, he is wrinkled, has flashing eyes, is wild, to look at him makes one shudder. Lame, he carries a sickle in his left hand, in his right a baby that he holds up to eat. Many wax tapers are lit and burn around him.

¶ Second, he is a king with two faces, he wears one on the back of his head. On both faces he looks most placid and approachable. In his right hand he carries a staff, in his left a golden key, olive and fig trees, along with a vine shoot bearing grapes. And many heads of grain surround him.<sup>3</sup>

¶ Third, he would appear from Africa, with a look on his face like a cloud, showing the imprint of a most violent wind. On his head are two faces, one an eagle, the other beaked like a hypogriff. The faces also have knees, his feet are like the hooked paws and rending nails of the birds named above. In his left hand he holds a barbed iron sickle, in his right a scepter of the same material.

¶ Fourthly, he is a tiny old woman in a long-tailed black dress; an owl perches on her right arm while with her left she drags a pig along by a slender cord. Around her neck, like a choker, a water serpent has coiled.<sup>4</sup>

SATURN'S ATTENDANTS

In the first order, next to Saturn, there stand Old Age full of years, old Antiquity, defective Decrepitude, Weariness, Lassitude, Slowness, Exhaustion, Extenuation, Maceration, Decay, Disease, Wasting Away, Infirmary, Consumption, Fragility, Attrition, Enervation, Weakness, heavy Burden, inert Weight, bent Inclination, trembling Palsy, Pressure, Putrefication, Stench, Meagreness, Squalor, Indecency, Infamy, Poverty, Hatefulness, Sorrow, Vomiting, Stuttering, Crabbiness, Morosity, Severity, Impatience, Invalidism, Foolishness, Rigidity, Wrinkles, Toothlessness, Baldness, Stinginess, Experience, Carefulness, confabulating Forgetfulness, lying Memory, delirious Imagination, envious Ambition, ambitious Envy, Horror and the first, second and third compositions from them.

¶ Here is an old woman with bent back,<sup>5</sup> severe countenance, hollow eyes, not very steadfast in spirit, disgusted with time, knocking with her weak spirit on black Dis' silent gates,<sup>6</sup> her breasts fallen, limbs broken, stomach shrivelled, breathing weak, pulse trembling through all her joints.

Weary, she's ashamed to look with upraised eyes upon the sky, She bends and shakes her twitching head between both shoulders,

Down to her chest she seems to slump forward;

Her weak legs and falling breast grow tired,

None of Life's consolations revive her decrepit joints.

## IMAGE OF GRIEF

¶ A shadow I judge to be the image of Grief will pass by, with veiled face, whence tear drops appear to rain down in tight streams upon the ground. Next to her stand Consternation, Sorrow of the Heart, Mourning, Distress, Bitterness, Complaint, wounding Murder, evil Decision, lamentable Mishap.

¶ Here marches forward bristling Lamentation, Complaining and lazy, his cloak torn, Striking the stars with his fierce howling. He pummels and scratches his chest, scars his face With fingernail, pulls the hair out from his ugly head. He hurls himself along, making the ponds Echo sadly to his groans.

## IMAGE OF CARE

¶ From this arises a specter long of ear and eye, with strained brow, pointed head, wrinkled face, capriciously sad, turning itself hither and thither, as Anxiety and Worry strike.

¶ This is (I should think) persistent Care, who goads our innards, Watchful, anxious, bitter, fickle, unhappy, sleepless,

## Chapter Four

Who whips the mind with mordant, acrid rigor,  
Torturing the envious breast with silent ferment,  
Certainly just as flame applied to wax melts it, so does  
She make the breast exposed to constant care  
liquid.

She strikes herself, harries herself, breaks the seasons  
Of quiet, objects to the counsel of sleep and peace.  
As she acts, so provokes—the more ardent, she is,  
The closer to her goal, and while she looks at one thing  
carefully,

Loses track of countless others; yet she desires everything,  
Nor in her spirit does she distract herself from the activity  
By which she scatters herself. Avenger of wrongs,  
Hell's dire accomplice, a crazed Fury, she disturbs sweet  
solace,

Drains off—sucks out—the body's juice,  
With threatening presence nips our innermost senses,  
With sinewy lash overcomes the ailing spirit,  
Hastens on the coming of old age.

Around her and touching her there stand Impediment, Intricacy, Chains, Detention, Separation, Enmeshing, Involvement, Meddling, Oppression, Surfeiting, Satiety, Concealment, Robing, Circumvention, Hindrance, Restriction, Getting Even, Anguish, bitter Biting, disturbed Pallor, restless Bother, Tooth Biting; gnawing, ripping, braying, chewing, eating torturing, wearying, tormenting, destroying Cloud of Proposals; Bubble of Worries, Blaze of Doubly Boiled Anxieties. Care is followed by Ambiguity, Doubt, Zealousness, Vigilance, Experience, Sagacity, Prudence, Ownership of Things.



## IMAGE OF FEAR

¶ Next comes a shade that has swift wings upon its feet, a woman's face, just about blind, astonished, tongueless. Contracting herself into a bow,<sup>7</sup> she swiftly spins about hither and yon. From her mouth a cold cloud exhales covering the body of this unhappy woman, who drips with chill sweat, disturbed as if deprived of the use of reason and, pale faced, her hair standing on end, she twists and twines her hair with stiff fingers. Next to her stand Weakening, Circumvention, Trepidation, Horror, Preoccupation, Ice, and many others from the court of Care. And dubious Severity, shameful Stupidity, guilty Silence, anxious Suspense, Quaking of the Breast, Amazement of the Heart, Palpitation of the Breast, diseased Upheaval of the Body.

In my opinion, this is timid, wavering Fear,  
Afraid, face in suspense, eyes amazed.  
She has entered bearing marks of hanging on her feet;  
Unhappy, sparing of herself, she shuns everything,  
Doesn't commit herself to herself, clings for safety to all else.  
She retells overheard conversations, stores up sighs  
In the depth of her breast.<sup>8</sup>  
Worried at the same time, sluggish, roused against herself,  
She keeps her place, holds on tight, adheres,  
And hesitating, makes certain and confirms the future.<sup>9</sup>  
She nods to one side and the other, finally plunges  
Into the worst side, since Fear is a bad augur,  
A bad interpreter of things as she is insanely dumb,  
Because the Fates aid the brave and reject the timid.

Wavering, she stares in such amazement at all around her  
That, while she looks at everything, she's blind to it,  
Sometimes as a friend fears she can't conduct,  
Cannot govern herself or move her limbs,  
Because, in deep doubt, she holds her strong points back,  
Especially when no hope's there and rage can't help.  
She cries out, adds wings to her fugitive skills,  
All of a sudden she dare not move her body,  
Speaks in a low voice, stands around with staring hair,  
Remaining still though her eyes spin, brain quivering  
With feeble approach, as if a savage spur pierced her heart.

¶ There is an image of the Lapiths, menaced by a giant rock about to fall,— it is suspended on a slender thread (of adamant, I believe), while they are held down by lead fetters so that they cannot stretch their hands towards banquets placed nearby.<sup>10</sup> They are in a state of terror.

¶ But while the fearful dread evil without dying,  
They seize the ills of death, for in death there is no evil;  
Further, Fear's power and the rumor of pain torture them.  
Thus, their spirits are never tormented by fire lit too near  
But first ignorance of truth makes them unhappy,  
And Nature's hidden face confuses their sluggish sense,  
Silly phantasms without weight stir up their minds,  
Frivolous in their rush to believe.  
Food is not eaten safely in their magnificent palace,  
A death-bringing poison oozes from their gold and silver plates,  
Winds and the angry sky's lightning bolts hurl down  
In easy sleep, but armed with no weapon the house is much safer.  
Fate grants deep quiet to few things,  
I maintain that spacious oaks are felled by strong winds

While a reed caresses a passing breeze.  
Certainly with God as judge, deeds are bravely done,  
And the mighty cast down, laid low in one mighty blow.

## IMAGE OF DOUBT

¶ In the same order the image of a man with his right arm and leg bound to one wheel, his left leg and arm to a second wheel. He hangs in mid-air, tortured as he tips now to one side and then more to the other.

¶ To many forms in the road, Doubt comes  
fluctuating,  
While he lingers, both speaks and argues with himself  
Excites and represses, follows and flees sense,  
Equally grasps, rejects, urges and accomplishes his desire,  
Extends strength to his spirit and sends it away,  
Goes into exile and exists terrified on vain hope,  
Flies somewhere and grows lazy, soul's strength subdued,  
Uncertain, he taxes himself because he doubts and, yes,  
wavers,  
Distracted in changing ways, both keeps to and  
is self involved,  
Moves uncertainly forward, tossed this way and that,  
Because his soul's in doubt.  
Thus Ixion the faithless Thessalian returns and retreats,  
Tortures his advice in different ways.<sup>11</sup>  
Tries, nervously gathering up strength,  
To turn from where he's bound.  
Spun by doubtful fear out of doubtful hope



For nothing's taken in from outside,  
And nothing flows back out.<sup>19</sup>  
A savage goddess, she thrives forever,  
if her condition changed,  
She would not be herself, would not live as herself,  
Would not be a divinity happy in her rank and station.

## IMAGE OF ENVY

Hunger is followed slowly by Envy, the sad first-born daughter of Acheron. She walks with sidelong step and, looking back with grim eye, stirs up storms with her nostrils, eyes and mouth (which can be felt at quite a distance). These storms not only rip homes and cities apart, they even overturn mountains with their swift violence. Her right hand holds a whip, that first she beats herself with, while her left hand grasps the tail of a bristling serpent, while she very actively provokes its heart-wounding bite. All the court already enumerated stands around her, they serve her, and receive powers and favors from her.

IMAGE OF OCULUS<sup>20</sup>

He is conveyed to view wearing four-colored expressions on one head: I. the face of a decrepit old man, II. that of an old woman, III. that of a dead person, and IV. that of a hidden person, wrapped in a veil. He keeps his hands in his lap, fingers intertwined. He is an unkempt, wasted, filthy, nerveless monster, whose feet a mouse gnaws, whose eye a trickle of water is hollowing out. Around him there are, with their different names: Slowness, Tepidity, Softness, Cold, Torpor, Folly, Delay, Procrastination, Negligence, Inertia, Carelessness, Sloth, Tardiness, lazy Slackening, sluggish

Dullness, tottering Tediousness, and many others from the court of Old Age.

## IMAGE OF DEATH

A winged and ugly deity, she would depart brandishing a sickle that mows down all far and wide; in their very swift seizing her wings darken the sun's light as they turn away from the horizon down below. All things precede and accompany her according to the proverb,<sup>21</sup> along with Old Age and Disease generally. However, she is followed by Pallor, Deformity, Misery, Poverty, Desertion, Loneliness, and Grief. She is blind, deaf, implacable, inexorable, as she would appear to those viewing her on the left side. But, seen from a different, middle side she is preceded by Hope, Alteration, Change, Corruption. She is accompanied by Order, Law, Fate, Crowds, Riot, Tumult, and War. She is followed by tranquil Peace, safe Quiet, bright Generation, Novelty, Solace, Birth, and many Praises, Joy, Hope, and their consorts, but they travel along a hidden path, both because they are contemplatable by few and because they are abhorred<sup>22</sup> by the field and court of Saturn. Death wears a black mantle and shawl hanging down her shoulders. On top of it droplets of gold scattered here and there imitate the appearance of the star-filled sky.

<sup>1</sup> In front of her chariot are the three Parcae, performing their proper tasks in their notable and popular shapes.<sup>23</sup>

IMAGE OF ORCUS<sup>24</sup>

Next there follows one most confused and monstrous in image, Orcus of all forms, of no form, who is, however, sad and



dreadful over all his surface. He is preceded by a three-headed gatekeeper and guardian, Cerberus fearful for his triple barking, all of whose hair is snakes, eyes inextinguishable flames. He is accompanied by Monstrousness, Horror, Monstrosity, Threat, Intrepidity, Asperity, Vigilance, Restlessness, Custody with the tail of a most vast dragon who strikes down any who come against by he beats with his tail's most savage stroke, then wraps it around and crushes them with it in the very tightest knot.

¶ Next follow the Erinyes, otherwise named the Furies, also called the Eumenides,<sup>25</sup> the dogs of Tartarus, whose hair is most dismal and who have watersnake heads on either side. Along with them walk Discord, Whipping, Brutishness, Fierceness, Revenge, and many others of the aforementioned, and countless other living monsters issuing from the Styx, Acheron, Phlegeton and Cocytos,<sup>26</sup> as well as from Tartarus, Erebus, Pluto, Persephone, shapes of demons and Lemurs, of Tityos, Sisyphos, Tantalus, the Harpies, Titans, Obriareis,<sup>27</sup> the Lernean Beasts, Centaurs, Scyllas, and Geryons.

IMAGE OF POVERTY AND  
THOSE IMAGES IN EXILE'S DOORS

All by herself, as if part of no court, sad, nude, thirsty, hungry, subject to all the aforementioned plagues and calamities, scarcely daring to show herself by reason of her person's indrawn, withdrawn, contracted and modest attitude, Poverty would be compelled to move, assuming different names: the not completely vulgar deity of Egestas,<sup>28</sup> Indigence, Defect, Privation, Penury, Nakedness, Bereavement and Beggary. In addition to those already enumerated that generally assist and

stand around her, she is accompanied by Sterility, Meagreness, Dire Straits, Restriction, Narrowness; Affliction, and Severity with her companions, Wounds, Exile, Imprisonment, Impoverishment, Starvation, Hunger with her whole court, Fracturing, and Miserableness. There seems to be a countless army with different species of Destitution, Despising, Disdain, Contempt, and Depreciation, who surround and crown her Poverty. But Difficulty, Misery, rejection, Inanimosity,<sup>29</sup> Modesty and Desperation look after her closely and are present as servants, like flatterers, mimes, playmates, secretaries, butlers, maids and chamberlains.

¶ At the gates there is a whole crowd of watchful sentinels, Fluctuation, Involvement, Rejection, Rotation, Ventilation, Conglomeration, Whirlwind, Vortex, Whirlpool, Hurricane, Proscription, Disturbance, vagrant Flight, Wandering, Precipitousness, Extermination and Fruit from Mars' Court. To all these add many more from the simple and the composite atria, as well as from the field of Styx and Poverty's own field and add just about all those from Saturn's Court.

But after whatsoever Saturn I have described for you, along with his proper court, you may easily recognize by his appearance and the expression now present on his face that he is not Chaldean, Egyptian, Leucadian,<sup>30</sup> Latian,<sup>31</sup> or Libyan, but certainly a member of the Lombard race.<sup>32</sup> Not undeservedly does he wear a crown and appear more bearded than his son Jove. However (indeed in my opinion it is an injury that since sometimes he lives under Capricorn and Aquarius, while at other times, very worn with heavier age, he grows exceedingly cold), yet by no means more or less than his junior Jove is he to be worshipped.<sup>33</sup>



SATURN<sup>34</sup>

1591 version



Tocco's version

### Book Two, Chapter Five *The image of Mars*

A man strong in appearance rises up, with a choleric and brazen complexion, horrible to look at, shrewd, stern, gleaming-eyed, fire in his eyes and grinning like a gaping-jawed lion, ears like a dog's or wolf's, the great-hearted glory of his forehead ringed by hair that stands straight up, whence short, apparently very solid horns project, sharpened like those of a bull from Apulia<sup>1</sup> On the top of his helmet he wears the head of a chimera that is spitting flame. He is sinewy, full-chested, strong-armed, broad-shouldered, of moderate stature, his hands and feet hairy, properly broad and well-formed but too long (though not without a very great energy). He carries a huge shield in his left hand that, as it seems, is made of solid bronze, on which the lengthy image of a dragon has been engraved. He is very destructively armed with a spear sticking out from his shield's unbreakable front. With his right hand he brandishes a gleaming yellow sword that blinds the eyes with fiery splendor. He stands in a fourwheeled chariot drawn by four wing-footed horses. His charioteer is a woman sentinel they call Bellona who drives the team with a snake whip<sup>2</sup> She has an unlucky, bloody, viperous expression on her face, and her complexion is almost livid. While one stays in the stern, the other, [Bellona], in the prow, of the chariot, with an appearance that can be called more than frightening, both should be termed rather an example of deadly violence than virtue.

Second image: a wolf precedes the chariot, and a king dressed in red rides the wolf and holds in his hand broken tablets that are like the tablets of the law.<sup>3</sup>

Third image: a he goat and a matron (perhaps a queen)<sup>4</sup> follow the chariot. She has a heroic although somewhat sour aspect to her; she is wearing a tawny dress and carries nothing except a rod. Her eyes, it seems, are closed while she is facing the sun.

Fourth image: a bristly and ugly crew of horned servants, drunkards, who roar with a confused cry in the style of Bacchants, dark in the mouth, like wolves or cows.<sup>5</sup> They have teeth like wild boars', nails like those of rapacious and flesheating birds, and their horns are like branches but not strong; their eyes seem as if turned on a lathe, dark with little brightness. They move forward, leaping and bounding in a random way.

#### MARS' ATTENDANTS

¶ Those that are at Jove's left hand stand beside Mars. Among them are Ferocity, Wildness, Wrath, unbridled Impetuosity, Roaring, Madness, Vehemence, stern Severity, terrifying Cruelty, fearless Rashness, keen Magnanimity, dreadful Menace, all devouring Savagery, combative undaunted Rigidity, eager Hoarseness of the bugle, snorting Ardor, implacable Truculence, wild Rapacity, bloody Strictness, insane Power of weapons, Sternness without fear, fulminating Insanity, inhuman Monstrousness, hostile Wildness, Strenuousness who is ready to do battle, bellicose Oak,<sup>6</sup> unbroken Strength, masculine Changes, and the contraries of Weakness, and many of those wretched beings that are in Saturn's court, along with the image of a bear<sup>7</sup> ugly because of an unlovely deformity, who wanders from his den in the woods up and down wild mountains, opening his jaws wide against strong cattle.

Also virulent Venomousness, black Acerbity, raw Poison, bloody Disturbance, insidious Mordacity, untamed Wickedness, furious Blindness, criminal Vehemence, indomitable Fury, echo-

ing Barking, terrifying Lowing, horrific Rumbling, vigilant Savagery, pressing Disturbance, flaming Tumultuousness,<sup>8</sup> restless Botheration, bitter Ferocity, foaming, bloody, devouring, rabid Rapacity, limiting, constricting Subduing, who leads others from Saturn's court, Tension, wounding Explosion, Strike, Opposition, with an image of a dragon who bristles with creaking scales. He is crested and hisses horribly from his three-tongued mouth, and is spotted, dark blue with black tawn, huge with a long swirling thrust. With a twist of his gigantic tail he lays barbed teeth bare, while he beats the earth with the whip of his resounding coils. One moment he heaves himself up into the air with his lofty snake head, at another by his wing-bearing back. On him are lubricious Tumidity, dark Tortuosity, deadly Bite, Gorgon's Stain, twisted Writhing, lunar Craftiness, Marsian and Thessalian Magic,<sup>9</sup> sleep bringing, death bearing, rest-giving Wound and oblique Verticality.

¶ Then come Confusion, Disturbance, the Gradivan,<sup>10</sup> the Bistonian,<sup>11</sup> the Thracian, the Strymonian,<sup>12</sup> the Scythian,<sup>13</sup> Siege, Confusion, Disturbance, unbridled Frenzy, Melee, Turningpoint, Chiding,<sup>14</sup> Shaking of arms, Blaze of bugles, trumpets and drums. There is the image of the swift and tyrannizing Eagle and wild Hawk, the predator, the Northern bird,<sup>15</sup> who harries, slays, tears, rends and eats doves.

#### THE IMAGE OF WRATH

¶ Erinyes<sup>6</sup> marches forth with her horn that is crescent moon-shaped and bent twistingly back, which utters a harsh complaint terrifically along its rigid length, as well as malign Audacity, tragic Disharmony, unpleasant Prodigy, tyrannic Monstrousness, Wildness, Insanity, avenging Fury, snake-bearing Cruelty who awakens Cocytic grief,<sup>17</sup> and Gorgonian poison. She is followed by Dissension, Quarrel, Schism, Controversy, Argument, Strife,



stop, Advance who moves now forward and now back, cyclopic Invasion, reckless Attack, impetuous Assault, imperious Charge, internecine Riot, hateful Execution, bloody-red Battlefield dyed with the berry of the scarlet oak, fateful Misery and miserable Ruin.

An authoritative, very weighty, that is very heavy, image of Mars is present, clad in iron armor over his whole body, such that it should become even heavier, and yet it sits without moving, with no apparent need at all for the protection of the inner iron.<sup>25</sup>

## MARS

1591 version



Indeed, I would call the image our Mars, if he would appear as the Mars of Persia, Greece or Rome with long spear or pale<sup>26</sup> about to do battle at a distance like high-thundering Jove, or not about to fall dead retreating,<sup>27</sup> just as even in our day the Turk does, who is about to triumph over the nations, who is armed only with helmet, sword and shield, while the rest of his body is not hampered, but remains very free for action.

Tocco's version





**Book Two, Chapter Six**  
*The image of Mercury*

Next comes the visible form of the busiest of all the gods, the herald, the messenger, the judge. His images are:<sup>1</sup>

¶ First, he is an infant to whom a goat gives milk, while he lies on the purslane.

¶ Second, he is a boy who beats Eros, wrestling him to the mat. He himself is winged and is followed by a rooster.

¶ Third, he is the youth who supplies Jove with food.

¶ Fourth, he is the effigy who has a black face on one side and a white one on the other; and as a young man with winged feet and cap and holding a rod in his right hand, around which two serpents are wrapped, he presents the crowd of dead souls to Charon.

¶ Fifth, he is the hero who cut the hundred eyed monster to pieces and, next to the same, a cow.<sup>2</sup>

¶ Sixth, he is an animal with three heads on a triple line; his first is like a dolphin's, his second like a dog's, while the third in the middle is almost like an eagle's.<sup>3</sup>

¶ Seventh, he is a very handsome youth seated on an elephant, splendid in his royal diadem, dressed in a rainbow hue (like a ringed dove's neck), holding a staff in his right hand, and iridescent magpie in his left.<sup>4</sup> Around him at noon there flows, encircling, a lengthy band of soldiers discharged by a cloud that is growing and white.

ATTENDANTS OF MERCURY THE SPEAKER

Beside him in the first rank stand Edition, Prolation, Nudation, Detection, Vulgation, Signification, Opening, Patefaction, Manifestation, Dissemination, Reclusion, Revelation, Promulgation, Readiness, Seizing of Silence, Theater Scene, Forum, Fame, Infamy, Indication, Ostentation, Monstration, Edication, Allocution, Eloquence, Commemoration, Certioration,<sup>5</sup> Predication, Attraction to Words, Complexion, Prestriction, Comprehension, Contraction, Proposition, Oration, Proration, Epilogation, Conclusion, Debate, Disputation, Breaking of Silence, Song, Clangor, Personation, Responsion, Roaring, Relation, Collation, Colloquy, Compellation, Confabulation, Diction, Enunciation, Address, Texture, Scripture, Picture, Presentation, Insinuation, Keeping Secret, Making Known, Explication, Commemoration, Commentary, Dissertation,<sup>6</sup> Expression, Reportation, Elucidation, Explanation.

¶ In the next rank Institution, Instruction, Erudition, Information, Exhortation, Preception, Admonition, Predication, Imbition, Counsel, Reading, Doctrine, Discipline, Edication, Description, Publication, Monument, Annal, History, Commentary, Exemplum, Induction, Syllogization.<sup>7</sup>

FIRST RANK ON THE RIGHT

¶ At the right side of the third rank there stands the likeness of a brook.<sup>8</sup> Next to it are Grace, Softness, Liquidity, Speed, Wit, wandering Plesantry, sweet Conspicuity, Oration



falling pleasantly on the ears, Rhetoric, Coninnity, Fecundity,<sup>9</sup> Periclean wit,<sup>10</sup> honeyed eloquence, sweetly dripping Terse-ness, Heart rending, softening Culture, Nestorean Tongue,<sup>11</sup> golden Resource, grateful Resonance, florid Profusion, artificial Confiction, honey flowing Discourse, potent Persuasion, persuasive Resonance, harmonious Festivity, Maëonian Harmony, Pierian Song, Phœbean Modulation, blandiloquent Suasion, comforting Doctrine, embellished Color, flowery Speech, the germinating, the pullulating, the fructifying, the bejewelled, the verdant, the attic, the Elysian, the nectar like, the smiling, Flourish plucked by virgin hand,<sup>12</sup> the snowy, the soft, the fragrant; there is also a table at which sit Ornament, Opulence, Effusion, Fecundity, Sumptuousness, the Hyblean Roses, the Muses' Deduction, Parnassus' Road, the delineating Song, Incantation, well polished Embellishment, milky Wit, sophisticated Explanation, exquisite Elegance, luculent Abundance,<sup>13</sup> the lyres of Thrace: Arion's, Orpheus's, Clarius's, Amphion's and Aganippe's.

¶ But at the speaker's [Mercury's] left<sup>14</sup> there stand, first, Chatter, Neighing, Braying, Mooing, Yelping, Babbling, Prating, Absurdity, Lullabying, Small Talk, Bragging<sup>15</sup> Scurrility, Coaxing, Snarling, Baying, Murmuring, Muttering, Shouting, a crow's Talkativeness, Gossip, Garrulousness. There are the Apolline Crow, the Shield of Dodona,<sup>17</sup> the hollow, resonant Vase. Next to them are spontaneous Temerity, intricate Perplexity, Digression, Circumlocution, Amphiboly, Scribblerosis,<sup>18</sup> and other figures of this sort. Darkness seeded with stars, deep Burial, bowed Blindness, difficult Blackness, pitch black Nebulousness, obtruded upon Blindness, Opacity full of hidey holes. There Bubo's statue stands;<sup>19</sup> with Bubo are Laziness, Fearfulness, Filthiness, Unluckiness, Ominousness.

¶ In the second rank, with a copula composed of an infant and a crazy old man,<sup>20</sup> are Squalling, Playing around the teats, and Cradle. Such is the archetype of the grammarians'

diction and skill, which, once brought forth into the light, lies without strength, wandering around in the lap of its dear grammarian parent,<sup>21</sup> tugging at its mother's peaceful teats, speaking wheedling words to the nurse, not reckoning gifts by their price or presents by their weight, nodding on tottering leg, at first (perhaps) not searching for a place, for which it is too little but respects much, sticking its head out of its cradle to catch words, fouling the damp covers in the cradle.<sup>22</sup>

¶ In the third rank, as if summoned by Mars's clarion there come shaking the sky with clear insistent bellowing, thundering amid thick clouds, Triton's Trumpet,<sup>23</sup> Pulsation, Percussion, Motion, Noise, Touch, Instigation, Treatment, Pretension, Tugging on the Lyre, the Tortoiseshell Harp, the Cithara, the Drum, voice, skill, art, the trained right hand and pluck. In the same place are hairy Diction who is smelly, vile, horned, bristly, shaggy, and bearded. There are Bellowing, Thundering, horrific Groaning, terrifying Braying who thoroughly scares the Giants themselves.

¶ However, strident Clatter, hissing Stridor, Clangor, a grackle's cawing, the sign of rain; the cicada's sound, the frog's croak, the fruit's death, and the locust's raucous rasp are also here.

¶ Fourth, disparaging Recrimination, betraying Contradiction, derogative Detraction, evil speaking Bite, sinister Rumor, scattered Calumny, unjust Ignominy, crashing Ruin, mordant Vituperation, bite's Violence, accusatory Disgrace, accusing Informing, Complaint that lays false charges, summoning Action, mute Accusation, instructed Indictment, pernicious Plea, Exploration, Taunt, Mark of Shame, unfriendly Pretence, hostile Censure, consuming Bite, sunken Rostrum, Theonine Tooth,<sup>24</sup> the one who Signs, rending Grimace, beaked Dilaceration, carping Mouth, Bitterness of Mouth, feigning Tongue, Weakener of the Throat, stained Trickery, smearing with mud; sordid Aspersion, Falsehood, Citation, Vagation,<sup>25</sup> adverse Attestation, Dictation,<sup>26</sup> depraved

Interpellation. There are also serpentine Poison, Watersnake, Viper, Asp, Hydra, Snake, Cerestes,<sup>27</sup> Spreading of Shadows, incessant Execration, Furies raining down curses, lawyer's Cunning, perfidious Barking, Commerce of words, venal Reproof, hired Testimony, Contestation, bought Adstipulation, mordant Taunting, gnawing Disturbance, assailing Rupture, abusive Libel, insolent Calumny, and urgent Blasphemy. There are also the Courier of Discord, the Priest of Quarrel, the Legate of Dissension,<sup>28</sup> and the Apocryphary of Irritations.

THOSE GROUPED AROUND MERCURY'S STANDARD,  
THE CADUCEUS

¶ At the First Office there are: Office, Province, Sparta,<sup>29</sup> Parts, Condition, Debt, Tangent, Incumbent, Matter, Case, Status.

¶ At the Second Office there are: Advocacy, Citation, Summoning, Rescript, Injunction, Demand, Delegation, Obtrusion, Intrusion, Broaching of a Commonplace, Handle of Opportunity, Window, Occasion, Foundation, Ministration, Persuasion, Counsel, Instigation, Importunity, author's and leader's Invitation, Admonition, Incitation, Induction, Exhortation, Decree, Statute, Constitution, Determination, spirit's Induction, Deliberation, Proposal, Intention, Volutation, Compromise, Afflation, Impulsion, Kindling wood, Food,<sup>30</sup> Inflammation, Excitation, Stimulation, Reflection, comforting Accommodation, Awakening, Excusation, Induction, Enticement,<sup>31</sup> Allurementation, Instigation, exasperating Summonsation, Suggestion, Utteration, Whispered Hints, Inspiration. Then there are Substitution, Subrogation, Subordination, Suffection, and Changes.

¶ In the Third Office there are: Expectation, Faith, Credence, Credulity, and Hope. Next to her stand Removal of Boredom, Relief of Evil, Lifting of pressure. There is an image of a castaway in the middle of the sea who is waving his arms<sup>32</sup> even though no shores present themselves to him. Next to him stand, on one side, Calamitousness, and on the other Incertitude; in between both stand Anxiety, Care, Solitude and many more from Saturn's court: sleepless Attrition, Vexation, Inquietude with oneself, Contention, Exhalation, Vigilation, Sedulity, and Zealousness.

¶ In the Fourth Office there are: Invocation, Imploration, Adoration, Obsecration, Solicitation, Demand, Opportunism. Next to them are sacrificial Prayers, Servility, Humility, Veneration, Banter, Epistles, begging Pamphlets, Palms to raise on high, Eyes, Hands, Faces, Voices, Inquiry, Interrogation, Questioning, and Postulation.

¶ In the Fifth Office there are: Disposition of the Spirit, Auscultation, Attention, Perking up of the Mind, Inclination, Hability, Suitability, ready Aptitude, obedient Obsequiousness, compliant Obedience, lethal Audition, satisfying Execution, open Ear, focused Eye, calm Nerves, easy Mind, fit Intellect; peaceful, soft, broken, conquered Spirit; spontaneous Will, Pliability, Motion; placated, placid Expression; favorable Concession; and nodding Acceptance who is not adverse, not harsh, and differently disposed than as if from Saturn's and Mars's court.

THOSE FROM JOVE'S ANTECEDENTS WHO STAND BESIDE  
MERCURY'S WINGED SANDALS<sup>33</sup>

¶ Inception, Exordium, Unfolding of veils, Opening of the mouth, Approach, Threshold, Gate, Pathway, Entrance, House door, Leaf doors, Hinge, Border, Dawn, Lucifer,<sup>34</sup> Fountain, Babbling Water, Spring Water, Veins, Sowing,

Insemination, Seed, Dawning of the Light, Crib, Cradle, Waking from Sleep, Head, Raising of the Head, Getting up from Bed, Flourishing, Production, Passing Away, Eruption, Exclusion, Emanation, Setting Out, Descent, Invasion, Assumption, Acceptance, Dragging, Leading, Introduction, Introit, Surreptitiousness, Derivation, Hastening, Departure, Going Away, Flight, Shaking Out,<sup>35</sup> Application of eye, wings, feet, talents, acts of skill, Relaxation, Unbarring, Opening, Egression, Marching Forth, Setting Out, Expedition, Yielding, Intercourse, Banishment, Liberation, Extrication, Getting out of prison, Emergence, Struggle, Conjecture, Conversion, Collation, Retraction, Retroaction, Demolition.

#### MERCURY'S WINGS

¶ Beside Mercury's thousand-colored wings,<sup>36</sup> (which vary their very variety according to those he associates with and applies to) stand Irritation, Agitation, Concitation, Concussion, Shaking, Quassation, Fatigation, Ventilation, Vibration, Disturbation, Compulsion, Activity, Citation, Percitation, Incitation, Percussion, Solicitation.

¶ Next to them are Tremor, Disquietude, Flux, Volucry, Agility, Celerity, Speed, Quickening, Maturity, Overripeness,<sup>37</sup> Indilation, Amora,<sup>38</sup> gliding away Roaming, Invasion, Quick Passage, Wandering About, Peregrination, Perflustration, Penetration, Flowing Forth, Pouring Forth, Anticipation, Prevention, Coming Forth, Surprise, Ingression, Entering underneath, Immersion, Insinuation, Admixture.

¶ Next to them in the second place stand precipitous Pernicity,<sup>39</sup> furtive and fugitive Flightiness, speedy Solicitude,

tender Windiness, vehement Inspiration,<sup>40</sup> swift Celerity, fast Rapidity, unbridled Declivity, sudden Vivacity, wandering Arousal, unchained Volucry, panting Frenzy, ardent Effusion, noisy Transmission, erupting Exaggeration. There are also Wind and the Wind's species, the Sun's horses, fearful Avidity, unrequited Ability, alert Excursion, nimble Sublimity, cloud roaming Flights of Fancy, ethereal Expatiation, Beating of the Breezes, Balance of the Body, heavenly Credit, Wandering through the Void, Swimming through the Stars.

THOSE WHO ATTEND MERCURY AS HE PROCEEDS TOWARDS AND ENTERS THE REALM OF TRIPLE FORMED JOVE<sup>41</sup>

¶ First there occur Direction, Obliquity, Circuitousness, Rotation, Spinning, Bending In, Curving Back, Reciprocity, Revolution, Convexion, Regression, Remigration, Flowing Back, Travelling Back, Going Back, Turning Back, Return, Cycle, Vertigo, Reiteration, Repetition, Conversion, Inversion, Catastrophe, Upwards, Downwards, Beforehand, Afterwards, On the Right, On the Left, Inwards, Outwards, Lofty, Deep, High, Low, and Broad.

¶ Secondly, Striking against, Striking towards, Breaking in, Impact, Intorsion, Detour, Offense. Along with them are momentary Opportunity, prone to flight Flux, varying Inconstancy, fickle Mobility, versatile Lubricity, skin changing Vacillation. There are images of Glaucus, Euripus,<sup>42</sup> Vertumnos,<sup>43</sup> Erysichton,<sup>44</sup> Proteus, Chameleon.<sup>45</sup> With them are Mutation, Variation, Alterity, Difference, Conversion, Aversion, Diversion, Transfiguration, Transformation, Metamorphosis, Otherness.

¶ Thirdly, Passage, Leading Through, Transportation, Transvection, Strait crossing, Transmission, Advance, Journey's

End, Faring Forth, Travelling Across, Crossing Over, Flying, Creeping, Walking, Crawling, Swimming, Boating.

¶ Fourthly, Digression, Abstraction, Desertion, Remigration, Revocation, Deposition, Deduction, Estrangement, Separation.

#### AT MERCURY'S EYE, ROD AND HANDS

At the tip of Mercury's rod there is an eye which remarks vigilant Custody, wakeful Observance, accurate Industry. Where vivid Lamp,<sup>46</sup> Light that shows the Way, sparkling Reflection, gleaming Ray, glowing Lightning flash all together signify<sup>47</sup> sleepless Effort, unbounded Attention, Alertness of sense, instructed Preparation, continuous Sedulity, diligent Animadversion, studious Cogitation, intent Care, facile Apparatus, obvious Provision, Instruction prompt and at hand and filed, and hither and yon Intention ready for action. Around her stand painstaking Sedulity, winged Genius, comfortable Tolerance. Add ceaseless Inquietude, perpetual Zeal, steadfast Fervor, wicked Assiduity. There is present easy Business, ceaseless Indefatigability, incessant Continuity, swift Sagacity, sage Providence, speedy Vigilance, Intentness of the eyes, Contemplation, Fixed Gaze, direct Line of Sight, clinging Facial Expression, Change of Face, Casting of rays from the eyes' twin orbs,<sup>48</sup> weighty Introspection, repetitious Ponderousness, Complexion, thorough Examination, arcane Perflustration, measuring Rule, well versed Deliberation, examining Determination, discerning Alacrity, acute Subtlety, and versatile Vivacity. These arts follow, doctrines with life giving Government, domestic Regime, temples' Religion, Ornament of the Houses, Augmentation of the Cities, Glory of the Ages,

Instruction of Souls. With his magic rod he awakens the Thespian Muses' fountains<sup>49</sup> and Genii,<sup>50</sup> conducts choruses, and tempers wild spirits. Against his enemies this Arcadian Divinity sends magic dreams by incantation, this divinity who is Memphitic,<sup>51</sup> Mænalian,<sup>52</sup> an interpreter<sup>53</sup> of thrice great cleverness, a seller of riches, a teacher of thieves, whose hands were larcenous even when he was a child,<sup>54</sup> when on one and the same day he stole scissors from Vulcan, a wreath from Venus' head, a staff from Jove and a ring from Juno; the actor of the gods and best interpreter. They all recognize him as their patron and completely uniquely a member of their family with their best oaths including<sup>55</sup> the Didascalian, the Subdidascalian, the Pædotribe, the Cathagete, Pædeutes, Scholarch, Gymnasiarch, Phrontisteriarch, that is, someone who teaches the young of Aonia,<sup>56</sup> who keeps the luxury of youth in check, who with inborn skill imbues unlearned minds, who drinks pure water from the Thespians' spring,<sup>57</sup> that is Mercury's valet,<sup>58</sup> Apollo's flautist, Jove and Phœbus' great Chamberlain, the Treasurer of fate's arcana, Interpreter of Destiny, Establisher of free will, Chosen race or tribe, Reformer of the ages, Censor of prevarication and the laws, Storehouse of Memory,<sup>59</sup> Harmony of Aganippe's choir,<sup>60</sup> Glory of the sisters of Castalia,<sup>61</sup> Bellerophon of Medusa's flock, Choregus of the celestial symphony, Storehouse of Mnemosyne,<sup>62</sup> Commander of the Charites, Lover of perpetual light, Companion forever.

#### MERCURY THE ARTISAN

Mercury the mechanic is referred to on the left by an old man,<sup>63</sup> who, from a high tower, pushes a boy who holds a pair of compasses in his left hand and a saw in his right. Next to him stands



Envy along with her attributes. In the same place an old man with wings is cleverly locking a royal virago in a hollow wooden statue of a bull.<sup>64</sup> Next to him stand Business, Management, Exercise, Negotiation, Operation, Making, Fatigue, Use, Praxis, Labor, Work, Diligence, Insistence, Perspiration, Contention, Expedition, Transaction, Execution, Completion, Performance, Duty, Functions, Province, Architectate, skilful Fashioning, Extrusion, establishing Erection, Collocation, Construction, Generation, Accomplishment, Instruction, Administration, successful and careful Achievement.

#### THOSE WHO STAND BESIDE THE ARTISAN

¶ Next to them are Hands, Feet, Fingers, Muscles, Wings, Veils, Horses, Oars, ceaseless Toil, and those in Mercury's caduceus<sup>65</sup> are Bee, Swallow, Ant, Spider, Castigation, Correction, Drawing over, Expunging, Blotting, Erasure, Censure, Recognition, Emendation, File, Obelus,<sup>66</sup> Sifting, Embellishing, Winnowing, Culture.<sup>67</sup>

#### THOSE THAT SUCCOR THE ARTISAN

¶ Then the helpers are the general images of the Farmer, concerning the earth, where there is Plowing, Cleaving, Fissuring, Turning, Furrowing, Rupturing, Driving down, Taming, Ditch digging, Opening up, (Plowing),<sup>68</sup> Wearing out, and those images from their own field or atrium or even from others are collected as instruments and actions. Among them are<sup>69</sup>

Gravity, Rigidity, Hardness, Sedulity, Incurvation, Industry, Solicitude, Avidity, colorless lack of Cultivation, and others from the court of Saturn and of the divinity proper to the Caduceus. Its companions are Difficulty, Sweat, Cold, Heat, Thorniness, Rockiness, Leafiness, thorny Spinosity, brambly Density, Stoniness, Briar bushiness, Umbrosity, Gelidity, Steepness, Slopiness, Seriousness, Fruitfulness, Cavernousness, Cliffiness and others from the convenient sections of the courts described above.

¶ Then come the Sailor's carefulness,<sup>70</sup> Fear, Fright, Anxiety, Wandering, Error, Tremor, Groaning, Seriousness, Austerity, Worry that has to be kept down, Impediment, Danger, Violence, Ruin, Laceration, Extirpation, along with many other things which are Saturn's, or the Farmer's, such as rowing or furrowing.

#### THE SKILL OF MERCURY IN THE FIGURES OF A FISHER, A HUNTER AND A BIRDCATCHER

There is present the image of a young man who fishes with a barbed hook, there is present a Birdcatcher, as Hunter, who handles weel, springe, nets, and toils. Around them are Deception, Fallacy, Trick, Fraud, Fraudulence, Imposture, Deceit, Circumvention, Machination, Cunning, Falsity, Disimulation, Delusion, Cheating, Over reaching, Sycophancy, Sporting, Gaming, Mockery, Romphus,<sup>71</sup> Frustration, Imploration, Foolification, Entanglementation, Cleverness, Fascination, Binding of the eyes, crafty Composition, wicked Fiction, clandestine Falsity, ingenious Crime, Circean Bilinguality,<sup>72</sup> tricky Flexibility, trustless Variety, hiding Fab-



rication, invented Wile, well turned Skilfulness, skin changing Subtlety, argute Gin<sup>73</sup>, perfidious Working, Punic Treachery,<sup>74</sup> Bæotian Enigma, nocturnal Soldiery, furtive Crime, criminal Dissimulation, and impersonated Fiction.

There are present Cimmerian shadows,<sup>76</sup> shadowy Opacity, arcane Cover-up; mysterious, miraculous Emptiness; labyrinthine Intricacy, the Gordian Knot,<sup>77</sup> gloomy Informing, secret Ensnaring, Templar Devotion,<sup>78</sup> hidden Pitfall, pitch dark Digging, blind Hiding place, secret Cavern, shady Cavity, rugged Cloudiness, smoky Obfuscation, involved Implication, low lying Crypt, deep sinking Down, that is silent, hidden, sheer Descent, hidden Evil.

#### THE CYLLENIAN ASS<sup>79</sup>

Certainly Mercury would be nothing if he hadn't made off with a certain driveable flock. There is the animal image of a donkey and a well-known figure, concerning which various people have written, and we have written about it in a particular style which, because it displeased the multitude and did not please the wise because of its sinister meaning, had to be suppressed<sup>80</sup>. Now we will recall only those who stand beside Mercury. Their qualities are contrary to the qualities of Mercury, but, since contraries do not exist without contraries,<sup>81</sup> and contraries are recognized by contraries, they are nourished and run together in the same genus, it will not be altogether unworthy and rather profitable that it become conspicuous in the same court as if in a theater scene, where at least by means of opposite reasoning some of Mercury's qualities that are not named and perhaps unnamable may be considered. In this animal the notable qualities are tough hide, bristly tail; pointed, dense, coarse, long, broad, shaking tiny ears; flatness of forehead, narrowness, the apelike character, broadness of

nostrils; coarse, thick, square teeth; long, jutting out jaw, with which Samson could have killed a thousand Philistines (what do you think, I was going to say, that he could have done it with a complete, real and living ass?).<sup>82</sup> Also from this jaw spouted waters with which peoples, as they wandered, could be refreshed, and many other things about which we spoke elsewhere in the proper book.<sup>83</sup> The ass has as well thick lips adorned with very tough and fine hair, a vehement voice that terrifies, scatters, overcomes giants, that is the princes and wise of the world (who have rebelled against the gods)<sup>84</sup>. Therefore not undeservedly it is permitted to astronomers to contemplate the enclosure with asses' colts in the constellation of Cancer, so that we can also understand that the gods are by no means ungrateful, as they have been liberated by that support. Therefore, standing very close to the ass are Victory, Triumph, Honor, Glory, Majesty, and many (no, perhaps even all are absent) from Jove's court, except that along with supreme majesty Exhaustion is joined, as well as Humility and Abjection, and, because of peoples' obsequiousness and certainly our domestic happiness, triumphant Vileness of all Vileness and Ignorance.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps so that from this the giants<sup>86</sup> might recognize him, no matter how confused, overcome and subdued they might be by the counterfeit. Therefore next to him are (so that I can be brief about this) silly Hebetude,<sup>87</sup> stony Gravity, leaden Obtuseness, tenebrous Obscurity, misty Deliberation, shady Conception, pitch black Squalor, Getic Frigidity,<sup>88</sup> Syrian Stupidity,<sup>89</sup> stolid Slowness, rude Tardiness, listless Idleness, inert Torpidity, supine Dullness, slothful Acedia, reluctant Relaxation.

¶ Disgraceful Braying, gaping of the Nose, hanging Lippiness, pecorine Slowness, hoarse Vociferation, rough Bellowing, sterile Monstrousness, mudsmeared Hebetude, rural Disagreeability, unhappy Prodigiousness, fourfooted Shamefulness, astonished Eye, huge brainless Head, Chest without a heart,

Soul without sense, shorn Reason, circumcised Fancy, empty Property. These from the Pædotribe stand nearby: in a circle there are wandering Roaming, falling Deviation, raving Delirium, Lapse wandering off, hallucinating Credulity, sleeping Vision, unpleasant Mockery, ambiguous Delight, impinging Error, deflecting Perdition, fanatic Perplexitude, pack saddled Rashness, backward Evasion—

**"Marks that signify ways countless in their error"<sup>90</sup>**

Mercury is served by busy Perseus with an image of a boy who issues on winged feet from palaces underground. Then by an image of] a man who holds Medusa's head in his left hand, while in his right he clasps a curved sword.<sup>91</sup> However, from the drops of blood which fall from the sliced off head very poisonous serpents are born. Afterwards follows a most versatile hero with a certain mien (Ulysses, I think) in a merchant's get-up who carries a distaff and other equipment for women and cooking utensils. However, amid all these things he also is carrying a bow, quiver and sword, and has many young girls around him.

There also is present a German Mercury<sup>92</sup> that you may recognize as such by his get-up. Two hawks draw his chariot in which the two astrological signs attributed to him have been sculpted. He holds a winged sceptre, with two intertwined serpents in his right hand, and in his left a roll of papyrus. Atop his helmet he carries the image of a winged dragon because of its skilled vigilance (I believe). He refers to the Swabians, by no means the least clever of the Germans,<sup>93</sup> but for everybody then from Mercury's left he refers to the blatherer, the compulsive talker, the garrulous, and the sophist. However, from his right hand thriving rhetoric, polished eloquence, shrewd persuasion, and well-spoken literature are more to be celebrated.

MERCURY<sup>94</sup>

1591 version



Tocco's version

## Book Two, Chapter Seven

### *Pallas' image or Minerva's*

Over Mars and Mercury's right Pallas streams down. Her images are:

¶ First, a great hero seizing and swallowing a pregnant woman, whose head thereupon seems to have swollen astonishingly.<sup>1</sup>

¶ Second, a crippled old man who snatches with a giant axe a most lovely girl from the brain of the split open head of one king.

¶ Third, a young girl of heroic aspect who holds a spear in her right hand, at whose feet two dragons are intertwined. However, in her left hand she carries a shield shaped in the likeness of goat over her throat and chest.<sup>2</sup>

#### PALLAS' ASSISTANTS

¶ Since she was born from Jove's brain, a far more difficult fate than if she had been born from a mother without a father, certainly she bears the majesty of privileged divinity. Therefore around her stand first, express Clarity, emphatic Perspicuity, thorough Elucidation, renowned Fame, illuminating Example, marked Expression, approved Demonstration, enucleated Evidence, penetrating Declaration, ceaseless Flow, flowing Manifestation, prompt Explanation, confessed Publicization, extremely

## Chapter Seven

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clear Detection, divulged public Exploration, Lack of Doubt becoming known, and obvious Certitude. The sun's brightness is there placed in the middle. There are Certain, Ratified, Firm, Healthy, Adage, Proverb, Paræmia,<sup>3</sup> Pole,<sup>4</sup> trusty Middle, Hercules, Castor, likewise Matter, Status, Variety, Candor, Sincerity. Over all of them Sense, Reason, Intellect and Mind have influence according to genus and species.

¶ From thence proceed Opinionable, Phantasiabable, Imaginable, Consonant, Verisimilar, Apparent, Credited, Accustomed, Received by the Public, A certain View of Speaking.

¶ However, these shun her by a good stretch: Adulation, Assentation, Coaxing, Gentle Handling, Caressing, Versatility, and some from Mercury's Court, most of all Fable, Figment, Comment, Fiction, Humor, Delirium, Nonsense.<sup>5</sup>

Then these flee her: Pit, Abyss, huge Abyss, Steep Chasm, perplexed Obscurity, beaded Knottiness, concealing Smokiness, shadowy Blindness, bloodless Inanity, torturous Flightiness, covert Convolution, blocking off Veiling, recondite Opacity, mysterious Pretext, spiny Deformation, doubtful Suspense, nodding Agreement, labyrinthine Multiformity, inexpert Circumspection, the Arcadian Herd.<sup>6</sup>

#### PALLAS' HANDMAIDENS

¶ Marvelous is the beauty of her handmaidens (whom I now go over rapidly to review according to my strength). They are Speculation, Contemplation, Ingenuity, Inquiry, Invention, Disposition, Judgement, Memory, Consideration, Meditation, Collection, Comprehension, Discussion, Investigation, Discretion, Expansion, Deliberation, Distinction, Distribution.

**Book Two, Chapter Eight**  
*Image of the Sun or Apollo*

First he appears as a shepherd most handsome in staff and pouch,<sup>1</sup> a young man shining with a radiant face. On the evening of the day he was born Mercury is said to have stolen his cattle. For first he was a herdsman, and previously he had pastured his cattle at Admetus' house.<sup>2</sup> While Apollo was threatening Mercury about returning the cows, Mercury stole Apollo's quiver from him while Apollo was menacing him. This is why as a second image we encounter Apollo smiling, quiver- and bow-less. Third, we see Apollo as an archer shooting a wolf; round about him a crow flies. Fourth,<sup>3</sup> we see him as a young man and most handsome cithara player, into whose hair cicadas have been in-woven. In front of him a boy is being torn apart by dogs. Fourth, we see him as a young prophetess over a tripod,<sup>4</sup> and, above that, the image of a dragon. Nearby is a vase full of ashes under a juniper tree,<sup>5</sup> and a naked teenage boy playing a tortoise shell harp and crowned with laurel. Fifth, we see him as someone in a philosopher's outfit who is laughing hard,<sup>6</sup> squeezing blood from shredded birds, mixing and offering the drink of divination, I believe. Sixth as a sow who has given birth to a dozen little porkers, one of which is black, three white and the rest different colors. Around her two diviners stand.

The last image is not a familiar one.<sup>7</sup> A bearded and helmeted man rides a lion. Around his helmet there is a crown of gold, which also has a radiant linen hood, with a long tail, stretching back behind him. On top of his helmet there is a huge

rooster conspicuous because of his triple cockade, highly decorated in different colors. He is preceded by a very elegant matron with a royal scepter. His court is made up of men, who all have surging bodies with, as it were, the hugeness of giants, who have a pale complexion, yet with ruddiness expressed in their cheeks. Around them it is possible to see lightning flashes. They are beneficial and benevolent; they make presents of gold, carbuncled gems and precious stones.

ATTENDANTS

¶ Around him stand, first, Possession, Ownership, wealthy Opulence, rich Resource, transported Treasure, abundant Heaps of Wealth, overflowing Abundance, heaped up Riches, golden Substance, munificent Magnificence, magnificent Sumptuousness, refined Connoisseurship, royal Delights, fecund Feracity, sagacious<sup>8</sup> Fertility, suntanned Uberity, ample Sufficiency, fat Fructifying, broad Irrigation, apple producing Cultivation, odorous Fragrance.

¶ Secondly, standing next to him are Herd, Flock, Farm, Home, Garden, Vineyard, Orchard, Ceres, Bacchus, Pomona, Vertumnus,<sup>9</sup> Property in Cattle, Ownership, Inheritance, Gift, Present, Honorarium with his species, Dowry, Wife's separate Property, Augmentation, Largesse, Reward, Payment, Repayment. Then come Tribute, Toll, Tax, Salary, Tithe, First Fruits, Offering, Stipend, Recompense, Compensation, Exchange, Dispensation, Dissolving, Gratification, Response, Return, Benefit with his species, Revenue, Allowance. Along with them are Liberality, Profusion, Largesse, Munificence, Productiveness, Fullness and reinforced Instruction. Likewise there are Paying out, Disbursing Gifts, Distributing Presents, Sharing, Supplying, Dispensing, Permitting, Indulging, Maintaining, Gift giving, Offering, Conducting to



the Altar, Accumulation, Increase, Stuffing, Heaping up, Filling up, Repletion, Completion, Swallowing up, Excess, Superabundance, Use, Fruit.<sup>10</sup> Along with them are the image of favor, the tree of protection<sup>11</sup> that kindly provides shade and both turns its shadow bringing hair green and spreads branches far and wide, that protects countless flocks and herds down below and shelters all day long in its branches, however, birds of every tribe.

There appears crowned a very fat man,<sup>12</sup> potbellied, who walks as if with difficult breathing. As it were, he has a triple chin (three dewlaps really) which does not permit his head to lie flat against his stomach. Two servants on tiny mules support him with interlocked arms as he walks. Round about him are supine Softness, greedy Turgidity, flat Gravity, rampant Tumidity, devouring Wickedness, bold Misery, pendulous Capacity, gusty Avidity, gravid Vastness, turgid Profusion, fleshy Indolence, indolent Voraciousness.

In front of him there is a golden cup, bejewelled, either Cyprian or Corinthian ware, of huge capacity. There is an able cupbearer who brings it to his mouth.

#### STATUE OF FORTUNE, THE FATES AND PLUTO<sup>13</sup>

Here they have constructed a statue of Fortune which is worthy of adoration. Her they call the mistress of affairs, who is not blind but sees very clearly and for very great distances; she even has eyes in the back of her head. Interpreters of all languages serve her. She has a hundred arms, and turns a hundred wheels both large and small at one stroke. Each of them seems to be moved in velocity according to the different ratios of its size by the others.

In her left hand she holds a ball; however, in her right hand is an urn of destiny.<sup>14</sup> Next to her stands a little boy with handsome curly hair, whose dress is black in the middle on one side and is full of stars, and in the middle on the other side it is white and blunts the eyes' gaze with very polished luster. He has his eyes bound with little bands. Some rolls of paper which he has extracted from a group of paper rolls he places in the goddess's left hand; others, however, he puts in her right. But behind the goddess there is a woman who, on one side, seems old and pale, yet on the other appears to be a young black girl of very lovely aspect. On the former side there is a hand lifting up a torch of fire; however, on the latter there is a hand offering a silver pitcher of water. A man at a distance who limps on either foot sometimes follows her, sometimes precedes her, yet he is also winged (Pluto he is, I think).<sup>15</sup> He pursues Fortuna and runs after her on his feet when he follows. But when she flees, he relies on the very swift function of his wings.

To see them it is necessary to sojourn in Apollo's house, but yet they seem more domestic residents of Tellus.<sup>16</sup> Therefore in status they are part of the Sun's house; however, because they are alive they are part of hers.

#### BACCHUS JOURNEYS TO THE COURTS OF THE SUN, JOVE AND CERES<sup>17</sup>

¶ Between the image of Fortune and the Sun's chariot someone most famed for his marvelous beauty plays and leaps about. He is remarkable, between boyhood and adolescence, but he also appears drunk and horned, seductive with a rosy color, but along with that he is fickle. It happens that he sometimes seems savagely bold, immodestly lewd, and at times threatens with a



choleric aspect; he swings in his right hand a thyrsus after the manner of the Bacchantes.<sup>18</sup> He is crowned with ivy and elm. A leopardess (whom he is in the habit of riding when he is wearied of bacchanting) follows him.

### Book Two, Chapter Eight, Part Two<sup>1</sup> *The image of Æsculapius and Chiron*

The court of Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, follows. His first image is a woman slain by an arrow-packing young girl; and arranged on a funeral pyre. From her womb a young man with a caduceus pulls an infant. The second image is a white female goat, and, next to her, the watch dog of the same flock, who guards the goat and the infant. From his head flame darts, and round his head a little horn is flying. Third is the Centaur, that is a human being on the upper half and a horse on the lower. He holds a rod in his hand, and a boy offers flowers in his presence; next to him there is a cithara. Fourth there is a man notably bearded leaning on a staff, around which a serpent has visibly wrapped itself. Fifth is an old man struck down by a thunderbolt flashing from the sky, who, by breathing into a tube inserted into the boy's mouth, had revived a teenage boy who had been savaged by a caning. Sixth is an old man in philosopher's garb sacrificing a rooster to Æsculapius.<sup>2</sup>

#### ATTENDANTS OF ÆSCULAPIUS

¶ Next to him stand healing Health, longed-for Cure, pleasant Healthiness, desired Remedy, recreational Suavity, salutary Grace, efficacious Application, Rule of Life, Reason overcome, safe Preservation saved, relieving Refreshment, Expulsion of Disease, Elimination of Weakness, Soothing of Ache, Killing of Pain; soothing, salving Drug; strengthening Treatment, Pæonian

Assistance,<sup>3</sup> Machaonian Support, Effect of the Antidote, Expulsion of the Poison. Likewise there are mature Perspicacity, watchful Circumspection, careful Competence, reliable Experimentation, easy Judgement, safe Regimen. Then there are also vigorous Sanity, sound Valetude, incorruptible Safety, lusty Liveliness, all powerful Salubrity, helpful Aid, Help, Support, Relief, Succor, fortunate Fitness, seconding Felicity, strong Safety, well Salubrity, sweet Agreeableness, honey sweet Condition, and many others from Jove's court,<sup>4</sup> to whom should be added joyful Prosperity, easy Lot, serene Countenance, smiling Joy, Ship proceeding on its own Wind, favorable Breeze, lucky Address, applauding Ovation, exultant jubilation, serene Joyfulness, Exultation frolicking about, jocund Gesture, Unclouding of the Brow, sweet Perfusion, calm Agitation, solemn Alacrity.

#### SHUNNERS OF ÆSCULAPIUS

¶ He is shunned then by loathesome Hardness, squalid Solicitude, hateful Sorrow, ironclad Envy, profane Moroseness, shadowy Inaccessibility, Stygian Squalor,<sup>5</sup> and many from Saturn's court [such as] delirious Mindlessness, bloodless Vigilance, doubtful Languor, terrible Fear, terrifying Consternation, anxious Melancholy, astonished Reason, Stupor of the Heart, piercing Palpitation, savage Circumvention of the Spirit, morbid Gravity, acute Pestilence, lazy Tenaciousness, indecent Impatience, Attrition of the Body, bitter Quarrel, insistent Weakness, infecting Rot, Affliction lying down resting, consuming Defect, chewing Devouring, fatiguing Weakness, afflicting Toil, filthy Executioner, mournful Precipitousness, deadly Fatality, grief-stricken Worry, painful Annoyance, hard Pallor, avid Squalor, Charon's rusty Launch, Tænarian Unpleasantness, disagreeable Terror, and unpraised Fatigue.

#### Book Two, Chapter Nine *Image of Circe*<sup>1</sup>

¶ There appears a lovely young woman, from whose face there emanate, as it were, rays from the stars' brightness; her dress is marked with seven colors with a varying order of gems and stones. On the prow of her chariot which dragons draw there is a likeness of Death. In her left hand she holds aconite, verberna and other poisonous herbs; in her left hand she holds a jar full of roots of various sorts; on her lap, however, there are lots of flowers and leaves. In the middle of her chariot there is an image of Safety along with those who stand beside Æsculapius.<sup>2</sup> On her chariot's sides there are two Nereids<sup>3</sup> who gather herbs and stones from the waters, and there are two remaining nymphs who collect them from mountains and rivers. Different sorts of living beings, which are thought to have been produced by her from the human species follow her chariot. Nearby at the right of her seat is her most potent wand, with which she is said to touch those she is going to transform. Next to that is a drug containing a pharmaceutical mixture.

**Book Two, Chapter Ten**  
*Image of Arion and Orpheus<sup>1</sup>*

¶ Next follows a young man wearing a crown woven partly of myrtle and partly of laurel, who has his head ringed with berries. He is handsome. In front of him in the image of Jove there stands a likeness of a satyr that is to be worshipped. To it he seems to sing odes while he moves his fingers over a cithara. Around him are various sorts of wild animals and birds as appear facing towards his voice and music. From on high to him Mercury appears to descend bearing a lyre in his hand.

¶ Next to him appears Orpheus, the handsomest of youths, in just about the same outfit. While he sings, not only animate beings, and among them leopards, tigers, dragons and lynxes, but also plants and rocks and the winds seem to be drawn to him. He is followed by an image of the blackest king on a throne made of stone or steel (I don't know which) but which is wonderfully polished to the likeness of a very shiny mirror.<sup>2</sup> This king for a staff holds a harpoon with a twin barb in his right hand, while in his left he has a sphere, which is of the same material as this throne. In his presence an image like the one described nearby is grabbing up a most lovely girl with his hand.<sup>3</sup> Third, in the same rank, again there follows an image of Orpheus between two of the handsomest naked male twins; he catches some sleep amid the flowers and plants with his cithara put aside. From a distance bacchantes women who are holding thyrsuses<sup>4</sup> in their hands watch him. Next to him stand Solace, Gentleness, Soothing, Relief, Alleviation, Flight of Worry, Diminishing of Sorrow, Forgetting of Care, and masculine Beauty.

GRIEF SHUNS ARION AND ORPHEUS

An image from Saturn's court: Grief, Lament, Weeping, Crying, Plangor, Lamentation, Groaning, Shrieking, Sobbing, who wearing a torn, bloody mantle, mars his cheeks with a steady rain of streaming tears, scores his face with violent nails, pulls hair from beard and head, rips the shirt off his chest, throws ash and dust on his head, inflames heaven with his sighs, and wounds it with his cries, and, limply rolling here and there upon the ground, tears open his face. With him are sad and disgusting ghosts: unlucky Darkness, joyless Squalor, savage Tenacity, impious Ferocity, and just about the whole of Saturn's court.

## Book Two, Chapter Eleven

### *Image of the Sun<sup>1</sup>*

The Sun's image (who is called the eye of the world, lamp, watchful custodian father, sower and servant) is one eye that looks in all directions, looking and permitting us to look everywhere as if we were one head, one globe, a complete eye; a lofty, physical image of God that with one simple act sees past, present and future. From Him round about in all directions radiate light, heat and the look of tranquillity. Along with them come Generation, Life, Conservation, Multiplication, Propagation, Formation, Purification, Perfection, Maturation, Paternity, nourishing Preservation, Moderation of the Author, Glory of the Universe, Image of Great Providence, Key of Things, and Hand of Nature. His chariot is drawn by two horses one of which, Lamp, is the one who on the right hand grants us the day. The other horse is Phaethon, they say, who from the west is for us as for the infernal world.<sup>2</sup> Next to the Sun stand the Horai,<sup>3</sup> who are said to watch over his cattle and herds. Some of their names are considered Greek: Eunomia, Dices, Thallo,<sup>4</sup> Carpo,<sup>5</sup> and Irene.<sup>6</sup> Many others are not revealed. However, for a complete listing these are considered the barbarian names (I don't know if these names stem from the Chaldeans).<sup>7</sup> The twelve white Horai are Iayn, 2., Ianor, 3. Nasnia, 4. Salla, 5. Sadellali, 6. Thamur, 7. Oveer, 8. Tanio, 9. Neron, 10. Iacon, 11. Abay, and 12. Natalo. There are also twelve black Horai, the first of whom is Peron, 2. Boro, 3. Tanu, 4. Atir, 5. Mathon, 6. Rana,

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7. Netos, 8. Tafrac, 9. Sassur, 10. Aglo, 11. Calerna, and 12. Salaam. The first, the white Horai, are said to prepare his chariot for him for our hemisphere the northern one, the second group of black Horai for the other the southern. However, what the white Horai are for us, the black ones are for the others. Those that appear black to us appear to others as if they were white. Around the chariot's tongue is a lion, and in front of him a rooster perches.

¶ Next to them stand (unless the Horai stand more closely than they) Time, Duration, Eternity, Perpetuity, Perennality, Lifetime, Unceasingness, Rising, Setting, Noon; Midnight with its collaterals Day, Week, Month, Year, next to its own genus and species; likewise Night, Day, Early, Late with their collaterals, likewise Present, Past, Future; and furthermore there are Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely and Before, Meanwhile, At the same Time, Afterwards, In the Beginning, In the Middle, In the End, While, Until, Formerly, Just Now, A Little While Ago, Now, Precisely, Maturity, Instant, Impending, Neighboring, Faraway, Hurriedly, Right Away, Without Delay, Soon, Continuously, Immediately, Directly, Speedily, Very Quickly, Momentarily, Forthwith, Instantly, and Straightaway. Along with them are Celerity, Rapidity, Hastening, Running, Speed, Delay, Procrastination, Cunctation, Drawing things out, Deferring, Postponing, Suspending, Reserving Judgement, Putting off till a later date, Slowness, and Sluggishness with other bystanders from Saturn's court, such as Tardiness, Expectation, Forbearance, Delay, Pause, Durability, Opportunity, Importunity, Winter, Summer, Fall, Ides,<sup>8</sup> Kalends, Nones, Olympiads and Ferial Days according to the genus Festa,<sup>9</sup> and black and bright, lucky and unlucky Intermissions. They are assisted by Birth, Babyhood, Childhood, Adolescence, Youth, Manhood, Old Age, and Decrepitude.

¶ They are different to different people, just as their parent Sun grows harsh to some but soft towards others, even so are they themselves slow- and soft-footed to certain people; to others, however, they are most swift, their feet light as air. Through the



houses of Saturn, I say they are slow, but in the atriums of Mercury and Venus they are found to be harsh in hope and swift in deed. Each one seems to hold a key in his hand since they are considered to be the same in number as heaven's gates and as many as the genera of winds and storms.

# IMAGE OF IRIS<sup>10</sup>

¶ There is present a young girl with swift approach in the shape of a Harpy, who they say makes Juno's bed and is her most trusty messenger. In her left hand she holds a basin of water, but in her right is a small drinking straw, with which when it is applied to her mouth she draws waters from the river. She also holds an asperger behind her in the same way that lustrating priests do.<sup>11</sup> Unlike her other sisters she does not have a girlish head but a cow's. Next to her stand the white Horai, while the black ones shun her by a good distance. However when, sometimes, Lucina<sup>12</sup> is around and comes to be very close to her brother in his orbit, she runs to him, but that happens only rarely.<sup>13</sup>

There is also present the image of the Germanic Sun<sup>14</sup> His hair is cut off around his forehead in a circle and almost touches his eyebrows. Because of this we perceive him as violent for the most part and not at all rejoicing or with a very serene brow. He admits many courtiers for this reason from Saturn's court. Why is he crowned with a royal diadem I do not know. Customarily he is usually wreathed only in rays, and there is a quiver hanging strapped over his shoulders. With majestic height he rises up as a naked young man; then as a morose and very old man he sits bundled up in a doubly folded garment. Considering the chilliness of his climate, the sun's describer<sup>15</sup> has certainly a provident reason for describing the sun so wrapped up.

# SOL (GERMANIC SUN)

1591 version



Tocco's version



**Book Two, Chapter Twelve**  
*Images of the Moon<sup>1</sup>*

Next ensues the moon's first image, a very lovely maiden sitting on a chariot, which is made of ebony covered for the most part with laminate silver, and is drawn by a black bullock and a white heifer. Sometimes she wears white clothing, at other times black, and at still other moments clothing composed more of white than black and vice versa. She has horns on her forehead. When they wax she wears black, and when they wane she puts on white.

¶ The second image is a handsome shepherd<sup>2</sup> who is resting under a beech tree.<sup>3</sup> To him as he evokes her a nude and sparkling girl with a bow and quiver descends.

¶ The third image is a half goat man<sup>4</sup> (whom a ram follows), who dashes forward bearing the brightest wool as a gift for the goddess.

¶ The fourth image is a young woman in hunting dress who performs midwifery. Other young women and female pages attend her; removing their cinctures, they cast them at her feet.<sup>5</sup>

¶ The fifth image is a naked girl, whom a leopard with a lion precedes.

¶ The sixth image is an unfamiliar man crowned with a gold diadem, who rides a fallow deer. He is dressed in green garments variegated with ornaments of silver. A boy is going in front of him, who walks between twin geese holding an arrow in his right hand, while his left hand, which he holds out from his

chest, is empty. A woman follows him covered with gleaming muslin, spangled with droplets of gold. All around a cloud is raining, under which her assembly grows damp and gross as if wearing the face of gross scrapers of the string<sup>6</sup> and baldies, and making the swinish grimaces of the ugly, whose complexion is dark grey or as if of intense fog. With disordered step they leap about.

ATTENDANTS OF LUNA

¶ Next to her stand nocturnal Silence, starry Crown, silvery Gleam, rosy Calm, tawny Pallor, bronze Tawniness, pinkening Mist, divided Half-Shapefulness, shadowy Joy, murky Mutability, golden yellow Brightness, bright Gold yellowness, roaming Swift-ness of Flight, ranging Speed, aging Start, renewing Eldage, restless Inconstancy, and shifting Instability. Then there are End with its species, extreme Ruin, final Term, Hinge, Closing of age, weary Era, Barring of Light, furthest Line, Removal, Ruin, Destruction, and those mentioned above in Saturn's court and especially in Death's hand, Goalstone, Terminus, Coronis,<sup>7</sup> End post, and Turning point. Along with them are Abrogation, Sublation, Abolition, Antiquation, Abdication, Extinction, Rescission, Disappearance, Obsolescence, Desuetude, Rending, Repeal, and Van-ity. To them are added Extrusion, Ejection, Evulsion, Extirpation, Aversion,<sup>8</sup> Depulsion, Explosion, Exsibilant, Viduation, Elimination, Cassation, Defunction, Succession, Decussion, Exspoliation, Precipitation, Devolution, Sequestration, Seposition, Profligation, Abalienation, Exile, Proscription, Genocide, Casting out, Banish-ment, Tempest, Hurricane, Noise, Tumult, Stirring up, Disturb-ing, Attacking, Fanning, Crashing, Aggrieving, Flux, and Reflux.

## THOSE WHO STAND OPPOSITE TO LUNA'S COURT

¶ Opposite are those in the image of Mountain, Rock, Cliff, Hardwood Tree, Oak, Scarlet Oak; of the aged, the sylvan, the long-leaved, the lofty trees; there stand adhering Imprint, Strength, curved Endurance, indissoluble Knottiness, Impenetrability, firm Resolve, involved Tenacity, strict Firmness, bronze Jointure, Lemnian Distortion,<sup>9</sup> Adamant, Vulcanium, chained Ligature, muscular Cables, persevering Constancy, Endurance, Permanence, Firmness, Immobility and the contraries of way and Mercury's chariot, Fate, Parca,<sup>10</sup> Nature, and God.

¶ Next to Constancy, Duration, Steadfastness, Restraint, Permanency, Continence and Delay are added Confinement, Barrier, Bar, Obstacle, Hindrance, Reining in, Holding back, Chain, Clasp, Curbing, Watching over, Fencing in, Guarding, Occupying, Slowing down, Involving, Holding on, Closing off, Girdling, Coercing, Checking, Reins and a certain number from those who stand around Jove, who now and then might also have these as familiars, along with bright Integrity, simple Sincerity, bronze Inflexibility, unbroken Rigidity, solid Asperity, Marpessian Marble,<sup>11</sup> and those from the opposites of Mercury's court who stand opposed to Motion, Change and Inconstancy.

## ATTENDANTS OF THE WAXING LUNA

¶ Along with size and increase around Luna stand Growth, Amplification, Swelling, Maturing, Expanding, Reaching out,

Rising up, Flowing forth, Production, Saturation, Filling full, Filling out, Plurality, Excess, along with those who have been recounted among Sol's and Apollo's possessions,<sup>12</sup> Sea, Main, Chaos, Abyss, Orcus, the Deep, with Excellence, Superiority, Distinctiveness, peak Choiceness, Intemperance, Enormity, Vastness, Hugeness, Voluminousness, Greatness, and Exhaustion in greater measure. There the form is of a big, savage Giant swollen in mass, and a monster, violent beyond limit, that fights against the gods.

¶ Along with them among their number are Heaping up, Accumulating, Piling high, Adding, Casting up, Annexing, and Acceding. There are Cohorts, Columns, Bands, Wedges, Legions, Phalanxes, Myriads, Armies, bristling Forests, woodland Fastnesses, sylvan Variety, Entirety, Straightforwardness, Inwardness and Multiplication everywhere.

## ATTENDANTS OF THE WANING AND CHANGING LUNA

¶ As the archetype of Luna waning and changing there is that which in turn is designated for the shifting moon as Vulgus.<sup>13</sup> Around it dwell Ignobility, Lack of refinement, Culturelessness, Fallacy, reckless Stolidity, inert Uncertainty, uncowed Misery, unlearned Malignity, profane Dementia, coarse Mobility, headlong Ambiguity, astonished Fearlessness, gnawing Iniquity, iniquitous Biliousness, weak Clamorousness, helpless Futility, unstable Loquacity, manifold Boldness, empty Levity, sluggish Confusion, untamed Inconstancy, barking Imprudence, heavy Rugosity, cracked Rawness, bristling Austerity, unkempt Tastelessness, unadvised Herd, stolid Crowd, wicked Infidelity, lowest Beast, many headed Creature without a Name, World of Trivia, One who disdains the obvious, He who seizes the fugitive, Neglects what he has, and Desires what he does not have.

¶ There are the Cheapness of seaweed,<sup>14</sup> thankless Contempt, dishonorable Indignity, ugly Story, spurned Condition, contemptible Lot, faint hearted Weakness, feeble Distress, stooped Disappointment, broken Humility, subdued Subjection, submissive Dejection, spurious Bridling, Despite, Despondency, Maniple,<sup>15</sup> and worthless Recanter.<sup>16</sup>

¶ By defect of voice, Muttering, Murmuring, Whispering, Stuttering and those opposite Mercury the speaker come.

¶ By defect of the extelligence,<sup>17</sup> there come youthful Foolishness, poor Sensing, rioting Impotence, tasteless Silliness, Delirium, Frenzy, dried up Mind, torrid Imagination, emoting Reason, limping Fantasy, Memory a shattered Vase, and gaping Reminiscence.

¶ By lack of arts there come Ignorance wandering the Byways, alphabetic and rigid Poverty of the Mind, clothed in black, Cyclopic Senselessness,<sup>18</sup> and crazed Carousal.

¶ From lack of strength come Gracility,<sup>19</sup> Tenuity, Weakness, Defect, Enervation, Softness, female Languor, Gabineness weak in the loins,<sup>20</sup> and others from sick Saturn's court.

¶ From lack of evidence come Argument, Charge, Sign, Figure, Document, Example, Type, Acuteness, Miraculousness, Divination, Prodigy, and Prophecy.

¶ In Germany I came upon this not inappropriate illustration.<sup>21</sup> Two young women draw a chariot that stands on the clouds. Its tongue pole is in the image of a long-eared dragon, but next its tail has been twisted back to form a ship's stern in such a way that the dragon's hollowed back forms the chariot's hull. Certainly it is the apposite image of something to be signified. The two young women who draw the chariot represent the abandoning of business. The dragon represents the vigilance of the nocturnal goddess who conducts business successfully and who travels the road.<sup>22</sup> The dragon has large ears because during that time<sup>23</sup> this sense of hearing is more absolute in matters requiring vigilance. The cloud stands for that season's dewy

cast; the crab for damp life forms' fertility; the arrow in the goddess's right hand for the penetrating power of the night chill. The young women are double because the night by herself is unfit for generation.<sup>24</sup>

LUNA

1591 version



Tocco's version

Book Two, Chapter Thirteen  
*Images of Venus*<sup>1</sup>

Let us include the delight which is seized from the contemplation of the seven courts by viewing the goddess's image. Venus's first image is a girl emerging from the sea's foam,<sup>2</sup> who, as she nears dry land, wipes off the sea's wetness with her tiny hands.

¶ Secondly she is seen as the naked girl herself whom the Hours<sup>3</sup> cover in robes, and whose head they crown with greening flowers.

¶ Third as the girl who is moving forward, in whose footprint lilies, roses and violets are born. The cestus<sup>4</sup> is her accoutrement. In it are believed to exist the sorceries of all fascinations from face, words, and gesture. She is followed by a prophetic maiden who carries a willow rod.<sup>5</sup>

¶ Fourth she is associated with a chariot that gleams handsomely, which seems formed of amber. The loveliest swans, peaceful, amiable doves, and oversexed pigeons take turns conveying it; although there is something alive, an in-dwelling spirit of all chariots which belong to the gods,<sup>6</sup> this chariot alone is hurried along by a swift and spontaneous inner force.

¶ Fifth as a most august queen heading a triumphant procession.<sup>7</sup> In her right hand she holds a scepter, at the top of which there is an image of the Sun, while in her left she holds a globe which bears the shape of the universe and is etched with stars, in the middle of which in liquid transparency Tellus appears enclosed in her proper adornments. Every genus of the living seems to applaud her, as she is a most pleasant divinity to all. In her chariot

there is a trophy tosee, in which she testified as well that she was victorious over the Parcae.<sup>8</sup>

¶ Sixth, she is seen as the statue of a very lovely woman, over whose head there was the firmament. She holds a poppy in her right hand and a pomegranate in her left.<sup>9</sup>

¶ Seventh she is associated with three heroic women notable more for their human beauty who stand beside a shepherd who holds a golden apple in his hand.<sup>10</sup>

¶ Eighth she is associated with a young man slain by a boar, who is buried by Venus among the lettuces.<sup>11</sup>

¶ Ninth she is associated with a naked boy who is highly remarkable for his quiver and bow.<sup>12</sup> From all of his body sparking rays are followed by a temperament brought about by willing sweetness. He is so uniform that, according to each person's complexion,<sup>13</sup> nature and appearance he is various in his unity and in displaying all forms. In fact we as men are deceived by a man's shape, when it alone is presented to us as we think. And so, simultaneously with his arrows, he pierces all the species of nature according to their appearance in conformity to his likeness; he inflames with his heat and obliges with his chains.

¶ The final image, less familiar, is a man of majestic presence crowned seated on a camel, with mildest mien, dressed in a robe that displays the colors of just about every flower, drawing alongside himself on the right a naked girl as he moves with a very heavy and venerable tread; girls perform a festive chorus and ritual dance in a circle; from the western region, with Zephyr's blessing, comes Venus's court with every form of delight.<sup>14</sup>

ATTENDANTS OF VENUS

¶ Those who assist her: I. Sweet Unanimity, peaceful Agreement, gentle Will, Union of Hearts, Joy of the Breast,



Increase of the Small, and concordant Conformity. Likewise, in the image of a garden, pleasant Watering, enfolded Conjoining, fertile Gentleness, fruitbearing Cultivation, flourishing Return, rosy Picture, breathing, expiring Fragrance, delicious Joy, golden Persuasion, lazy Happiness, sacred Friendship, soft Sincerity, harmless Geniality, Nurture of Things, Muscle of Arts, Calming of Controversies, Increase of Religions, Elimination of hatreds, Removal of Grudges, Anathema of Quarrels,<sup>15</sup> exceedingly polished Decor, artificial Modesty, careful Simplicity, and erudite Ornament.

II. ¶ Also there are gleaming Charm, honey sweet Agreement, coruscating Ardor, starry Purple, peaceful Illumination, relaxing Good Humor, wanton Ease, flagrant Caresses, flamboyant Boldness, sportive Ardor, watchful Sequacity, sparkling Brightness, rosy Candor, lewd Serenity, a smile's Pleasantry, a glance's Power, shining Beauty, sparkling Insight, pleasant Wittiness, the Good Nature of a Face, eyes' Gleam, mouth's Miracles, and the ineffable attributes of all the limbs.

III. ¶ Here are Tripudium,<sup>16</sup> Dance, leaping Chorus and those that stand around the Sun's sons and Jove's court. Along with them are placid Nimbleness, light Agility, ludicrous Plausibility, Beating on the Ground, Infolding of the Hands, numbered rhythmic Motion, Body's Balance, and Description of the Eyes.

IV. ¶ In the same place Youth shines, along with libidinous Softness, fragile Sloth, unwarlike Tenderness, ardent Unbridledness, swift Desire, fiery Docility, clever Blindness, docile Audacity, beardless Beauty, unshaven Glow, blossoming Culture, golden Life, green Flower, hot Blood.

V. ¶ A maiden enters. Present, along with her, as companions are lovely Calmness, incorrupt Purity, unviolated Chastity, undefiled Modesty, modest Face, Casting down of the Eyes, ingenuous Timidity, seductive Eyebrows, pathetic Simplicity, painted Beauty, marriageable Maturity, Eagerness for Marriage, and Appetite for sexual Embrace. Along with them are

Cultivation of the Hair, rosy Ornament, perfumed Refulgence, effusive Perfuming, pendulous Pride, twisted Promise, and Bernice's Perspicuity.<sup>17</sup>

VI. ¶ Love is playing with her,<sup>18</sup> wantonly Fierce, secretly Flagrant, peacefully Social, socially Kind, deceptively Bold, ardently Smiling, sweetly Seductive, privately Thriving, Joining in secret, powerfully Embracing, Wounding deeply, Hugging tightly, Bidding to Fear All Things, Compelling to Dare All, Weeping with Signs, and a Builder who sets snares. Here are Tightening of the Noose, Constriction of the Breast, Fatiguing of Hearts, Throwing of Fires, Kindling of Bones, Flame of Marrows, Bonds, Wounds, Hots, Boilings, Ardors, Flames, Fires, Sinews, Fetters, Chains, Stings, and Arrows. Here everyone is wounded, upset, enchained, seized, swept away, torched, singed, stretched to the breaking point, cooked to a pulp, turned to ashes, melted away. From there triumphant flames creep imperceptibly.

VII. ¶ Spring there is flowering, greening, full of buds and colors, now by virtue of radiant Apollo and from the bull horns of him<sup>19</sup> who charms sky and earth in these precincts with Zephyr's pleasant breath, which blunts, softens, melts, puts out, dissolves Aquilo's violent angers, and drives him warmed and enflamed to snatch away Orithyia.<sup>20</sup>

¶ Also present are Elaboration of dress, varicolored Striping, glittering Refinement, multi hued Coloration, silken Subtlety, scarlet Delicacy, purple Splendor, ruddy Pride, Tyrian Hew,<sup>21</sup> winestained Drunkenness, Getulan Infection,<sup>22</sup> Coan Luxury,<sup>23</sup> Sidonian Haughtiness,<sup>24</sup> heroic Gesture, barbaric Slavery, remarkable Beauty, Adornment with Scents, dazzling Necklace, Paphian Cloak,<sup>25</sup> Tithonian Star,<sup>26</sup> heavenly Good Looks, Dione's Dove,<sup>27</sup> Cythera's Bird, Chaon's Eagle, Juno's Picture, and Alexander's Grace.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, from the Sun's court, Public Light of the Universe, as Hyperion's Offspring,<sup>29</sup> and Glory of the Stars. From the Moon's court with Leto born splendor<sup>30</sup> are Trivia,<sup>31</sup> The Quivered Girl, Spear-throweress, wild Huntress, sylvan Beauty, and mountain dwelling Handsomeness.



¶ Once again Cupid is there, gently Wild, graciously Sportive, boldly Gracious, the fierce Tickler, sweetly Wounding, ardently Unchaste. Brandishing a flaming torch, he seizes the absent, holds those who are present captive; he attracts those who turn their backs; he embraces everybody.

¶ Hymen<sup>32</sup> follows him, festively got up, singing songs at the marriage chamber, garlanded in laurel and myrtle, making fiery passions shared and returned, uniting spirits, knitting bodies together, he who guards the bedroom doors with a lit torch. Within there are Seduction of Kisses, Sports of Caresses, Hot Breath of Bowed Lips, and Harmonious Joining of Tongues.

¶ Here I see a violator, who penetrates bulwarks that  
For a layman to have touched with profane daring is a sin.  
May Lampsacus be present as guardian and ambusher  
of the Marriage Bed

(If by chance it sleeps) with your eyes;

by caressing the shadows

You carefully weigh the fire whose light, imp, you shun.  
While her feet are calmly raised, you drive home the blow,  
Coming unfairly to wound, you veteran rogue,  
As matrons and young girls alike have experienced it,  
And even the reverence of a hoary bottom has endured it.  
And, wicked one, you scrape around the tiny window,  
When it's not permitted to enter, thus threatening,  
You will certainly return as surveyor

of height and of depth,

During that season when autumn bears ripe grapes.  
You knew how often in many a prayer I implored you  
To submit yourself willingly to laws, just as the feet do,  
And the throat, tongue, hands, eyebrows, eyes and arms,  
Members whose judge, father and teacher's the head.

They lack (so you say) a head, but I'm furnished with one,  
And in my own senses and deep mind I rejoice  
At those things from which mind's and heart's secrets  
can't remain hidden,

Even though the eager tongue, the eager voice express nothing.  
So here's my advice, then, just as I have a head,  
Don't you, proud one, desire to be yours,  
you can become mine.

But yet just by the governance of a so slender keel,  
A ship pregnant with huge weight splits the sea,  
So under my lead in the meanwhile shall  
the head and its member go.<sup>34</sup>

There in the form of a breeze are springtime Air, soft Gentleness,  
mild Calmness, ripe Softness, pleasant Mildness, Favonian Warmth<sup>35</sup>  
generative Temperance, seductive Smile, puffing Merriment,  
bright Health, Hesperian Sipping,<sup>36</sup> Zephyrean Affability,<sup>37</sup> and  
light Whistling.<sup>38</sup>

¶ There are Panchæan Scent,<sup>39</sup> Pharian Perfume,<sup>40</sup>  
Fragrance of Myrrh, Thymbræan Breath,<sup>41</sup> Orontean Smoke,<sup>42</sup>  
Corycean Emission,<sup>43</sup> and nectareal Emanation.

¶ There woodland fauns and leaping satyrs play  
together, with swift Speed, with twohorned Rigidity, with  
petulant Lust, with chorus's joyful Movement, with hornyfooted  
Speed, with fast Joy, in valleys, groves, mountains, woods,  
forests, thickets, from Lycæum,<sup>44</sup> Mænalum, Apeninum,  
Parthenium, Arcadia, with happy, harmless, seductive, festive,  
rejoicing dell nymphs who make gifts of roses, violets, lilies  
picked from tilled gardens, green meadows, thick pastures to  
shepherds and the shepherd's leader.

¶ Here there breathes the Acidalian<sup>45</sup> creatress of tribes,  
and here there are Dionean Fertility<sup>46</sup> Lucrine Beauty, Cnidian

Composition, Aphrodisian Heat, Italian Mildness, Cyrenian Grace, Aegean Ornament, Palatine Elegance and Lucrine Merriment.<sup>47</sup>

#### THE IMAGE OF CUPID

¶ Here, as well, appears Cupid's image, an omniform and multiform something, in which whatever you imagine in the shadowy light you see, whatever you are thinking about occurs, and it happens in the same place, just as from an egg on Zephyr's wings there issues forth a boy of miraculous beauty to God and people alike. He is followed by the image of the Sun, Earth, Moon, and other firstborn, as it were, gods. He holds three keys in his hand, one of steel, the second silver, the third gold.

¶ Secondly a statue of the manifold Cupid created by Arcesilaus<sup>48</sup> is offered for our inspection, where different winged boys lead, influence and tease a lioness.

#### CUPID'S RIGHT HAND

There on his right hand are Harmony of things, Community, Species, Genus, and Univocality.<sup>49</sup> Next to it stand Coitus, Union, Engrafting, Addition, Composing, Conjoining, Love Affair, Adultery, Fornication, Assent, Consent, Conspiracy, Convenience, Concourse, Amity, Necessity, Familiarity, Relationship, Consanguinity, Complacency, Suffrage, Subscription, Adstipulation, Peace, Order, Treaty, Pact, Smile of Approval, Neighing after Love, Confraternity, Society, Sodality, Fellowship, Symphrasis,<sup>50</sup> Aggregation, Collection, Computation, Adnumeration, Connumeration, Coalescence, Charity, and Mutual Agreement. Then stand House,

Neighborhood, Kindred, People, City, Republic, Empire, Monarchy, Universe, and Coordination.

#### CUPID'S LEFT HAND

¶ But on his left side there are Difference, Diaphora,<sup>51</sup> Diastole, Distance, Discrepancy, Diaphragm, Elongation, Presence, Acquaintanceship, Discretion, Taste, Difference, Closing Off, Ripping Apart, Separation, Separateness, *Singill*,<sup>52</sup> Distinction, Distribution, Duplicity, Triplicity, Multiplicity, Variety, Multigeneity, Sundering, Sejunction, Peculiarity, Perseity,<sup>53</sup> Absence, Standing apart, Dissimilitude, Diversity, Change, Otherness, Separation, Acquaintanceship, Determining, and Irregularity.

¶ Then come Disconvenience, Dissidence, Caution, Abstinence, Dividing, Dissolution, Extrication, Deglutination, Disjoining, Loosening, Averting, Abhorring, Refusing, Burdening, Departing, Leading Away, Deviation, Apostasy, Repudiation, Divorce, Proscription, Expulsion, Relegation, Farewell, Leaving Behind, Abandonment, Excess, Decay, Falling Away,<sup>54</sup> Turning Away, Detestation, Abomination, Rescission, Execration, Abrogation, Antiquation, Commotion, Irritation, Disturbance, Schism, Riot, Tumult, Assault, Siege, Combat and Victory. Then follow Disposition, Union, Concordance and consequently Reflection at Cupid's right hand.<sup>55</sup>

#### INFLUENCES OF CUPID

¶ Along with those who stand beside Mercury Cupid appeals by caduceus, winged shoes and eye.<sup>56</sup> With them are the forms of Pleasure, Appetite, Desire, Hunger, Thirst, Throat, Proclivity, Eagerness, Eager Pursuit, Impetus, Burning Passion, Burning, tormenting Care, careworn Breast, affected Ambition,

lofty Expectation, tormenting Leach, unchained Libido, never satisfied Wickedness, excruciating Angst, restless Grief, and others from Saturn's court: lecherous Choice, systematic Gluttony, tenacious Ordinance, eager Voluptuousness, Tantalean Thirst,<sup>57</sup> dropsical lack of Satisfaction, unchecked Lust, and urgent Desire. They are assisted by deceptive Bait, pert Tinder, suave Instinct, seductive Finery, alluring Intrigue, directing the sails and bringing the ship to berth.

#### APPROACH OF CUPID<sup>58</sup>

¶ Along with those who are from Mercury's bordering court Cupid draws near by rising up, stirring, sailing, Closing in, Running, Sense, Anxiety, Vigilance, when he summons, by inquiry, when he strikes apart, and when he directs. Then he casts Nets, Nooses, Grapples, Hooks, a mighty Searcher, Predator, Snatcher in the image of an eagle with claws and beak. Then there are Hunting, Discovery, Profit, Veiling, Quest, Sorting out by lot, Diminishing, Consequence, Comparison, Conception, Harvest, Fishing, Fanning, Carrying together, Bringing together, Taking away, Scraping together, Deceit, Draining, Robbing, Slander, Excoriation, and Depriving. And there is an approach into the court of Mercury the Thief, the Cutter, the Circumciser, the Mutilator, the Fleecer, the Cutpurse, the night wandering Harpy, the sneaking Seabird, the Man of Three Letters.<sup>59</sup> Also there is a way through the evil gate into the court of the sun who has, who possesses, and who gives.

#### VENUS

1591 version



Tocco's version

**Book Two, Chapter Fourteen**  
*Images of Tellus<sup>1</sup>*

First there presents itself a huge monster with eyes on every side—that is why it is naked—sending off flares of cerulean blue light that is almost hyacinthine in its clarity, with eyebrows flaming like gold which rings its eyes like a gyre, the eyes sparkling marvellously in mid orb. Since it is of such hugeness, it appears something totally ugly. Yet the load in its womb, which is plain to see, is a round and living thing that is coated like a leopard's spotted pelt. Its hair stands straight out everywhere, just like the locks of the forest, the leaves, while the remaining parts of its male body shine in the splendor of the sun.

¶ Secondly there is the majesty of the radiant Apollo, around whom, while he plays his lyre, there run bright nymphs who are varied in the likeness of their beauty; of all of them it is possible to see only one up close, she who leads the dancing chorus, sometimes she draws her eyes into herself, rolls the eyes back into the head so only the whites are visible, so wrapped up is she in her swift speed; sometimes holding herself now with one hand and now with the other, she spins herself round and round in her quick path, stepping almost in her own footprints again and again.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes her hands, while she walks slower, attack each other right in the middle of her lyre, while the other nymphs, some in one way and others in another, appear to bear themselves in the same way as she.<sup>3</sup>

¶ Thirdly there is a queen who is remarkable for her swiftness that is superhuman, and around whose head towers project, arranged in a circle, and whose chariot is drawn by four

lions. Alongside her wagon a virgin stands carrying a drum or a tambourine. She holds a scepter in her right hand, and you don't know how to tell whether it is crystal or the purest silver. At its tip there is the likeness in gold of a bull. But in her right hand, which sticks to her lap, there is a breathing globe of four and twenty mouths. Each of these twenty four hours or mouths appears to have her attendants' keys.<sup>4</sup> And round about there is a court of the arm-bearing priests (they call them Corybants),<sup>5</sup> crowned in the branches of a pine who make a grand roar as they leap with their instruments in the air.

ATTENDANTS OF TELLUS

Nature stands next to Tellus,<sup>6</sup> and Nature's crafter is Tellus. With her are Motherhood, Conception, Gestation, Fertility, Generation, Birth, Nursing, Feeding, Cherishing, all-providing Power, all-establishing Supply, with antecedents,<sup>7</sup> bystanders; and Jove's second crown, which is around Mercury's eye and in the Sun's possession; Childbirth, Midwifery, Nursing, Initiation, Observance, Renewal, Restoration, Elemental Formation, Domination, Movement, Animation, Inspiration,<sup>8</sup> Longevity and those who are in the same court with Longevity, solid Fecundity, Long Hair in meadow and forest, fertile Birth, wide ranging Destruction, starborn Majesty and crystalline Brilliance.

IMAGE OF OCEANUS<sup>9</sup>

¶ Next to her stand many gods, the first of whom is Oceanus, the great godhead, whose head is that of a bull, while the rest of his members are manlike, although cerulean colored. His chariot is completely sprinkled with pearls and roofed all around. Two whales draw it, blowing out salt waves in a great mass from



their mouths. All around it Tritons play,<sup>10</sup> Ino, Melicertes, Glaucus, fish of half human form in their lower region, and Phorcus<sup>11</sup> is riding a seadragon of monstrous body, and there are also Proteus the herder of seals, the two youths of remarkable beauty, Castor and Pollux,<sup>12</sup> Deucalion,<sup>13</sup> and the Asopus River.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE IMAGE OF NEPTUNE

¶ Next comes the image of Neptune. You should not consider him less able than Jove. He has sea blue eyes, skin midway between white and black, a black beard and hair, and he is holding a trident in his right hand, and a conch in his left. A bolt of dark blue muslin is suspended from his neck and hangs in such a way that you can say he is both naked and on fire. His chariot is drawn by four beaked horses that are fish as well in their lower regions. All around appear Scyllas, Charybdises, Cyclopes and countless living beings of strange shape.<sup>15</sup>

#### THE IMAGE OF PLUTO

¶ Next comes Pluto, who rules a third of this world, a black divinity and a terrifying one, whose iron chariot two of the blackest winged horses convey. He himself brandishes in his right hand an iron mattock of huge length,<sup>16</sup> with a barb right in the middle between its two prongs, while in his left he holds two keys. With him are monster forms, Gorgons, Vampires, Harpies and others from Saturn's Hell.

#### FORTUNE'S IMAGE ONCE MORE

¶ Here as well it is possible to see Fortune's image, and she is conveyed by a team of blind hordes; along with her go Immoderation, Flightiness, Error, Insolence, Strength, Fragility, Whiteness, Blackness, Light, Shadows, Drunkenness, Inconstancy, and others already mentioned and their domestics, which of course circulate in the same rank of the same court. She is a wandering divinity, and for that reason she becomes visible in all the chariots: in Jove's house she is favorable without effort, in the Sun's court she favors religion, hypocrisy or medicine's arts, in Mercury's house she attends to tricks, feats of dexterity, thefts and deceptions. In Saturn's house she enters through Death's door to Inheritance's court. In Mars's house she comes with rapine; in Venus' house she enters through a man, wife, beauty or lust; in the Moon, Tellus' and Pluto's house she comes by good management of the earth, the discovery of treasure, farming, magic and poisoning.



**Book Two, Chapter Fifteen**  
*Epilogue and application*

Therefore we have twelve courts of:

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Jove       | 2. Saturn  |
| 3. Mars       | 4. Mercury |
| 5. Pallas     | 6. Apollo  |
| 7. Æsculapius | 8. Sol     |
| 9. Luna       | 10. Venus  |
| 11. Cupid     | 12. Tellus |

IN JOVE'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Attendants        | 2. Those who surround him |
| 3. Crown             | 4. His assistants         |
| 5. Palace            | 6. Right-hand chariot     |
| 7. Left-hand chariot | 8. Throne                 |
|                      | 9. In the region          |

IN SATURN'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Assistants | 2. Grief   |
| 3. Care       | 4. Fear    |
| 5. Doubt      | 6. Sadness |
| 7. Hunger     | 8. Death   |

IN MARS'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Assistants | 2. Fierceness |
| 3. Wrath      | 4. War        |

IN MERCURY'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                           |                  |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Attendants I           | 2. Attendants II |
| 3. Right-hand             | 4. Left-hand     |
| 5. Intent                 | 6. Winged shoes  |
| 7. Wings                  | 8. Eye           |
| 9. Caduceus               | 10. Demiurge     |
| 11. Demiurge's attendants | 12. He who helps |

IN PALLAS'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. She who attends | 2. She who goes     |
| 3. She who flees I | 4. She who flees II |
|                    | 5. Handmaidens      |

IN APOLLO'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. He who attends | 2. He who attends II |
| 3. Inflow         | 4. Outflow           |

## IN ÆSCULAPIUS'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                              |                                 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. He who helps              | 2. He who flees                 |
| 3. Arion's song <sup>2</sup> | 4. Death of Saturn <sup>3</sup> |

## IN SOL'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. He who helps I | 2. He who helps II |
|-------------------|--------------------|

## IN LUNA'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |                        |                                      |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. She who helps I     | 2. She who helps II                  |
| 3. She who contrasts I | 4. She who contrasts II              |
| 5. She who surrounds I | 6. She who surrounds II <sup>4</sup> |

## IN VENUS'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. Unanimity  | 2. Beauty          |
| 3. Dance      | 4. Youth           |
| 5. Maidenhood | 6. Love            |
| 7. Storm      | 8. She who attends |
| (9.) Cupid    | (10.) Hymen        |

## IN CUPID'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Right-hand | 2. Left-hand  |
| 3. Wings      | 4. Flown away |

## IN TELLUS'S COURT THERE ARE:

- |               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Attendants | 2. Those surrounding her |
|---------------|--------------------------|

Book Two, Chapter Sixteen  
*Likewise here are contained according  
to the letters' numbers the attributes of  
just about everything  
for which an image or conceit  
has been proposed*

A. Beginning	B. Middle
C. End	D. Harmony
E. Choice	F. Contrariness
G. Nature's blessings and ills	H. Knowing and truth
I. Ignorance and falsity	K. Will and motion
L. Love	M. Speech
N. Unfit speech	O. Blessing
P. Curse	Q. Act
R. Possession and receiving	S. Good and bad luck
T. Loveliness	V. Greatness
X. Smallness	Y. Beatitude and glory
	Z. Duration

PRO.<sup>1</sup>

- A is Jove's attendants and surrounders, Mercury's winged shoes, Sol's attendants.  
B is Jove's palace, Mercury's wings, the Demiurge.  
C is Luna's waning, Saturn's death, those against attending Sol, those against Luna's contrasts.

Chapter Sixteen

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- D is Cupid's right-hand things.  
E is Cupid's left-hand things.  
F is the Courts of Mars and Saturn, those that shun Æsculapius, those that shun Arion, Jove's left hand.  
G is Æsculapius, Mercury's court, the contraries to Saturn's court, and other species according to Nature.  
H is those that attend Jove, the Crown,<sup>2</sup> the eye of Mercury; in the second rank, Mercury's right hand.  
H is those that are against the fisher, falsity and Mercury's left hand.<sup>3</sup>  
I is Saturn's doubt, against those that assist Jove, Mercury's left hand, contraries to the eye, against those that assist Pallas, the first and second shunners, the waning of Luna.  
K is Intent, Influence, winged shoes, wings, Mercury's attendants, flying.<sup>4</sup>  
L is Cupid, Cupid's right hand and wings, with the caduceus and Mercury's eye.  
M is Mercury's attendants and right hand.  
N is the First Ass of Cyllenius.<sup>5</sup>  
O is Mercury's right hand.  
P is Mercury's left hand's first, second, third and fourth fingers.<sup>6</sup>  
Q is the Demiurge, with Pallas's handmaidens and Mercury's wings.  
R is Sol's attendants of the first and second ranks, Luna's waxing and others according to their ways of containing, and the contraries to Saturn's poverty, and Cupid's swift flight.  
S is Æsculapius, Orpheus, Jupiter, Apollo, Sol, contrary Saturn, Mars, Luna's waning.  
T is the court of Venus and Cupid.  
V is Luna's waxing, and others according to the different appearances of their size, as knowledge from the house of Pallas and Mercury, or wealth from the house of Sol and Pluto.

**X** is the waning of Luna and the conditions from Saturn's court with the suppression of Mars.

**Y** is Jove's throne and what is in his region, and other species, as in Mercury the speaker, Sol the possessor, or Venus the lovely.

**Z** is those that assist Sol according to species or Luna's contrasts.

Here in marvelous ways they the images are assembled in multiple variety by means of Assimilation, Proportion, Opposition, Modification, and Distinction, since everything can be said to come from everything and suitably affirmatively or negatively, according to its matter or method.

## END OF BOOK TWO

## Book Three, which is about the images of the Thirty Seals<sup>1</sup>

### Chapter One *The fields of Zoroaster*<sup>2</sup>

It remains in this third contemplation to descend to the particulars. First, however, we shall consider images that are by no means magic, concerning which it is not our intention to speak of here, but of those suitable for our reasonings, as well as those dependent from our reasonings as if from principles, and also as apt for figures in verse.

- [A] ¶ *Apistos* has a man dressed in black vestments with red hair. Ornamented with a beard he holds a fire constantly in his hand.<sup>3</sup>
- [B] ¶ *Baroptemus* likewise has someone wearing black clothes, who has a chest dyed with blood and snow in his hands, as he walks upon the waters.<sup>4</sup>
- [C] ¶ *Brontia* has Jove striking Prometheus with lightning.<sup>5</sup>
- [D] ¶ *Chelidonia* has a teen-age girl dressed in purple who is freckled with black spots.<sup>6</sup>
- [E] ¶ *Cinedia* shows a very old fish of that name riding upon the waters, that also holds a diviners' rod.<sup>7</sup>
- [F] ¶ *Chlorites* contains an image of Circe in an iron chariot who is gutting a scylla bird.<sup>8</sup>



- [G] ¶ *Dracontias* shows someone holding a sliced-off dragon's hand in his left hand, a gem in his right.<sup>9</sup>
- [H] ¶ *Eumetris* shows Mercury or Apollo standing next to a girl who is asleep with her head placed on flint. The god is dressed in clothes dyed in a hue midway between green and white.<sup>10</sup>
- [I] ¶ *Galactites* shows a woman nursing, white-hued and generally in white clothes. *Gasidane* shows a pregnant woman crowned with flowers.<sup>11</sup>
- [K] ¶ *Glossopetra* shows Philomela who is fleeing Diana.<sup>12</sup>
- [L] ¶ *Gorgonia* shows Perseus changing men into stones when he shows them Medusa's head.<sup>13</sup>
- [M] ¶ *Heliotropium* shows a boy who has red hair in greenish muslin who is staring at the sun. Around him are clouds.<sup>14</sup>
- [N] ¶ *Hephestites* shows a gleaming girl in a black cloak, crowned with a golden wheel, who, with her right hand, is extinguishing a fire's flame with water, while holding a mirror in her left one.<sup>15</sup>
- [O] ¶ *Hamonites* shows a youth, dressed in a saffron robe with ram's horns, sleeping under a laurel tree.<sup>16</sup>
- [P] ¶ *Hienia* shows a young man holding a rod in his right hand and putting an animal's eye in his mouth. Atop his head a crow sits.<sup>17</sup>
- [Q] ¶ *Liparis* shows a woman who gives off a scent. To her vapor the forms of wild animals come running.<sup>18</sup>
- [R] ¶ *Mitnæ* contains an effigy of Venus or Flora in a multicolored field.<sup>19</sup>
- [S] ¶ *Meroctes* shows a shepherd sprinkling milk on his face.<sup>20</sup>
- [T] ¶ *Nebrides* carries Bacchus's image. It has the same shape as Brontia.<sup>21</sup>
- [U] ¶ *Orites* shows a salamander in a fire.<sup>22</sup>
- [X] ¶ *Paneres* holds Venus's image.<sup>23</sup>

- [Y] ¶ *Peantis* has the figure of Lucina, who assists a woman in childbirth.<sup>24</sup>
- [Z] ¶ *Alectorius* has a soldier disembowelling a rooster's belly.<sup>25</sup>

¶ He who knows the reason why these gems are figured according to their speakers' intelligence in the first book will not be ignorant of the fact that the remaining gems are signed with their own images.<sup>26</sup>

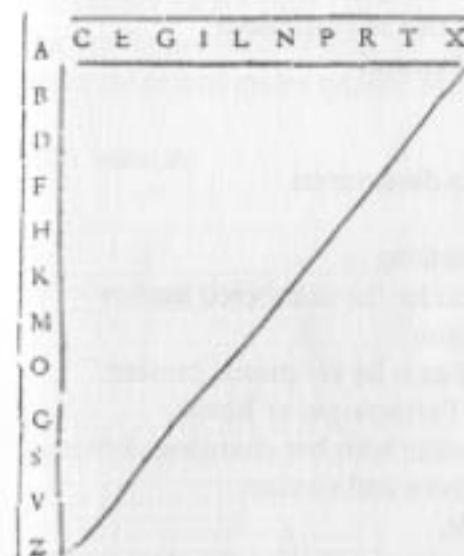
**Book Three, Chapter Two**  
***The Image of the First Seal.***  
***The Abacus of Theutis.***

The order here is according to one dimension.

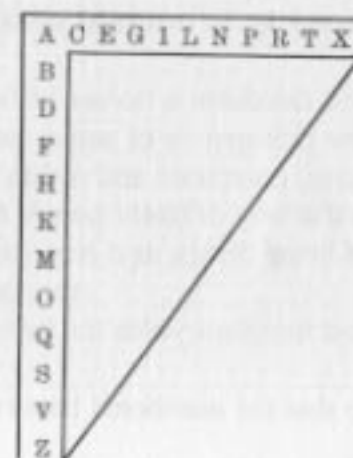
O you at the beginning, to whom the charge of  
learning has been given, learn  
And turn your eyes intently on this figure,  
Whose series when one effects, gives  
and learns it,  
When one either intervenes in deeds  
or assists in it once mastered,  
Will be least frustrated in his desire  
to search again for the seeds,  
Which a provident hand has driven  
into the field.

- |         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
| [A]     | † | The Farmer has rake, plow, sickle and hoe;                          |
| [B]     |   | Him the Bull follows eagerly, like a consort.                       |
| [C]     |   | The Goat-herd with grappling hand is next,                          |
| [DEFGH] |   | And there continue Cheater, Horseman, Thief,<br>Pantomime and Host, |
| [IKLMN] |   | Hurler, Cherubin, Lictor, Monk and Numberer,                        |
| [OPQRS] |   | Harrower, Miller, Treasurer, Weeder and Sibyl,                      |
| [TTTV]  |   | Dyer, Barber, Tempter, and Winedrinker.                             |

1591 Version



*Occator, Pifler, Quaffor, Rumcasser, Sibylla,  
 Cinthoreus Tentantem Vinipotator.*



Tocco's version <sup>3</sup>

### Tocco's version





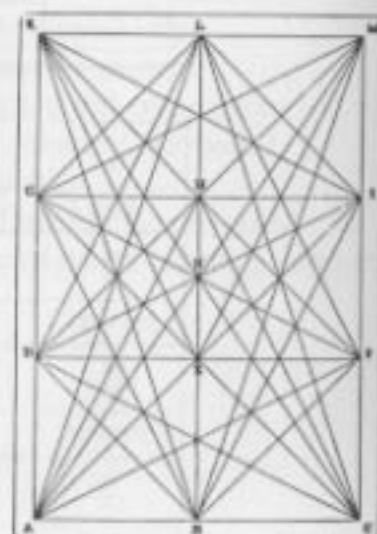
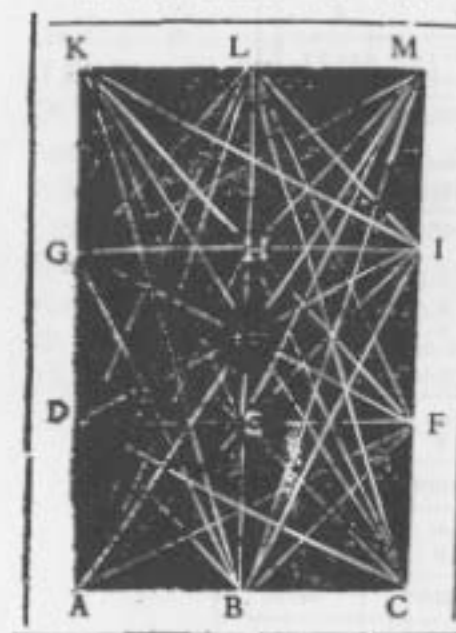


¶ This seal is assisted by the image of the assembler or combiner, because a boy sitting on an old woman is the image of the number MCVII, a woman striking a dog MCV, if you look at the form with the numbers. But if you consider the material, the boy sitting on an old woman yields ICIIMI, the woman striking a dog CCIIMI.<sup>2</sup>

# ARCHETYPE<sup>6</sup>

1591 version

## ARCHETYPVS.



Tocco's version

## Book Three, Chapter Five

### The Fourth Seal.

#### Proteus in the house of Mnemosyne<sup>1</sup>

You know Proteus, he on whom it was conferred  
To be able to switch shapes, to any and all,  
Who shows everything and from everything  
Revealing all from all.

Certainly by my sense of knowing  
He fits all to words and gestures  
(However diverse and strange it dissonates),  
So that in its person may repose  
Its very own signs and numbers.  
Thus when the opening lines of Maro's poem<sup>2</sup>  
Come to mind, I locate their sense  
And carry it off as spoil from these, their signs.<sup>3</sup>  
Lo! Here they are:

- ARMATUS [armed]
- VIR [man, hero]
- CANTANS [singing, making poems]
- PRIMUS [first, prime]
- ORANS [one who prays, literally  
"opens one's mouth"]
- ITALICUS [Italian, descendent of  
Italos, the "italic" Adam]
- FATUM [fate, that which has been said  
or decreed by voice]
- PROFUGUS [exile]

LAVINIA [Lavinian, promised land, i.e., Italy, divinely as Æneas and his wife Lavinia were]

VENTUS [wind]

LITTOREUM [this misspelling could indicate a pun between *litus* (seashore) and *littera* which, in the singular means "letter," a written sign indicating a sound" or, in the plural, "an epistle, written documents, scholarship," etc.]

MULTUM [much, often]

E TERRA [from the land, beyond the earth]

IACTATUS [tossed about, considered "up for discussion"] and

ALTUS [high or deep, but in Vergil the word is *altum*, the deep sea].

They give me MATTER, because a PHALANX is armed with weapons, and FORM, since, of course, a painter paints a hero on a white ground.

For truly, Marsus sings to the deaf,<sup>4</sup>  
And LOSS relieves his mind.  
(The prince)<sup>5</sup> because he precipitates  
I see as the EFFECTOR.  
And at the end, when (praying),<sup>6</sup>

Æneas gets up and leaves.

(I see) MOTION in (Italus) dancing the powerful fate,<sup>7</sup>

TIME in the exile giving up his native land.

I see THE VOID as his woman, (Lavinia),<sup>8</sup>

THE INFINITE as that (beach) which limits.<sup>9</sup>

I see ORIGIN here<sup>10</sup>

Because it produces (much) and often<sup>11</sup>.

The (lands) that give birth to so many things

I see as CAUSE.

The storm-tossed sea and the great element<sup>12</sup>

I see as FORTUNE AND CHANCE.

In this way you can capture, if you are skilled,

Under an image which answers to the senses,

That which eludes the senses.

¶ But while you tie things to thing,

Watch out for the loose ends that aren't tied

To fixities and classifications,

And that infinities do not recognize one's head and

Place it as their own. For otherwise,

Truly you will wander in ignorance,

Pulled in two ways by a two-fold goal.

PROTEUS IN THE HOUSE OF PALLAS,  
WHERE GORGAS IS<sup>13</sup>

This is how these words disclose the endless universe:  
I. ARMA, wielded by a strong hand, and  
II. the VIRES [power] of their servant, and that marvelous  
III. series of HARMONY,<sup>14</sup> and the poet's  
IV. SONG, because he absolutely does long for a  
V. CIVIL war of any size, even though he breaks the peace.

Proteus is, absolutely, that one and the same subject matter which is transformable into all images and resemblances, by means of which we can immediately and continually constitute order, can resume and explain everything, just as from one and the same wax we awaken all shapes and images of sensate things, which become thereafter the signs of all things that are intelligible.<sup>21</sup> Now, by substitution, which, in my opinion seems something rather more difficult, let us experience Proteus. I have decided in my spirit to argue about the immortality of the world. I must seize upon some means by which THE UNIVERSE, that is, this event UNENDINGNESS may be

separated from its subject. I make the customary choice, and pick Proteus and parts of a very famous and widely published poem, or rather simple words from it and these words change by metamorphosis into the same number of middle terms as those by which I assemble arguments for the form<sup>22</sup> of my proposed object. These words are:<sup>23</sup>

*Anna, viriisque, cano, Troie, qui primus, ab oris,  
Italian, fato, profugus, Laviniaque, venit,  
Littora, multum, ille terris, iactatus, et alto.*

[I.] First from *arms*, which signify powers and instruments which last forever, I deduce the eternal universe.

II. From *man* I deduce the act of being able to maintain existence forever.

III. From *cano* [song], which refers to the harmony of things and their indissoluble co-temperament, and which must suitably persevere, that which exists in mutations and alterations.

IV. From *city*, which signifies the commonwealth of the universe for let nothing oppose it) up to decay and passing away, for what are contraries in the universe are not contrary to the universe, for they are the universe's parts and members.

V. From the *primacy* of him who always acts and perseveres; first, since the efficient is he who is his immediate cause, he should be the eternal efficient cause, since an original cause can not be an efficient cause, unless proceeding from another first beginning, in which case that one would then be the truer first principle. But if it should exist in the prime to which it is not, all in all it ought to exist likewise when there is no other later successive cause and there is always cause, which, when the first beginning has been removed, would not be a

principle. Therefore, by a necessary duration the caused universe accompanies the universal cause.<sup>24</sup>

VI. From the *shores* (because of the similarity of the word there may be a middle term as well according to the things signified, which we won't quickly pass by), it must be that the word of the divine mouth, that is, the work of god's omnipotent effect remains forever. Since it is true in the highest degree and obviously is good, obviously it is right that it should exist, obviously it is not right that it should not exist.

VII. From *Italy* (which I transfer into kingdom or region), which is region, place, temple, wherein supernal majesty is praised, worshipped and honored. God would cease to be father, king, lord, providence, order, excellence, if this temple or kingdom were not good. Therefore, as He is eternally magnified, so should He be eternally magnifying, praising and telling His glory.

Eighth, from *fate*, which, since it is above the universe which is the whole body of nature, is not necessity, but nature is necessity herself. For the universe cannot be either moved or altered, but motion and change (and consequently fate) are in the universe, and it is of those things which are of it and which are in it. Likewise, every rotting away is a sort of replacing of the elements. However, it is not so appropriate for the universe as for us.

Ninth, from the *flight* and the dislocation of those things that are dissolved, which for particulars is the possible, I deduce the stars and in particular the earth. In the universe, however, there is no place in which it gapes beyond its parts.

Tenth, from the *shore*, that is from a terminus where things are bent back and reflected toward their beginnings, and once more are remade as the elements of a composition that is to be similarly arranged. Therefore, permutation exists, but there is no true passing away of things. Thus the waves of the sea flow to the shores, so that they also may flow back from the shores.

Eleventh, from the *multitude* of past fashioners, I can deduce those things whose true material and substance is one that lasts.



Twelfth, from the *lands* next to it: "one generation shall pass away and another generation arrive, but the earth abides forever,"<sup>26</sup> I deduce that the earth is composed, particular things are exchanged or changed or their figures moved, but species remains a changeless substance.

Thirteenth, from *shaking*, wherein nothing appears to leap out from the earth's body, because the sea seems to be always just as full as it ever was, I understand that which is subtracted from one place is added to another.

Fourteenth, from the *depth* of the presiding cause I learn; for it is not a superior cause which can alter and make invalid what it itself willed, and which it can not make obedient to itself, on the ground that now it is wise in another way or powerful in a better, more eminent or submissive and weaker fashion, so that which it has ordered once and for all to exist as something good, later on it may decide is not good. Really and truly in the whole the parts are eternal, which are changed in outward expression, not substance. Likewise most certainly there are water, steam, flame, air; air, flame, steam, water. And no one form has greater strength than another, or a more exalted position.<sup>27</sup> For if fire should melt all, dissolving as it destroys, from then on fire will cease to exist, and that which has been melted in this way will start to grow bigger again, and from that growth fire comes again to be fed (as fire can be fed), fire which by reason of the fact that (as if commanding all from on high) it consumes all, in turn restores them likewise while it perishes in all things.

¶ Generally the same series of termini will reveal the cosmos (taken in another sense) as earth and moon, which are distinguishable by us from the universe, just as corruptible<sup>28</sup> in its means.

First, from *arms*, that is from the means by which they exist as variables.<sup>29</sup>

Secondly because of the strengths of the cause particular and immediate,<sup>30</sup> which are finite, just as effect, subject and

subject's power are finite. For matter, form and strength of the earth are finite; quality is variable and composition decomposable.

Thirdly, because of its symmetry and alterable temperament, because it does not offer such things as were formerly alive. Or according to the song of those who prophesy:<sup>31</sup> "I shall move heaven and earth," that is, I shall change; "one day I will consign earth and sky to destruction."

Fourthly, because of the dissonance of its commonwealth's members.<sup>32</sup>

Fifthly, because it is an efficient cause and conserves and forms itself in a secondary and dependent manner, not a prime one.

Sixthly, because it has shores beyond itself, to which and from which they recognize a dependence.<sup>33</sup>

Seventh, because of the master's vicissitudes, which are in the realm of the forms. For since the sun and the earth are made out of the same material and pertain to the same genus of first beginnings, they can exchange their changes among themselves even if they themselves may not change.

Eighth, because of fate, to which the particulars are subject.

Ninth, because of the possible outflow of runaway parts, because through the etherial field they can be scattered elsewhere and come again into existence, can pass away and return to existence.

Tenth (consequently from the ninth), because the particular cosmos does not necessarily collect the parts into its totality, just as the sea enfolds the same waters within the same coasts.

Eleventh, from the variety and multitude of events, by which everything perishable is affected.

Twelfth, because of the parts' always-changing condition, from which even the renewal of the whole hangs.

Thirteenth, because just as the cosmos is moveable according to its place, so, too, does it change according to the conditions of the alterations, which are the consequences of local motion. In other words, since the cosmos can exist for the sun and



other heavenly bodies, the others can exist for it as well,<sup>34</sup> in site as well as function.

Fourteenth because there is something down below, dependent, needy and substituted.

¶ Thus finally other termini and middles must be made, since, while they all happen, they do not happen in the same order and sort.

¶ Anyone at all can see the facility of the thing rather than imitate it because of the weakness of his argumentative skill and invention, which we assist in a chapter of *Lampadis logicae*.<sup>35</sup> Therefore it stands proven that Proteus transforms himself into all images that are significative and presentative of the perceptible as well as of the imperceptible. With this seal and skill we have assisted and liberated the Lullian art,<sup>36</sup> and, flying aloft on wings, we have liberated this type of invention from the contempt of the gods and nature.

### Book Three, Chapter Six

#### *Seal five. The chain.*

In nature's order, how often would things be borne unjoined,  
Inaccessible; our chain is strong enough

to bind them tightly.

For here where there are members migrating in cycles,  
As they touch, knit together, they are in turn embraced,  
So that, while the second's head snatches at the first one's tail,  
What has gone before is perpetually and equally

harried by what follows

In the direction where all are at length allowed

to wind their way through one.

Beings are what follow or succeed themselves by fixed degrees,  
As the chain which hangs down from the high heaven

demonstrates

That Jove's hand lets down, and blind Homer

with still better eyes comprehends as a chain<sup>1</sup>

That completes the species' number by fixed degrees,

So that what is up above is joined to that above,

So is the low to the low, where each low species' upward step

And each low and touching step of an upward species

runs together in one.

Let the signs' cycle proceed sideways for you,

just as in the deep sea

A bend of the starry cosmos is fashioned in a circle

Shining in the celestial field in twelve constellations,

And enfolds the names of nature in many an arrangement.  
Here the beast of the golden fleece<sup>3</sup> hunts Taurus with  
his lofty horns;

Europa's rapture is transported into wrath  
And rushes down upon the Twins,<sup>3</sup> huge-headed boys;  
And them, fleeing in terror, the nearby waves receive at once;  
The Crab,<sup>4</sup> nursling of the Lymphæ, scuttling hurriedly and  
sideways is struck down  
And enters Leo's shaggy jaws, who, then, aroused,  
his fierce mouth open,  
In his violence, eager to rip the Virginal hare apart,<sup>5</sup>  
He chases<sup>6</sup> her, and she flees to the one from whom the  
Balancer lies in wait.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, with unlucky foot he steps on the Scorpion,  
And the barbed sting strikes him. As his doctor he calls upon  
The one who so carefully directs arrows<sup>8</sup>  
against the shaggy Capricorn;  
Wounded, he rushes full speed headlong into the salt waves.  
Thus the excellent Aries makes him food for the Fish.

FIRST NOTE OF THE CHAIN FOR THE IMAGES OF THINGS<sup>9</sup>

1591 version

A B.	B C.	C D.	D E.
A B C.	B C D.	C D E.	D E F.
A A B.	B A C.	C A D.	D A F.
A B B.	B C C.	C D D.	D E E.
A B A.	B C B.	C D C.	D E D.

Tocco's Version

A B.	B C.	C D.	D E.
A B C.	B C D.	C D E.	D E F.
A A B.	B A C.	C A D.	D A F.
A B B.	B C C.	C D D.	D E E.
A B A.	B C B.	C D C.	D E D.

SECOND NOTE OF THE CHAIN FOR THE IMAGES OF  
NUMBERS

1591 version

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. 2. 3.	2. 3. 4.	3. 4. 5.	4. 5. 6.	5. 6. 7.
1. 1. 2.	2. 1. 3.	3. 1. 4.	4. 1. 5.	
1. 2. 1.	2. 3. 2.	3. 4. 3.	4. 5. 4.	
1.	3.	5.	7.	9.
2.	4.	6.	8.	10.



After that, around the extended roots of one tree  
 Let the plants' offspring grow everywhere as a circle.  
 At this point there appears the great forest's

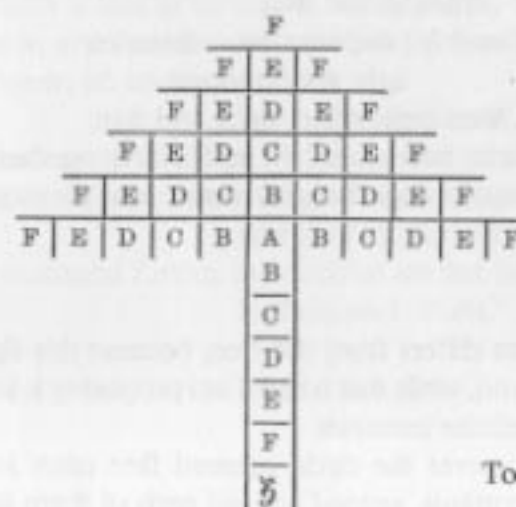
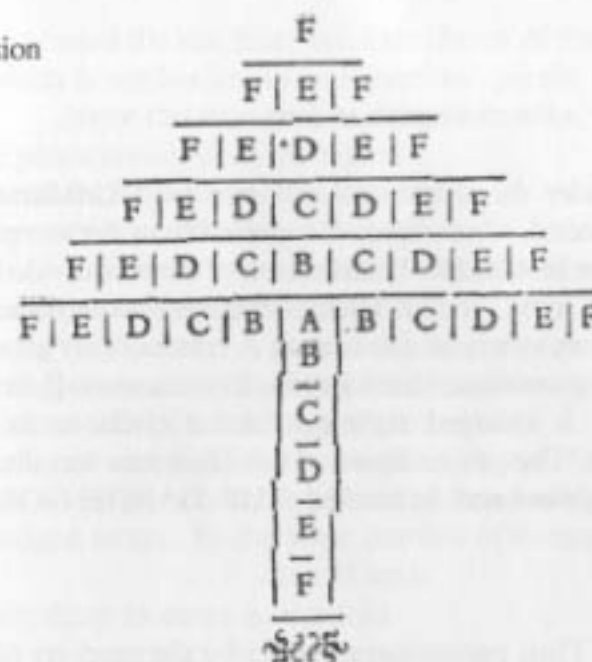
most celebrated species;

From this tree Raymond Lull once plucked fruit  
 Of an obviously other genus, because he saw the knowable  
 In the forest's members. The root which is sensate power  
 Is, however, for us an internal trust principally.  
 Let us refer the problem to its twin the trunk, so that,  
 While one of its parts may be reduced to ash  
by reason's vigorous flame,  
 The other can grow strong on worthwhile nourishment.

Raymond Lull<sup>4</sup> published a book *De arbore scientie* (*On the tree of knowledge*) which is primary in its genre for invention and arrangement. The matters considered in that book and the arrangement of its teaching together with their definitions are, because of their time's defects, futile and empty. But that form which regards the substance of invention has certainly been comprehended as such by few, so that I can easily believe it was enlarged divinely by the book.

¶ Our tree differs from Lull's tree, however, because it is solid, while his is flat, obviously just as a pyramid differs from a triangle, as a solid body from a surface. For that reason, his offers a way of invention through height and width, but ours drives a path through the multiplex profound. Yet his is the mother of ours, while ours is the child so far as pertains to the work of invention. Concerning the matter of sciences that are certainly speculative, it is not Lull that we consult. However, as for what pertains to some other intellectual powers of the soul, all in all, our tree is of another genus, about which Lull appears not even to have thought.

1591 version



Tocco's version

## OF THE CIRCULAR AND SQUARED WHEEL.

Under the shadow of our tree let a circular wheel be comprehended, whose figure is a circle first in the two parts of its divisions, as in A and B. Then let each of them be divided into two others, as A into C and D. Then C migrates into two others, E and F, and so on, where just as branch A continuously grows and is increased by a two-member bipartite division, so too B, from where the figure is enlarged right out into a circle to its extreme differences. The proper figure of this same tree was discussed in our *De minimo*<sup>5</sup> and is labelled THE GARDEN OR SUN'S BANNER.

¶ Thus parent nature enters by the property of  
two-fold division;

For the prime contraries are two,  
From whose fount fall the next two contraries,  
light and shadows,  
Cold and hot, then from them, thick and thin;  
Then from them, interconnected and folded together,  
The separation of things forever rises up into their cycle.

¶ This differs from the tree, because this figure is flat, closed and round, while that which I am proposing is solid with no regular and definite terminus.

¶ However the circle squared first takes four termini around one terminus, second around each of them it takes four second termini, and it takes four other third termini.

As around the sun there are four phases of the moon,  
One of which is resplendent in its Phoenician purple  
and its rising is famous,<sup>6</sup>

A second phase comes from the region  
Where the SUN hides its head in the waves,  
There where the sun, after it has lain down,  
receives the assembled waves

In this hostile country where there are the  
Erymanthian bear's remains.<sup>7</sup>

Then, in the same order, bright Phoebus' rivalrous sister<sup>8</sup>  
Circumscribes each of her four stars<sup>9</sup>

Into the mast of a basilisk's light or a bullock's eye.<sup>10</sup>  
Meanwhile whatever you like is fractioned in equal signs,  
As it is hedged around by the same number of things  
that fit aptly,

As for each thing its cause is four-fold.  
Then each of them takes four explanations—  
Divine, physical, logical and the special one of mathesis.<sup>11</sup>  
And that which is first as terminus, rising, origin,  
Means, that is, action and motion and way follow that.  
Then, as it were, an end or terminus

in which a fixed end is needed,  
Then the conception of things that shape the mind ensures.  
In their proper measure those things described up above  
take their quaternities.<sup>12</sup>

And many thousand further quaternities are not lacking  
in them and others.



### Book Three, Chapter Eight

#### Seal seven. The wearer of clothes

I'll provide ten distinct atria for the places' varied ranks,  
And they shall be decorated as well with various shapes.  
Here I shall place people, there peoples' banners,  
Elsewhere there are tools to be grasped by the left hands,  
Or perhaps touched by neck, chest and back,  
And in other places I shall then set the signs of work.  
Thus, as bystander, site and place and possessor,  
I shall, by a comfortable lot, provide its numbered cases as well.  
From here you take the elements,

by which all things are constituted

And become present inflated with their numbers.  
It is sufficient that each of them be given twice by ten  
So that the whole may be formed out of simple parts.

† Formation or figuration, if it is made out of the elements' first combination, is made with less division, but it requires a greater number (that is more numerous) supply of images. But if (as we teach here) it should be made out of first elements, there is rather more division, but it is accomplished with a smaller supply of images. You will be able to gather easily for yourself the boundaries from the atria, just as, for example, from Calchas,<sup>1</sup> Oedipus,

### Chapter Eight

253

Tiresias and others you will take for yourself from their appearance signs that are defined both by such names and offices.

#### TYPE OF BUSINESS

1591 VERSION

I	II	III	IV	V
Apol- lo.	Redi- mitus	Lau- ro	Equi- tat	Leo- nem
Venus.	Inuo- luta	Nube	Ornat	Ca- pram
VI	VII	III	IX	XI
Euer- tētem	Funda- mentū	Tenro- rii	Militis	Accen- sum
Ton- dētem	Her- bas	Horti	Virgi- nis	Eulū- fas

I	II	III	IV	V
Apollo	Redimitus	Lauro	Equitat	Leonnem
Venus	Involuta	Nube	Ornat	Capram
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Ever- tentem	Funda- mentum	Tentorii	Militis	Accensum
Tondentem	Herbas	Horti	Virginis	Evulsae

Tocco's version

¶ Thus twenty of the divinities, in order that they may each take on the appearance of nine accidents according to the described form, you should arrange for yourself as a table twice as long as wide. But let such matters be accidents, since all things can be composed by all, by no means, I say, for nature's ease but for the ease of filling out the image. This, therefore, is the price of the effort, that Venus and Apollo can, with others standing around, become the banners, instruments and works of everything else.

For the supply and significance of the accidents, twenty places retained, along with the same number of images formed (in such a way, that Venus has been formed with Apollo), are sufficient.

**Book Three, Chapter Nine**  
*Seal eight. The horizon*

Whenever twice ten seats are conceived  
Just as a worthy gift one more seat is added to them,  
The atria which may be constructed with a square shape,  
From the middle of which a thing's label may be conspicuous,  
Which imitates the various voices

from the heavens' varied hinge.

Behold Leo<sup>1</sup> uttering his first roar

When he looks to the sunrise,<sup>2</sup> his second from  
the middle region,<sup>3</sup>

His third shout<sup>4</sup> bellows when the purple of Tethys' cave<sup>5</sup>  
Tinges the golden chariot, while looking towards Boötes<sup>6</sup>  
His fifth utterance rumbles differently from the rest.

Looking up learn the signs of what  
Become the consonants which lie next to each vowel.  
Afterwards, for each a spirit of the fifth shall be present  
For every five parts, such that no enchantment  
of the magi<sup>7</sup>

## 1591 VERSION

B.V	BR	C	CR	D	F	FR
Arbor	Menſa	Focus	Statua	Incus	Foffa	Tribunal
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
G	GR	H	I	L	M	N
Forn.	Lectus	Obex	Incus	Pyramis	Rota	Saxum
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
P	PR	Q	R	S	T	TR
Fons	Putcus	Stabulū	Trabs	Currus	Cymba	Sepulcrū
XV	XVI	XVI	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI

*Ca nio diftulat, quia ceteris genere arto.  
Quifq; ſubinde aliter habet, natum, famulumq;*

BV	BR	C	CR	D	F	FR
Arbor	Menſa	Focus	Statua	Incus	Foffa	Tribunal
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
G	GR	H	I	L	M	N
Forn.	Lectus	Obex	Incus	Pyramis	Rota	Saxum
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
P	PR	Q	R	S	T	TR
Fons	Putcus	Stabulum	Trabs	Currus	Cymba	Sepulcrum
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI

Tocco's VERSION

Shakes them apart, as they abound in the fifth sort of art.  
Each then may have others, son and servant,  
Consort and ally, each of which are specific to it.  
Then each will proceed according to the fixed gestures  
of its art, and will possess  
Its appropriate attributes; a part to be added  
to them is to be noted,  
For plainly LMNRST are willing to be composed frequently.

Therefore, one corner may have two lateral sides So  
that, finally, they establish twice six additions, As the material  
requires perhaps the same or more annexations.

## 1591 VERSION

A	LR	E
R	V	M
O	TN	I

A	LR	E
R	V	M
O	TN	I

Tocco's VERSION

But what need is there thus in vain to increase  
     their number,  
 Since they do not suffer equally all things acquired from all?  
 So let us note those which are not so frequent.  
 Among them triple species with three-fold divisions  
 Shall yield recognizable signs of distinction when they are  
     on the right as well as on the left,  
 And when they face up, or (if you prefer) perhaps down.  
 When they have been perfectly arranged  
     and kept within bounds,  
 Then everything else will be able to flock  
     to the shores of light,  
 And nothing prevents one and the same thing at one time  
     from being able to exist  
 In many places, because in this way the forms can be mirrored,  
 And one thing reflected by the thousands,  
 So that at length all receive their individual functions.  
 An appropriate characteristic, I maintain,  
     comes to one and everything;  
 Then, when a two-fold fashioner is in one field,  
 He yields four vowels, if for one agent three stand by  
 Either as helpers or silent witnesses.  
 Finally, take care lest many exist without a union,  
 Since a second object's movement  
     proceeds from the first one's,  
 And, by mutual regard acts generally accompany  
     themselves into existence.

**Book Three, Chapter Ten**  
*The ninth seal. The farmer*

I want a farmer to be over any field;<sup>1</sup>  
 Around him tools, for manifold uses, form a palisade.  
 Thus a weaver's duties are many and his tools many,  
 Many are the craftsmen's duties and tools, the tailor's many.  
 Therefore, let a house be divided for three or four servants  
 Of the same or various sorts, where anything whatsoever may  
 Completely renew one form. Let one and twenty tools  
 Signify what I called the same number of consonants,  
 And let them report by five-fold lot each fifth vowel,<sup>2</sup>  
 Also let the same amount of material be added to the forms.  
 Finally you may see what is going on,  
 In what ways this verse is about  
 All things in a state of mutual relationship.  
 For a spirit seizes all things of this kind, and  
 Leads forward whatever you ask for again  
     for convenience's sake;  
 It changes all that rush forward, it puts forth all  
 It holds within, since it is considered a two-fold microcosm.<sup>3</sup>  
 The framer of the universe and whatever is formable by him,  
 Whether he is active or passive or middle,<sup>4</sup>  
 Trismegistos<sup>5</sup> has called this process a great miracle.

¶ Each of the four sides in a cubicle is perceived to contain one workshop along with its mechanic, with his preparations and tools arranged in order in their proper place. Instead of the number of the thirty fellow singers and the twelve harmonizers,<sup>6</sup> let forty-two proper and appropriate characteristics become all for one thing. For all arts in and of themselves do not in this way seize manifold deeds and instruments. For this reason, those things which are and can be comfortably comprehended as fields and atria may assist you.<sup>7</sup>

¶ If you need an uncounted number of seats, you will be able to make use of the same number of mechanics as workshops; but beware of the similarity between things and deeds. Therefore let the same workshops have another Sun elsewhere.

¶ This seal of the farmer makes it possible that, when the words have been numbered, the means of arguments and whatsoever catalog you like, in whatever tongue it resounds, can easily be read in tablets numbered accordingly. The fifteen tablets that you have can serve as the two guards of the field, all the way up to the number thirty: if there are six in the middle of the field or on the right, or another form with two two-fold elements,<sup>8</sup> they may be grasped by reason and made accounted. However, a mechanic who is standing up or sitting will thereupon denote a vowel that sounds afterwards or before in combination with a double element. Here and elsewhere you can take care of the rest in a similar fashion.

### Book Three, Chapter Eleven

#### *The tenth seal. The sky.*

So that you can describe the vaults  
   of the flame-bearing abyss of space,  
 This series of forms has been shaped by reason  
 In proper parts, if perchance you divide the whole  
 In two great cycles, in which everywhere the right angle  
 That arises from the double hinges is four-fold;  
 Then, when each of the quadrants has been  
   dissolved in double parts,  
 This faculty will become more compact.  
 For in as many parts as it will be divided,  
 So secure and more available of its own accord  
   will the deed occur.  
 Moreover, if one horizon shall be  
   splintered into six triunal aspects,<sup>1</sup>  
 And a second split into the same number of parts,  
 And a thread-thin border provide the end  
   to the earth's foundations,  
 The summit (which is the center point)  
   will be their common terminus.  
 Then conceive in a certain region open to the senses  
 Sextants, and, close to the side,  
   understand shapes and numbers.  
 One house can include the whole.



¶ The names of the parts of the sky are triangle of the east, whose cusp is the common point along with five other triangles at the summit (which the Arabs call the zenith, and the point opposite the nadir). However, let one side from the same point be an arc all the way to the point at which, as an ecliptic, it cuts the horizon line. Let the base line go from the same point all the way to the point which terminates the sextant of the horizon line. I see the remaining side as proceeding from that terminus to the zenith. Thus, for a particular place for myself I divide the sky into twelve parts. However, for this purpose this simplest of our triangles which we have drawn up is sufficient. But in its general significance they are understood as the popular terms for the twelve signs of the zodiac,<sup>2</sup> for the pole stars of the zodiac and the ecliptic line, or for the pole stars of the world and the equinoctial line.<sup>3</sup>

### Book Three, Chapter Twelve *The eleventh seal. The orbit of the sky.*

The orbit of the sky describes, if you like, eight cycles,  
Which will be easily distributed into twelve parts,  
And the heavens' signs in their ever-changing order  
will report the same number.

A radius from the center, divided into eight sections  
In which (as most do) I describe seven planets  
Most or all: it is demonstrated by an open series  
To give the radius's circuit, formed on high as those  
Elements perpetually changing which substitute one for all.<sup>1</sup>  
When one circuit of the radius has been completed  
The first of its stationary points becomes the last,  
And to the highest point bring that place  
which was very far below the rest.

And then by a second lot let the radius circle around  
And a third lot must follow in the same way  
until there are seven, finally.

After this, let the variation which has been made  
for one of the members  
Proceed according to the first lot to its twinned neighbors.  
Then let two accompany each other

with one thrown between them,  
Then let their journey have more companions, up to infinity.  
You will refer all these figures to their number,  
To signify in this way for yourself the long sought-after species.

**Book Three, Chapter Thirteen**  
*Seal twelve. The interpreter.<sup>1</sup>*

As interpreter I build twenty-two courtyards,<sup>2</sup>  
 Which occupy the same number of bedrooms as their shares.  
 In them shall be presented all things that exist  
 And which have a triple root, just as  
 Their various inhabitants shall then be assigned.

THE TWENTY-TWO ATRIA

The atria are: Pyramid, Fountain, Grove, Portico, Altar,  
 Cave, Sickle, Well, Pinnacle, Table, Washstand,  
 Quarystone, Seat, Oven, Watchtower, Chest, Column,  
 River, Banner, Catapult, Crypt and Sepulcher.<sup>3</sup>

THE TWENTY-TWO BEDROOMS

In them— and let these bedrooms be a form for you—  
 One order with various principles shall be preserved.  
 May you hear that *Bedroom* is the name and is  
 The first of the courtyards, so, too, see that  
 After Crypt comes Sepulchre.  
 Third comes Pyramid, Fountain fourth and so on.

Thus they exist in their varied order but in the same place.  
 Upon these courtyards a well-known crowd

of souls is conferred:

Tailor, Fisherman, Wrestler, Soldier, Lover,  
 Hunter, Whoremonger, Weaver, Bartender, Ploughman,  
 Painter, Sailor, Kitchengardener, Barber, Landlady, Jester,  
 Vintner, Gilder, Dyer, Bailiff, Boxer, Fowler.

The table is properly squared with these twenty-two ladders,  
 And each of these scales is marked

with the same number of degrees.

When I arrange these spaces as one proposed principle,  
 With another removed, they give you three roots.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, under whatever principle you like,

extend equal tables

Connecting the righthand diameter and the lefthand angle And  
 its oblique descendent shall note all things for you.

Therefore: first comes the Guardian, Field the second

Who is seen to be moving straight up,

and moving straight down;

On a fixed space of this same scale is the house itself

Which is marked, assigned to the right or perchance to the left.

There all things will run up to help you watch

What the winner is doing. The Boxer in

the Oven of the Column,

Just as images are combined in various nodes and places,

Will reveal everything that the situation affords.

The marks of the servants can be placed in the fourth

And fifth places, in front of the vestibule as they fall easily,

Some to be signified as affects and some as forms;

If the Tailor is removed from the first field and his own spot,

You shall see what follows in the courtyards, everything

That's set up in each bedroom relates, generally functions,

and is discovered.



the second field's first seat. The third casts forth a high priest, and the fourth casts forth death, an angel and a king.

#### THE FIFTEENTH SEAL. A DIE.

¶ The same person a king crowns, the high priest anoints, the knight rips apart, and death destroys. And so by remaining in the same track, affected by the different events, he will indicate all.

#### THE SIXTEENTH SEAL. THE FIELD OF CIRCE.

¶ There are four qualities, AEIO, whose possible combinations in elements are four:<sup>3</sup> AI hot and damp, AO hot and dry, EI cold and damp, EO cold and dry. There are four fields for them. Then there are the various grades of the qualities. Therefore for them in each of the fields there are the various atria, and in the atria the various cubicles according to their proper order, in which you will meet the image of each thing. And it is not possible or an easy matter for you to be able to judge you have seen (with, I say, an application of effort) something in one spot which you watched intently in another. Therefore I will provide a discussion concerning how to refer to the remaining genera of the things to be enumerated to their classes.

#### AESCULAPIUS' HOUSE. THE SEVENTEENTH SEAL.

¶ There is an atrium which people call the antechamber of hell, where pale diseases dwell and express themselves most easily by their facial gestures and commands. In other places there

are banquets of food, gardens of spices, barrels of oil, workshops of precious stones, flagons of juices and roots, both simple and compounded. Among them those whom Aesculapius has conducted graze.

#### THE NOMENCLATOR.<sup>4</sup> THE EIGHTEENTH SEAL.

There are dress, outcome, instrument, activity and attributed circumstances for everybody, which its proper name will disclose by external signs according to the elements and their combinations' expressed conditions.

#### HISTORY. THE NINETEENTH SEAL.

Plutarch sees the principles arranged in order in one atrium.<sup>5</sup> Then, leading each of them away, he moves them through an ornate and most highly ordered field, and teaches them one by one how to play their parts in their turn. Who does not see among them how differently they can be changed by different ones?

#### LAW. THE TWENTIETH SEAL.

Shall you not understand under volume books, under books titles, under titles laws, under laws their paragraphs?<sup>6</sup>

PHYSICS.<sup>7</sup> THE TWENTY-FIRST SEAL.

Instead of Hippocrates' books, do I have a certain number of substances that conduct themselves according to their subjects' order, to accomplish something that is not easy?

## THE SURVEYOR. THE TWENTY-SECOND SEAL.

I have the signs of the simple termini, with an old person who is describing a triangle,<sup>8</sup> parallel lines with double signifiers, evenness with a balance scale, other things with other similar things which are not many. From them are composed the elements (which come in fifteen orders).

THE TWENTY-THIRD SEAL. THE TIME OF A SOUND.<sup>9</sup>

The sound that comes before us has a house, the sound in the middle another, the sound at the end another. Each house has four corners, and each corner two sides; there are twelve elements:<sup>10</sup>

B	F	M	R
C	G	N	S
D	L	P	T

¶ Through the houses and to each and every part of the houses wander the five that come before, the five in the middle, and the five that complete, along with their proper differences and cases, aided by the Chain, the Numerator and, if you please, by other seals, one or many.

## THE TWENTY-FOURTH SEAL. THE FATHER OF THE THIEF.

¶ The thief's father is a multitude: A quantity, B quality, C place, D site, E motion, F time, G agreement, H difference, I contrariness, K habit, L deprivation, M giving, N receiving, O activity, and P passivity. Let one element unite with the others and each one realize twice, and you will then know the parents of those signs for those signs for those things whose images you cannot have otherwise. In quantity perceive the number and size, in quality the bright and the dark, and so on for the others.

## THE TWENTY-FIFTH SEAL. THE THIEF.

¶ The thief openly looks forward towards ten differences: A part whole, B big little, C single-fold two-fold, D high deep, E before after, F right left, G inner outer, H straight sidelong, I slow swift, K beginning end, L middle extreme, M complete incomplete.



## THE TWENTY-SIXTH SEAL. THE ACCOMPLICE OF THE THIEF.

¶ The thief's accomplice has indicatory signs at least on his head and hands: A eyes, B eyebrows, C mouth, D right hand, E left hand, F forehead, G cheek, H right ear, I left ear, K hair, L chin, M has in his hands a number of functions, infolding, unfolding, and grasping of the fingers. Similarly, in the face's different sections by simple touching, stretching, rubbing he has indicative signs. The mouth coughs, breathes, spits, smiles, gapes, narrows, and opens. Eyes and eyebrows have their movements. One subject's difference concurs with one and another subject's difference singularly or plurally; there is certainly no number it cannot complete. Bede made known the reason, which explicates all differences of the numbers by the fingers and the joints. But our thief (with no one, among the crowd, understanding except his accomplice) explains his purposes, and those things as closest which are proper to them and are so much more available.

## THE RHETORICIAN. THE TWENTY-SEVENTH SEAL.

¶ Furnished with twenty-four attributes<sup>12</sup> the rhetorician enters the house of the twelve principles, so that all of them may assist him in the three-fold nature of his work. Moreover, in courtroom rhetoric Jupiter is primary to him, in deliberative speech Sol,<sup>13</sup> in demonstrative speech Pallas.<sup>14</sup> Other seals aid him, the Farmer perhaps beyond the others.

## THE PRIEST. THE TWENTY-EIGHTH SEAL.

¶ The priest is rich in the field of one who generates, who gives birth, who passes away, who raises up, who judge, of the king, of the counter, the sufferer, the cithar-player, the wise, of the desirer, the prophet, the divine, the tragic, the boy, the bull, eagle, lion, Roman, Jew, one who acts on things and others. While each and every one of them travels through the hundred cubicles, there is nothing which they cannot fill with the Chain and Theutis's abacus assisting.

## THE POLYMATH. THE TWENTY-NINTH SEAL.

¶ The polymath,<sup>15</sup> that is, the scholar, if he could speak suitably in Latin, or in Greek for greater and more refined tastes, is able to advise concerning all matters that are disposed in controversy and dispute, since he is learned. He will, without making a mistake, moreover, make known the genera of the names, that is of the two seasons in space,<sup>16</sup> completely divided into three classes, of sun and moon and sky; certainly of male, female and neuter; while the common and universal genera remain abandoned at the gates and at the atrium in front of the gates. As they journey through the classes' parts they will discover the multitude of their images (in the expression of the conspicuous images of those things that are signified). For the words' conjugation the polymath has the four atria of regular relationships and the same number of atria of

exceptions, which are quickened by their proper spirits,<sup>17</sup> and through all of them run, under the leadership of the Chainer or of Theutis, animate beings. With the same skill in his other necessities and relationships it will happen he can easily accomplish in three days what otherwise he would not dare promise to do in a year (even with much earnest effort).

#### THE COMBINER. THE THIRTIETH SEAL.

¶ And what limit can there be in this sort and in similar and in all sorts of discoveries, where one seal's form, material, virtue, means, operation, effect and end unite with the same, similar, different and the contraries of other seals, and, by a separate plan of movement, scurry away from them?

#### END OF BOOK THREE

## Footnotes

## Footnotes

### Frontis

The title page reads: "Giordano Bruno of Nola: *On the Composition of Images, Signs and Ideas for Every Sort of Invention, Arrangement and Memory. Three Books.* For the Illustrious and Most Generous Johann Heinrich Heinzel, Lord of Elgg. 'Believe and You Shall Know.' Frankfurt: Johann Wechel and Peter Fischer, Partners, 1591."

We do not know to what extent Bruno was responsible for the title page, so there is no way to know to what extent the printer was involved in selling the work as a memory system, as he seems to be doing here. Cf. *Introduction* fn. 6.

The quotation on this page is from Isaiah 7, 9, as cited by Nicholas of Cusa (1401-64), in *De Docta Ignorantia* 3, 11. In recent bibles the text says that "As you [Israel] do not believe, you shall not survive." But the Septuagint Bible, quoted in Nicholas of Cusa's text, does not refer to the survival of a people, but says instead that unless you (plural) believe, you shall not understand; in other words, that faith must precede understanding. Bruno admired Nicholas above almost all the other renaissance church intellectuals, and several times in his works, calls him the "Divine Cusan" and attributes to him the invention of a new form of geometry. For a listing of where Bruno discusses Nicholas, see Ciliberto (1979:1,282-3).

### Introduction

<sup>1</sup>From Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "928 f" in *Notebooks* (1957-1,27).

<sup>2</sup>See Gentile's edition (1958:175-342) and *Cause, Principle and Unity*, tr. Jack Lindsay (1962). The quotation appears on p. 25 of the latter.

<sup>3</sup>While Andrzej Nowicki attempts in all his three books on Bruno to present a full and complete "reading" of Bruno as figure and author, in his

*Giordano Bruno* (1979) he achieves this by focusing on translations of major selections from both the Latin and Italian works. The same is true in Nowicki (1980), but there the focus is less on translating major passages than on building up a cumulative intellectual self-portrait. Less rounded, unfortunately, is Michele Ciliberto's *Lessico di Giordano Bruno* (1979), which quotes only ideas drawn from Bruno's Italian works and is therefore all but useless to the serious reader.

<sup>4</sup>See Horowitz (1952:127).

<sup>5</sup>Lindsay's introduction to his translation of Bruno's *Cause, Principle and Unity* (1962:3-44) is a concise statement of Bruno's place in the evolution of Dialectical Materialism.

<sup>6</sup>Frances A. Yates's *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) is her best-known work on Bruno. It is based largely on earlier articles, collected in her *Lull and Bruno* (1982), the first volume of her *Collected Essays* (1982). Her *Art of Memory* (1966) focuses on mnemonic texts by Bruno and others; among these she classifies *De Imaginum... Compositione*, which she calls "Images." Besides being of a very high order of scholarship, this book includes many useful charts, including one based on *De Imaginum... Compositione* on p. 321. Arguably her most rounded discussion of Bruno is contained in her article on him in Paul Edwards' *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1967:1-2,406), which is not reprinted elsewhere to our knowledge.

<sup>7</sup>Nowicki (1980). See fn. 2, above.

<sup>8</sup>See Nauert (1965:324).

<sup>9</sup>See Nauert (1965:241).

<sup>10</sup>Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* (1970:60).

<sup>11</sup>Bruno had hoped to reconcile Egyptian and Hellenic traditions with contemporary Christianity through the offices of a strong pope. But the accession of Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), following three short rules, made this unlikely, as Clement, though personally pious, simple and conscientious, presided over a bloodthirsty and fanatical rule. For instance it was under his regime that Beatrice Cenci was executed, Ferrara seized for the Papal States, and other questionable acts.

<sup>12</sup>For example, see Walker (1978:34-62). Also, Willie Ruff and John Rodgers of the School of Music at Yale University have published articles, given concerts and issued a long-playing record using Kepler's musical ideas as the basis of their work.

<sup>13</sup>Horowitz (1952:127).

<sup>14</sup>Yates (1964:225-37).

<sup>15</sup>Note Bruno's frequent use of the terms *signo*, *signum*, *signaculo*, etc. As for the term "semiotics," its first use that we know of is in a chart in Ernesto Friderico's *Galenica et Hermetica Anatomie Philosophica* (Hamburg: Hering, 1626).

<sup>16</sup>Since John Dee was travelling in Poland and elsewhere on the con-

tinental at the time of Bruno's sojourn in England, it is unlikely that Bruno obtained access to his celebrated library. However, the burning of Dee's library by a mob was not a unique incident. It is only the best known (to the English-speaking world) of such burnings at the time. Books which were considered dangerous, and which were therefore of the sort to attract Bruno, may well have perished in such burnings. Thus we have no way of knowing what works which were accessible to Bruno are now lost to us. For a recent work on Dee, see Peter French's *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (1972;1979).

<sup>17</sup>See Yates (1966 and 1982). Bonner has not, at least as yet, published any work on the Lull-Bruno relationship (see our footnotes to iii-7, below), but if the reader checks the Bruno listings in the index to Bonner's *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)* (1985), some idea of the issues involved will be glimpsed.

<sup>18</sup>Sturlese (1988:132-40).

<sup>19</sup>Beyersdorff dissertation (1889).

<sup>20</sup>Lakin dissertation (1970).

<sup>21</sup>Warnlef dissertation (1973).

<sup>22</sup>Saenger (1930;1967).

<sup>23</sup>Frye dissertation (1962).

<sup>24</sup>Snyder dissertation (1918) and article (1927:427-36).

<sup>25</sup>Boldereff (1968) and Voelker dissertation (1973).

### Dedicatory Epistle

Johann Heinrich Heinz or Heinzl was a disciple of Bruno. Presumably it was he who authorized the publication of the present work in 1591, in spite of its clearly unfinished state.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., God, nature and reason.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., the sun's light.

<sup>3</sup>The light Bruno means is the mind's light, a common concept in Neo-Platonic thought. But the point he is moving towards is that he agrees with Plato, who required that all who entered his academy must have studied mathematics first.

However, light, shadow and its vestiges are key terms in Platonism for the two lower levels of reality. Cf. the famous "myth of the cave" section in Book VII of Plato's *Republic* 514a-519c, in Plato (1961:747-51).

<sup>4</sup>I.e., what Bruno wishes is that we could combine both knowledge and self-knowledge.

<sup>5</sup>Up to this point, Bruno has been following the Neo-Platonic tradition in associating the eye and the mind. But he is also adding the scholastic concept of God as the divine mind that both knows and knows

itself.

<sup>10</sup>"Neoteric" does not only mean having knowledge of or a taste for the new, but it also carries with it a pejorative ring; Bruno is disparaging the younger thinkers of his time, on the grounds that they are deficient in phantasy. See fn. 8, below.

<sup>11</sup>We spell the word "phantasy" to distinguish it from "fantasy," and, later, "phantastic" to distinguish this from the merely "fantastic," e.g. in *i-1-13*. What Bruno has in mind is, evidently, the image-making, active imagination, perhaps what Coleridge, in the *Biographia Literaria*, Chap. 10, called the "esemplastic imagination," as opposed to a day-dreaming drift, in Coleridge (1983:168-70). Here, however, Bruno could also be thinking of a phantom which causes this.

<sup>12</sup>Bruno seems to be referring to the gnostic canons, presumably the *Corpus Hermeticum* plus whatever other, similar texts were available to him that are, as yet, unidentified. These canons are the guides in the anagogical process described in the next sentences.

<sup>13</sup>In breaking down the universe into atria and campuses, Bruno is operating within the tradition of Lull and Ramus. Cf. Frances Yates's "The art of Raymond Lull" (1954) and her *Lull and Bruno* (1982), esp. 10-11, rewritten as chapter one in her *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (1979), esp. 10-11. We bow to recent custom in referring to Ramón Lull (1232-1316) in that form, which is his Catalan name. "Raymond Lull," the name by which the English-speaking world knew him till recently, is the one by which he was called in France. The Latin form, "Raimundus Lullus," is still the one by which he is best known in Germany. But "Lull" is pronounced "Lull" whereas "Lull" is pronounced "Yul," so the latter spelling is far less distorted.

The gist of the method associated with Lull and Ramus is to break down everything into two or more parts, to break these again into two or more additional parts, and so on. A conceptual space or labyrinth is then imagined, and the parts are placed in or put into correspondence with these for easy and visual comprehension. The author (Higgins) once tried the system out in order to help his daughter learn the declensions of German nouns: though slow, it works.

Lull uses the system for memory and for an imagistic analysis of the universe. Bruno's charts resemble those in many of Lull's works, especially those from the *Ars Demonstrativa* and the *Ars Brevis*, of which Yates reproduces examples following p. 116 in *Lull and Bruno*. A selection from Lull, whose footnotes discuss Bruno frequently but which includes no overall discussion of the Lull-Bruno relationship, is Anthony Bonner's *Selected Works of Ramón Lull (1232-1316)* (1985). The two works cited appear as: (1985:1,305-646).

<sup>14</sup>The figure twelve is what Bruno has, perhaps by analogy to the

twelve apostles. But, in fact, he does not include all the permanent residents of Mount Olympus, but does include Tellus/Demeter, Saturn, etc., who are only visitors to Olympus.

<sup>15</sup>"Synonymy" here means punning and making clever but meaningless distinctions among things. The term refers to the rhetoric of the time.

<sup>16</sup>The quotation marks here are ours.

<sup>17</sup>I.e., nobles and clergy.

<sup>18</sup>The *Ars Reminiscendi, Trīginta Sigilli et Trīginta Sigillorum Explicatio, Sigillus Sigillorum*, known as the *Thirty Seals* for short, is another of Bruno's main mnemonic works, cited frequently below.

<sup>19</sup>Both Oedipus and Tiresias explain riddles in stories associated with them, the one answering the Sphinx, while Tiresias, who, like Oedipus, appears in Sophocles' Theban cycle, is a well-known seer.

#### Book One, Part One, Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Right off, here, we are into one of Bruno's principal ideas in the present work, that the preconception of a thing is part of its essence and contributes to its validity. Along with this goes Bruno's conviction, already present in one of Bruno's earliest mnemonic works, *De Umbris Idearum* ("On the Shadows of Ideas"), that "ideas can be conceived and represented by the human mind only in the shape of images," as Jean Seznec sums it up (1973,273n). *De Umbris Idearum. Implicandis Artem, Quarendi, Inveniendi, Iudicandi, Ordinandi, Et Applicandi* ("On the Shadows of Ideas...") is usually referred to, by Yates and others, simply as *Shadows*.

<sup>2</sup>This entire section was written in a very compressed, shorthand form, as opposed to the fine, Ovidian style of, for example, *De Immenso et Innumabili*. Its many parallel constructions only hint at the subject and object of the sentences. This is true of much of Book One, especially of its second part.

Here also we come to an important term of Bruno's, *species*, which normally means "appearance" in Classical Latin. For Bruno it means something like "the varieties and classes of something which proceed from something else," that is, something closer to the English meaning of the word than its Latin source. But when Bruno says "specification," he does not mean the process of making something specific, but, rather, the making or determination of species. This use of the term, which Bruno adopts from scholastic philosophy, must be kept in mind by English-speakers, who usually work with Classical Latin.

<sup>3</sup>The distinction being made here is between realism and nominal-



ism in scholastic philosophy.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 4.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Two*

<sup>1</sup>The "mirror" is one of Bruno's images for the material world.

<sup>2</sup>This is one of the main topics discussed in *Shadows* (cf. i-1-1 fn. 1, above).

<sup>3</sup>The "peripatetic school" is the nickname of the Aristotelians, who discussed their philosophy while strolling around the Lyceum of Athens. Throughout his career, Bruno constantly maintained that Aristotle was greatly misunderstood in his, Bruno's, time, and his attacks on the Aristotelians in his Oxford "debates" (1585), for instance, were often taken as an attack on Aristotle per se. But what Bruno apparently tried to do was to separate Aristotle from the Aristotelians, especially those of his time, not a thing without precedent among philosophers. This makes it all the more significant that here Bruno credits the Aristotelians for their correct premises although, shortly, he goes after them for other reasons.

<sup>4</sup>See fn. 1, above.

<sup>5</sup>I.e., they exist too.

<sup>6</sup>The argument here is the familiar one from the Pythagoreans that mathematics is the study of the form of forms, but Bruno is giving it an unusual twist, arguing that, since only things can cast shadows or images, anything which can cast a shadow or image in the mind must therefore exist, be it a physical or abstract entity. This is a key point in Bruno's thought and in his monism, whether or not one goes along with his argument.

<sup>7</sup>Bruno seems to be referring to Plato as the "great metaphysician" here, but the subsequent reference a few words later to "divine will" makes this ambiguous and suggests that God might also be meant.

<sup>8</sup>Surely Bruno did not know Old Persian, the language in which the Avestas, the sacred texts of the Zoroastrians, were composed. However, Zoroaster was seen in Bruno's time as a sort of gnostic magus, and Bruno's explanation of the physical universe as the trace of ideas is quite common in Gnosticism, both in Manichaeism (a religion derived from Zoroastrianism, but also, in a syncretic form, a Christian heresy that viewed the world as in dispute by more or less equal forces of good and evil) and in later Neo-Platonism (the School of Athens). Since, in the Counter-Reformation, all gnostic texts were regarded as dangerous and possibly diabolically inspired, we might speculate that wherever, *throughout this book*, Bruno refers to Zoroaster or to Babylonians and Chaldeans, he is actually referring to gnostic or Neo-Platonic texts in general under a somewhat safer name.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Three*

<sup>1</sup>Curiously, though he repeatedly gives clear examples of it, Bruno never names synecdoche among his rhetorical terms. There is another instance of this in i-1-8, section XXIII.

<sup>2</sup>We follow Tocco's deletion of the quotation marks that are in the 1591 edition.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Five*

<sup>1</sup>Bruno uses a hendiadys to indicate the complex "mind-and-sense."

<sup>2</sup>The term Bruno uses, *signaculum*, is the diminutive of "sign" and is lacking in English; thus our neologism seems necessary to indicate Bruno's exact meaning. Cf. i-1-3 and i-1-4 for Bruno on signs.

<sup>3</sup>This concept of "favors," here and above, which accompany the passage from one plane to another, seems to be an avoidance of the concept of "Grace," which would have too specifically Christian a context for Bruno's purposes. Further, the sexual tone of "favors" is clear, and is related to the image of "chains," "ties" or "links" (*vincula*), which reappears in Book Three of this work and is crucial for Bruno elsewhere, notably in *Thirty Seals* and in *De Vinculis in Genere*, whose short title is *Links*, and which was in manuscript at the time of Bruno's death. *Links* is well described by Coulano (1987:97-102), who calls it "a practical manual for the love magician" and who treats the image as one of sexual bonds or ties. As an alternative view to this, the late D. P. Walker, in his *Spiritual and Demonic Magic* (1975:82-83) places a different slant on both the image and the work, suggesting that it is "a sexual technique for social manipulation."

<sup>4</sup>By *magi* Bruno does not necessarily mean Zoroastrians here, but the plural of "magus," adepts at occult knowledge. This concept of sympathy or sympathetic resonance is common to many forms of arcane knowledge or practice, such as herbal medicine, astrology and other forms of divination. Cf. i-1-2 fn. 8, above.

<sup>5</sup>In Exodus:32, i-20, it is Aaron who built the calf and Moses who, outraged, destroyed it. Bruno's inversion of this familiar bible story is very curious, as is the allusion to the serpent. Perhaps Bruno is referring to some occult text.

<sup>6</sup>Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 461-3.

<sup>7</sup>Bruno is probably referring to prisms here. The origin of the refraction telescope is, however, controversial. It may have been invented

by Giovanni della Porta (ca. 1538-1615) well before Galileo, and was known as a "cylinder" or "tube" before the term "telescope" came into use. It would be tempting to say that Bruno's mention of mirrors indicates that he means a reflection telescope, but this form was probably first developed in 1663 by James Gregory (1638-75). Bruno is probably therefore referring simply to the effect of a concave mirror as concentrating light. For those who wish to go more deeply into the matter, we recommend the *Sphera* of "Sacrobosco," which Bruno may have taught on leaving the monastery at San Domenico in 1576. "Sacrobosco" or "Sacro Bosco" is the commonest contemporary name for John Holywood (d. 1244). See Thorndike (1949:76-111). Cf. i-1-8 fn. 6.

\*We have not been able to identify from this passage any corresponding passage in Aristotle; furthermore, it sounds quite un-Aristotelian. Bruno is evidently quoting from memory, and blending in his own ideas in the process. Cf. i-1-2 fn. 3.

\*Bruno could be commenting on the papal Inquisition here, reorganized as part of the program of the Counter-Reformation, or, alternatively, he may simply be referring to ignorant people in general.

\*As part of his monism, Bruno typically attributes life to things which we normally think of as inanimate. His argument would probably be that, if salt is a prerequisite of life, it partakes of it.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Six*

<sup>1</sup>This is the first of several chapters which are presented only in outline as lists. They read like notes for a lecture.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Seven*

<sup>1</sup>In this section Bruno is combining Lucretian atomism with the chaos of Homer and Hesiod "where everything is possible because nothing is."

<sup>2</sup>Bruno has a period here.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Eight*

<sup>1</sup>I.e., use respectfully, almost religiously.

<sup>2</sup>That is, these figures are created arbitrarily by fiat by those who require them; a trade-mark would be a modern instance of this.

<sup>3</sup>This story is told in Apollodorus' *The Library* 3.14.1.

<sup>4</sup>Bruno is referring to the Italian states of his time, especially to the

papal States.

<sup>5</sup>A literal translation of this passage would be all but impossible. To get the sense of *significatum*, a passive participle meaning "signified," we have reconstructed the sentence and used the supine. Cf. i-1-10 fn. 1.

<sup>6</sup>For the significance of the astrolabe to Bruno's time, see Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphaera*... in Thorndike (1949:76-117). "Sacrobosco" or "Sacro Bosco" was the name by which Bruno and his contemporaries knew John Holywood (d. 1244), whose best known work is *De Anni Ratione* (ca. 1232), which predicts the Gregorian reforms of the Julian calendar. Cf. i-1-5 fn. 7.

<sup>7</sup>The opposition here is between active and passive. The one doing something is known by his deed, while the other is acted upon.

<sup>8</sup>That is, independently of its container.

<sup>9</sup>See i-1-3 fn. 1.

<sup>10</sup>This and the following are amalgams of biblical proverbs.

<sup>11</sup>This alludes to the conversation in John 4 between Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well. Traditionally hers is the voice of charity.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Nine*

<sup>1</sup>Mnemosyne, originally a Titaness, evolved into being treated as the Goddess of Memory; she also was the mother of the Muses.

<sup>2</sup>Aegyptus brought hieroglyphic writing from Egypt to Greece. The story appears in Apollodorus 2.1.4-5 and in Hyginus's fable 168. Egypt itself is, however, also being addressed, as homeland of the hieroglyph.

<sup>3</sup>Bruno, speaking the Church Latin of his time, would have pronounced "præ-" and "pre-" similarly to "pra-," for instance. Thus many of these terms do, in fact, sound a little similar. Many of these experiments or plays of homonyms are also examples of synecdoche. Cf. i-1-3 fn. 1.

But Bruno's point is something else, that a thing is derived conceptually, to some extent, from its associations. As the title of this chapter indicates, however, Bruno is not simply dealing with psychology, but also with the psychology of memory, thus the allusion to Mnemosyne (see fn. 1, above). The allusion to the Chaldeans in the chapter title further suggests that he has occult or magical memory in mind. Thus the associations he is dealing with are associations which work for the memory—sympathetic associations from the hidden aspects of words, not simply overt or logical ones.

<sup>4</sup>"Aser" is Tocco's conjecture for "A ser" of the 1591 edition, which does not exist.

<sup>5</sup>According to Livy, the Capitoline Hill, on which the Capitol stood in Rome, was named for a man's skull that was found there. Bruno appears to be alluding to this.

<sup>1</sup>The Angles, a Germanic tribe from southern Denmark, migrated to Britain in the fifth century and, with the Jutes and Saxons, formed the Anglo-Saxon people. Bruno seems to be alluding to a legend that when, in the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great was shown two lovely boys that were for sale in Rome's slave market, he said they were *non angli sed angeli* ("not Angles but angels"), and this is said to have inspired him to bring the Church of England into the Roman See. A version of this story is found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People* 2.2.

<sup>2</sup>Bruno repeats this example here from three lines previous.

<sup>3</sup>The figures he refers to here are the figures of speech. The "Latinists" are the Italian rhetoricians of his day who are, he implies, so concerned with borrowing Greek rhetorical concepts or terms that they do not see the rhetorical possibilities in the things and words around them; they are mistaking forms and precedents for substance. Cf. i-1-10.

The source of the passage is the then well known *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* iii, 3.23, n.38, which Bruno's time believed to be by Cicero. The same idea appears in *Shadows* (cf. i-1-1 fn. 1) (1886:i,1,104). It is also found in *Circe's Song*, the *Canus Circeus* (1886:i,1,251), where Bruno says: "Listen to what Cicero told his pupils in the 'Ad Herennium'..." He then goes on to present the same idea in more detail to conclude the work.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Ten*

<sup>1</sup>This chapter is the conceptual heart of Book One. Here Bruno attempts to provide a rationale underlying the shapes of letters and Latin vocabulary and grammar. But also the dichotomy between "signifier" and "signified," begun in the previous chapters (see i-1-8 section XXVIII, for instance), is developed here to its fullest, thus, interestingly, foreshadowing Ferdinand de Saussure and the modern semioticians over three hundred years later. As for Bruno's sources in this area, the most important is probably Ramón Llull.

<sup>2</sup>No single term can consistently render Bruno's term *ratio*, as already noted. It means, at times, "explanation," "logic," "reason" or even "purpose." Cf. i-1-8.

<sup>3</sup>Bruno's point is that the meaning or association of the images changes when it is associated with a new set or collation of ideas.

<sup>4</sup>"Simply" in the sense of un-compounded or mixed-with any other sign or image, "by composition" in the sense of being made up of other signs and images. In modern terms, these are the attributes of semiotic signifiers and conveyors of meaning taken singly or in some compound sense.

<sup>5</sup>Bruno appears to be referring either to the rebus, which became ever more popular over the course of the sixteenth century (four appear,

for example, in M. Giovanbattista Palatino's *Cyfre Quadrate et Sonetto Figurato* of 1545) or to the fanciful alphabets in which letter forms are, literally, made up of visual images—trees, flowers, and, indeed, human figures or body parts.

<sup>6</sup>In modern grammars, such a "sign" would be the morpheme. But Bruno assigns images to these which are, at least to him, etymological, in their Latin terminology. "Dative" he associates with the "giving hand" from the Latin word *do, dare, dedi, datus* meaning "to give." "Genitive" sounds like "genitals" in both English and Latin, although this is hard to follow since the genitive case signifies possession rather than origin; the resemblance is really more by sound than anything else. The vocative case is used for calling to or addressing someone, relating thereby to *vox, vocis* ["voice"]. The ablative case is used for, among other things, removing, especially as the object of prepositions suggesting removal or departure, so Bruno's connection with the "taking-away" or "left hand" is not entirely far-fetched.

<sup>7</sup>*Canus* means both grammatical case and a physical fall; but the extension of this into other medical terms is obscure.

<sup>8</sup>"Paralipomena" means "those books omitted from the Septuagint bible."

<sup>9</sup>Evidently Bruno feels that some work on rhetoric might be possible, but that he simply does not wish to go into the matter now. He has already alluded to his views on rhetoric in the previous chapter; see i-1-9 fn. 7.

<sup>10</sup>The gist of what Bruno is saying here is that the "toil and effort" of trying to understand from too few examples need not be expended if there are enough of them. By "more vain" he means "unnecessary."

<sup>11</sup>Bruno's *Thirty Seals* (cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15, above) has rather little to do with rhetoric; it deals with images but does not stress their theory, so it is difficult to see why Bruno cites it here.

<sup>12</sup>By "words" he means the next chapter. We use a singular here, since to use a plural, as he does, would be confusing.

#### *Book One, Part One, Chapter Eleven*

<sup>1</sup>Following the relatively closely reasoned prose of the preceding chapter, here Bruno breaks into extremely rhapsodic, imagistic verse. One should not dwell as much on the logic of his images as on their cumulative impact, bearing in mind that what we have here is a sampling of events which might take place in the Temple of Mnemosyne (i.e., Memory) rather than an overt description of how it occurs. Cf. i-1-9 fn. 1, ii-14 fn. 2 and iii-5 fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., which are invisible.



<sup>2</sup>In this passage, Bruno's assumption is that the reader is considering making up a mnemonic system, a memory wheel, and that he is to be a guide to the reader.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., "look-alikes."

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Twelve*

<sup>1</sup>I.e., Genesis.

<sup>2</sup>The *Poimander* was attributed to Hermes Trismegistos who was sometimes identified either as a personification of the Greco-Roman Hermes-Mercury or even as the Egyptian god Thoth who, under various names which we shall note as we come to them, appears repeatedly in subsequent chapters of this book, especially in Book Three. An Egyptian gnostic text, the *Poimander* (or, sometimes, *Pimander*), was known to Bruno's time, but he could not have known that its surviving form, a Greek translation of the first century C.E., cannot be earlier than the second or third century C.E., since this dating was done by Isaac Casaubon in 1614, fourteen years after Bruno's death. However, the translation must have been based on some earlier, hieroglyphic text, perhaps dating from as early as the second or third millennium B.C.E., and Bruno was thus not wrong in regarding it as being of very great antiquity.

Hermes Trismegistos was also sometimes treated as a sort of patron saint of obscure scholarship and knowledge among Christians. For this reason he is depicted, in an image of the 1480s, in the pavement of Siena Cathedral. For a history of his cult among the Christians, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (1989:144-50). The cult was purged in the Counter-Reformation.

A representative passage from the *Poimander* in English will be found in Charles Doria's *Origins. Creation Texts from the Ancient Mediterranean* (1976:28-36). Cf. ii-6 frs. 48 and 50, iii-2 fr. 1 and iii-10 fr. 5, etc. The best translation of the *Poimander* that is available is that of Nock and Festugi re in their edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1946-50).

<sup>3</sup>This refers to an argument by Francisco de Valles (Franciscus Vellius, 1524-92) that light came into existence before the sun because light can exist without the sun, but the sun cannot exist without light (1588:45).

<sup>4</sup>This is a prime instance of Bruno's syncretism, attempting to reconcile the gnostic doctrine of the preeminence of Light, the Platonic or at least the Neo-Platonic hierarchy of forms, and the Judeo-Christian story of the Creation.

<sup>5</sup>As noted already, the Peripatetics were the Aristotelians. Needless to say, in Bruno's present discussion, none of this mystical speculation on

light has anything whatever to do with what Aristotle or his followers have to say on light. Cf. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (1968) discussed in *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 4, above, and i-1-2 fn. 3, also above.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Thirteen*

<sup>1</sup>For the term "phantastic," see *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 8, above.

<sup>2</sup>While Bruno appears to be speaking about atoms, he more likely is referring to the Ramusian mnemonic system in which things were classified into their parts, these split into their own parts, and so on practically ad infinitum. Cf. Yates (1966).

<sup>3</sup>Here "rational" is an adjectival form of *ratio*, Bruno's term for conception, logic, etc., on which we have remarked above several times, so that the word is by no means "rational" in the colloquial sense but, rather, something achieved by a mental process. Bruno's centaurs are not, then, those winged creatures, part man and part horse, which, in classical mythology, drew the chariot of Dionysus or were ridden by Eros. He is not, after all, using them out of belief or even for mythic purposes here.—Rather, he is arguing that they are a mental fusion, as would be the unified mind-picture of man+horse+bird, using this as an example to suggest that all sorts of other imagistic fusions are likewise possible, in fact, an infinite variety of such beings. Cf. i-1-8 and i-1-10.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Fourteen*

<sup>1</sup>That is, the essence of images carries power to effect changes; for Bruno, change and movement are a sign of life, and nothing in the world, least of all the world itself, is inanimate. Cf. i-1-3, above.

<sup>2</sup>Synesius (ca. 370-413) was a Neo-Platonist of the Alexandrian School, a student of Hypatius, who converted to Christianity and became Bishop of Ptolemais three years before his death. Best remembered for his Christian hymns, he is also the author of 156 surviving epistles dealing with various philosophical problems. Here Bruno is referring to Synesius's *De Somniis* ("On Dreams," in (1576,1970). The Bruno-Synesius relationship has been discussed by Yates (1964:335). But also note that Bruno uses his terms metaphorically to indicate an organ of the imagination. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle*, fn. 8.

<sup>3</sup>In context, this makes little sense, though *asseruandum* is the word employed in both the 1591 and 1891 editions. Might it be a typographical error for *asseverandum* ("demonstrating")?

<sup>4</sup>The "investigation" is Plato's philosophy or that of his school; as

already noted, Bruno does not distinguish among these and Neo-Platonism. Also, in this passage we are again using "phantasy" and "phantastic," following S. T. Coleridge, to denote the imaging capability or "esemplastic" function. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 8.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., this refers to whatever stimulates the external.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., to the extreme edge.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Fifteen*

<sup>1</sup>I.e., the memory

<sup>2</sup>Bruno's sentence has no predicate. Also, the gate image is picked up from the previous chapter.

<sup>3</sup>*Shadows* (cf. i-1-1 fn. 1) does not deal with astonishment at any great length.

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Sixteen*

<sup>1</sup>Presumably bodies.

<sup>2</sup>This chapter can be summed up as follows: "Images have souls, by which they are given life. Since they exist with material expression, they also have substance, size, quality, figure, light, site, relation, sequence of comprehension, and timing of that sequence. To understand this, we must now turn to considering the condition of visibility and the medium in which this takes place."

This approach to the subject fuses together many strands from the Syrian and Athenian Neo-Platonist traditions, especially from Iamblichus and Proclus. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 3. For Bruno's place in this tradition, see Paul Oskar Kristeller's discussion in his *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (1979:60).

*Book One, Part One, Chapter Seventeen*

<sup>1</sup>Literally, "bent-back two-fold species." The gist of this passage is that the imagination or phantasy sees more directly than the physical eye.

since it sees what things really are, not merely what they appear to be.

<sup>2</sup>"Visual" (*visiva*) is here opposed to "visible" (*visibilis*). What Bruno seems to mean in this passage is that an object, placed directly over the eye, would not be visible clearly enough to be identified.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., "shared."

<sup>4</sup>By "lens-makers," Bruno means not just those who grind the lenses but those who assemble them into instruments. The profession of an optician, as such, still lay in the future. Cf. i-1-5 fn. 7.

*Book One, Part Two, Chapter Two*

<sup>1</sup>"Subaltern" is a term in logic, meaning "a genus which may be a species of a higher genus."

<sup>2</sup>"Most people," literally *vulgus*, the common people.

<sup>3</sup>Bruno is dissociating his perspective from both vulgar or common astronomy, and from the functional astronomy which views the stars and heavens as a clock.

<sup>4</sup>Bruno is not simply proposing that we consider the universe according to the medieval chemistry and cosmology of the four elements, but is suggesting here the cosmology of the alchemists with its ranking of elements. For understanding the implications of this culturally and aesthetically, two useful books are: S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Touche of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (1974) and Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (1972).

*Book One, Part Two, Chapter Three*

<sup>1</sup>With this section we enter Bruno's discussion of memory systems. The best known work on these is Frances Yates' *The Art of Memory* (1974). However, we disagree with her in that we feel his purpose in the mnemonic works is more psychological than magical, that magic is a major current in Bruno's mnemonics, but more so in other, mostly earlier, works, than in the present one. Here Bruno's focus is on the psychology of learning; the purpose of this memory system is less occult power per se than to provide a method of understanding and of learning, which is based on mythic or even archetypal images and one's interpretation of them, as, for instance, in the Chinese *I Ching*. Cf. iii-1 fns. 1 and 36.

<sup>2</sup>The 1591 and Tocco (1891) versions of the diagram are slightly different. Tocco's note translates: "The original has a C in place of the O,



and vice versa O in place of C. Besides, the I between S and T" (on the right center) "it seemed better to correct to an E" (which Tocco did not do). The circular text, "ALTA RISA" means "high" or "deep laughs." Something indeed seems ironic here. However, there are twenty-four positions. In some way, these should correspond with the twenty-four letters of the Latin alphabet, to which, in turn, the twenty-four images in the next chapter should correspond. Compare the following chapter and the first diagram following i-2-6, below.

*Book One, Part Two, Chapter Four*

<sup>1</sup>By "elements" Bruno means letters. To each of the images which follow, Bruno assigns a letter which is not necessarily the initial letter of its Latin name, and he also assigns a position on the chart in the previous chapter; this is puzzling, since, in Tocco's version, on the right, Tocco has not corrected Bruno's 1591 diagram completely. These positions are capable of visualization and memorization; Bruno thus describes them metaphorically as *atria*, the plural of *atrium*, the uncovered courtyard in the center of a Roman villa. This, in turn, suggests that the atrium will be surrounded by a house with its own spaces and rooms, which is precisely what happens in the diagrams of the atria that correspond with these images, following Chapter Six below. Returning to Bruno's list of letters, we have placed the Latin letter after the English name of the atrium. J is a consonantal I, 21 "gate" [*porta*] does not begin with the vowel U (but U and V are the same letter in Latin).

<sup>2</sup>Item 22, "Pythagoras' Bivium" (*bivium* means "intersection" or "fork") is a word play: it is both the letter which evolved into English W and the meeting place of two roads, since *bivium* suggests two Vs. However, to the renaissance, the association of a fork and Pythagoras was a commonplace. There is even a Y-shaped pattern poem by the Hungarian humanist, Janus Pannonius (1434-72) called "De litera Pythagoræ," and in the *Poesia Artificiosa* of Paschasius a Sancto Joanne Evangelista (early sixteenth century), Janus's poem appears on page 157 in the section "De carmine Pythagorice," indicating that Pythagoras was still thought of as the eponym of such poems in Paschasius's time. There are several editions of Paschasius's work, and it is not unlikely that Bruno might have known one.

<sup>3</sup>This is a puzzling image. Might it refer to the key to a chastity belt?

<sup>4</sup>See the diagram of the arrangements of the concepts in the previous chapter.

*Book One, Part Two, Chapter Five*

<sup>1</sup>I.e., emblematic labels. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 14 and i-1-10 fns. 4 and 6.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., added places.

*Book One, Part Two, Chapter Six*

<sup>1</sup>Adjective places are added ones. See i-2-5 fn. 2, above.

<sup>2</sup>For Bruno's diagram of this example, without which it is very hard to visualize, see his chart of the Atrium of the Altar, below. For a discussion of "atria," see *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 10.

<sup>3</sup>In Bruno's system, "f." indicates *forma* while "fi." stands for *figura*.

*Atria*

<sup>1</sup>Bruno's phrase is *Lex Sc.*, perhaps "the Law of Science" or of "Knowledge?" Compare i-2-10, where "SC" stands for *Scientia*.

<sup>2</sup>This is the staff with ivy and vine leaves carried by the Bacchantes, the devotees of Dionysus, in their parades and revels. For a fuller account, see ii-8 fn. 17.

<sup>3</sup>It is difficult to say what *Mar. Ca.* might stand for: *Martis caput* (the head of Mars)? Mars is the subject of Book Two Chapter Five, so this could make sense.

<sup>4</sup>*Moneta* (coin) is also the special title of Juno, Juno Moneta, in whose temple or house coins were minted.

<sup>5</sup>*Haruspiciat.* appears to be *haruspiciatio*, the inspection of a sacrificial animal's innards, for divinatory purposes.

<sup>6</sup>A ballista was an ancient military engine, usually shaped like a cross-bow, used for heaving large missiles at an angle. Bruno and Tocco spell the word with one L, but in English two are normally used.

<sup>7</sup>The term used, *macra*, is transliterated Greek.

<sup>8</sup>*Glomer* is Bruno's term. It must relate to the Latin *gloramen* (ball).

<sup>9</sup>This is a very obscure image. Perhaps it relates to an unknown myth, or it might refer to a ball used to keep a person from snoring.

<sup>10</sup>Abode of the dead. Cf. ii-1 fn. 4, ii-4 fn. 25, etc.

<sup>11</sup>*Veneficium* could also mean "poisoner."

<sup>12</sup>The Penates were household gods, specifically gods of the storeroom. They were honored by families at meals and on special

occasions, since they were thought of as guardians of a family's welfare.

<sup>13</sup>Obsonium was bread, not unlike the modern Indian "nan," on which one put sauces or other small foods for light meals. Perhaps the thing that corresponds most closely to this in the west would be the Pizza Margarita.

<sup>14</sup>Occasionally Bruno uses Italian words. The word in question here is *brenta*, which is not properly a Latin word.

<sup>15</sup>I.e., of a musical instrument.

<sup>16</sup>*Scoria* is mining slag or refuse, or the refuse of mineral refining.

<sup>17</sup>*Rubrica* (rubric), Bruno's term, might refer to a section of law, scripture, etc. But it could also be red ochre, in which such things were written in early manuscripts, and from which we get the term.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. i-2-4 fn. 2.

<sup>19</sup>*Xenion*, Bruno's word, is transliterated Greek.

<sup>20</sup>*Machæra*, like the above, is a Greek word for the common short, broad sword.

<sup>21</sup>An *as* was the smallest Roman coin, perhaps corresponding to a farthing or a sou.

<sup>22</sup>The handle which adjusts the lids on a wood stove?

<sup>23</sup>Might this be the key to a chastity belt? Cf. 1-2-4 fn. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Forked yokes were placed on the necks of criminals.

#### *Book One, Part Two, Chapter Seven*

<sup>1</sup>In the Tarot and elsewhere, in cabalism for instance, there is often an approach by threes, these numbered by the names of the Hebrew letters of the alphabet, aleph, beth and gimel, and taken as standing for the masculine, feminine and neuter principles, which will then be followed by a new cycle of masculine, feminine and neuter. Bruno appears to be using this approach to his subject. The concept is well explained in Papus's *The Tarot of the Bohemians* (1958:17-25).

Following this logic, the third "generation" (we might have said "order" equally well, perhaps), would be the neuter one, the third group out from the center, along the starry border of the diagram.

#### *Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eight*

<sup>1</sup>While *atrium* is the whole structure or edifice, the *cubile* (bed-room or chamber) is the satellite space, rooms around the atrium.

#### *Book One, Part Two, Chapter Nine*

<sup>1</sup>Bruno seems to indicate here that the form of some of these chambers (*cubilia*) was "diagonal" in his lost manuscript, which could account for the blanks; if so, then it was presumably the printer of the 1591 edition who made all of them rectangular. Cf. i-2-8 fn. 1, and fn. 3, below.

<sup>2</sup>The list of the chambers actually included differs from the list given in the short text at the beginning of the chapter.

Also, the words in Latin are paired by their initial vowels, A, E, I and O (no U's). We have therefore given the closest cognates that we could, in order to suggest this, even when this means using some very rare English words indeed.

<sup>3</sup>In the original and in Tocco, some words are missing from the chambers and have typographic stars instead. Perhaps this has to do with Bruno's suggestion that some of the chambers are meant to be triangular. That these spaces are somehow significant is indicated by Bruno's reference to them in i-2-12 as "vacant."

<sup>4</sup>There are several Iphises in classical literature, one a king of Argos who appears in Euripides' *The Suppliants*, and others, some possibly the same, in Apollodorus's *Library*, 1.353, 357 and 375, but the most likely one is a daughter of Ligdus and Telethusa, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 9.668-795, who, since her father claimed he could not support a daughter and would kill one, was raised as a boy. In due course the father promised her to Ianthé, a girl of Phæstus. Fearing the discovery, Telethusa prayed to Isis who, in the nick of time, transformed Iphis into a boy.

<sup>5</sup>This appears to be a neologism, based on the Greek prefix *eu* (good, well) plus *formos*, an abbreviated form of the Latin *fortuna*.

#### *Book One, Part Two, Chapter Ten*

<sup>1</sup>In ancient and medieval philosophy, the quintessence was thought to be the fifth or transmuting element (the philosopher's stone), of which the heavenly bodies were composed; some degree of it was thought to be latent even in earthly entities. In alchemy the term came to be used for a redefined extract of something which in some sense transcended its original elemental composition. These alchemical concepts reappear in iii-9 and iii-10 of this work.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., concomitants.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eleven

<sup>1</sup>This suggests Song of Solomon 1:5.

<sup>2</sup>In Bruno's times and before, blind beggars often carried such poles— see, for instance, Pieter Breughel's "The Parable of the Blind" (1568) in the National Museum at Naples, in which each of the beggars is carrying such a pole. This image therefore suggests that the young man in question, if not necessarily blind, must prod and poke his way along as if he were.

<sup>3</sup>The group forms a "chorus" in our sense, but in classical Greece and Rome the "chorus" was also a dance. In fact even today there is a folk dance in Brazil called a "choros." However, the image suggests the Three Graces in classical mythology. They reappear in ii-2 and ii-6.

<sup>4</sup>The image suggests that of the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king.

<sup>5</sup>In the list in the preceding chapter, Pleasure is combined with Blasphemy. The diagram reflects this.

<sup>6</sup>This suggests the traditional image of the archdevil Astaroth.

<sup>7</sup>This suggests the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. The entire sequence is emblematic and very rich in allusion.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Twelve

<sup>1</sup>The infinity sign resembles an "8" when rolled on its side. Or, an "8," when rolled on its side, becomes an infinity sign.

<sup>2</sup>Note that this list is mostly printed in abbreviations and entirely omits the north.

<sup>3</sup>This could also be someone who lights something, perhaps even a lamplighter.

<sup>4</sup>This puns on *amplexor* and *amplius*.

<sup>5</sup>This puns on *ominor* and *omitto*.

<sup>6</sup>Ixion's story is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4.465ff. He murdered his father-in-law in order to avoid paying bridal presents. Jupiter, who in some accounts is his father, took him to heaven and purified him. In spite of this, he tried to seduce Juno, which Jupiter circumvented by substituting the image of a cloud for her. But when Ixion boasted of his success with her, Jupiter threw him into Tartarus and bound him to an eternally revolving wheel. We doubt that Bruno is referring specifically to this story, but believe that, rather, he is using the name "Ixion" because it sounds similar to "axiom." In fact, the specific character of these groupings of ideas in this chapter is largely determined by the resemblance of the

sounds in their Latin names. In Book Two, Ixion reappears under different circumstances. Cf. ii-4 fn. 11.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Thirteen

<sup>1</sup>Bruno says west, but must mean north here.

<sup>2</sup>These word lists we have left in Latin since the point of each word is its sound rather than its meaning.

<sup>3</sup>In the charts which follow here, there are a series of arrays of images called by the term *campus* (field). These we take to be adjectival arrays—that is, the images modify what is at the center. If one were to make up a master chart, following Bruno's instructions and arrangements of images on a huge card, placing everything as he says, these campuses would be the outside series of images, outside both the atria and the chambers. We employ the term "campus" wherever the English term, "field," sounds too general, but use "field" where "campus" or "campi" would be confusing.

## Fields

<sup>1</sup>In most of these fields, the corner lists relate to each other, as do opposite ones. The center is, as Bruno said it was, the key, and the attributes of its eponym are the main ones of the field itself.

<sup>2</sup>Bruno's word, *pulvinar*, denotes a couch or cushioned seat for a god placed before his or her statue.

<sup>3</sup>Cupbearer of the gods. For a more detailed account, see ii-3 fn. 8.

<sup>4</sup>This kind of stripe signifies the insignia of some office, as a sergeant's stripes would to us.

<sup>5</sup>I.e., Adam in Genesis.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., the head of a large, as opposed to a small, monastery.

<sup>7</sup>Tocco suggests "rabies." Otherwise, "thinness." Bruno's word is *rallus*.

<sup>8</sup>Apollo, in order to establish his claim to the oracle of Delphi, had to kill an oracular snake called "Pytho" or "Python."

<sup>9</sup>Tocco suggests "deafness."

<sup>10</sup>A disease causing baldness.

<sup>11</sup>Traditionally, the horned owl is a bearer of bad news.

<sup>12</sup>The term used is *ambra ca.* The "ca." is puzzling.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., Egyptian beer; see Pliny *Natural History* 22.25.82 par. 164.

<sup>14</sup>I.e., turpentine tree.

<sup>15</sup>This must be sugar crystals— what we call rock candy.

<sup>16</sup>A fragrant bush.

<sup>17</sup>A gum tree.

<sup>18</sup>The mastic tree or its resin is used in confections or is chewed like our chewing gum throughout the near east.

<sup>19</sup>Labdanum or Ladanum is the resinous juice from the lada tree, used for flavoring. It is not to be confused with laudanum, tincture of opium.

<sup>20</sup>Galbanum is another resinous sap, from the Bubon galbanum, an umbelliferous plant from Syria; see Pliny 12.25.56 par. 121 and 24.5.13 par. 21.

<sup>21</sup>Costus arabicus is an oriental aromatic plant used in costly unguents. See Pliny 12.12.25 par. 41. It is also mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.308.

<sup>22</sup>Plutus is the god of wealth.

<sup>23</sup>Bruno's term, *ebor fossilis*, is ambiguous. It could mean "fossil ivory."

<sup>24</sup>Cf. i-1-2 fn. 8. In iii-1 some of the same stones reappear. Most of the names are taken from Pliny's *Natural History*.

<sup>25</sup>Rooster stone.

<sup>26</sup>Selenite.

<sup>27</sup>Diamond. It was used as a remedy for "sorrow" (depression) as late as the fourteenth century.

<sup>28</sup>This remains the better name for magnetite or lodestone, the magnetic stone used as primitive compasses. Lodestones reappear in iii-1.

<sup>29</sup>Tortoise stone.

<sup>30</sup>Calais was one of the two winged sons of Boreas and Orithyia; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.716 and 7.3. His inclusion makes no sense here. Tocco suggests *chalaris*, hailstone.

<sup>31</sup>Probably this is the *Syrus gemma* mentioned in Pliny 37.10.67 par. 183.

<sup>32</sup>This stone was supposedly found in the brain of the cinædus fish. See Pliny 37.10.56 par. 153. The stone reappears.

<sup>33</sup>This stone is the same as mudula, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.68 par. 183.

<sup>34</sup>See Pliny 37.11.73, par. 192.

<sup>35</sup>Lizard stone; see Pliny 37.10.67 par. 192.

<sup>36</sup>See Pliny 37.10.65 par. 176.

<sup>37</sup>I.e., Leukopetra (whitestone).

<sup>38</sup>Ammonite is the same as "Hammonis cornu" or "ram's horn," a gold-colored precious stone; see Pliny 37.10.60 par. 197. Cf. iii-1 fn. 16.

<sup>39</sup>This is the same as siderite, in Pliny 37.10.65 par. 176.

<sup>40</sup>Orphicardelon, in Pliny 37.10.65 par. 177.

<sup>41</sup>Hyænia is hyena stone; see Pliny 37.10.60 par. 168.

<sup>42</sup>See Pliny 37.10.68 par. 183.

<sup>43</sup>This Persian stone appears in Pliny 37.10.63 par. 173.

<sup>44</sup>This is probably the *galaktis petra* of the Orphic *Lithica* 2.11, a stone which, when rubbed, was believed to give off milk.

<sup>45</sup>Stone solvent; see Pliny 36.19.35 par. 143.

<sup>46</sup>This may be the *Eumetris* of iii-1 fn. 10.

<sup>47</sup>Polytrichon is a name for both an herb and a precious stone. See Pliny 37.11.73 par. 190.

<sup>48</sup>Hawstone; see Pliny 37.10.60 par. 167.

<sup>49</sup>No stone is known by precisely this name; however Pliny mentions a Zoranisceos in 37.10.70 par. 185, otherwise unknown.

<sup>50</sup>"Gasidane" is an otherwise unknown precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.64 par. 175.

<sup>51</sup>This is probably Zmilampis, an otherwise unknown precious stone in Pliny 19.10.57 par. 176.

<sup>52</sup>I.e., *Medea nigra*, a precious stone named after Medea; see Pliny 37.10.63 par. 173.

<sup>53</sup>Eupetalos means "well-petalled," and is a kind of opal; see Pliny 37.10.56 par. 161.

<sup>54</sup>This is probably Polytrichon again (see fn. 47 above).

<sup>55</sup>Epimelas is a black-surfaced gem mentioned in Pliny 37.10.58 par. 161.

<sup>56</sup>The woodpecker was associated with Jove; see Pliny 10.18.20 par. 40.

<sup>57</sup>Or a kite.

<sup>58</sup>"Lar," "lares" or "lases" are Roman household gods.

<sup>59</sup>Or a dog?

<sup>60</sup>This suggests either the golden apple of discord which Paris used in choosing the most beautiful goddess, thus precipitating indirectly the Trojan War, or the golden apples of the Hesperides. Hercules stole these apples as one of his labors.

<sup>61</sup>Or a driver of some other vehicle.

<sup>62</sup>Bruno's term, *tomio*, is Italian; the proper Latin would be *ternus*.

<sup>63</sup>The next two campuses are called "atria" in the 1591 and Tocco editions, presumably by error, since they do not differ from the others in their format. We follow the text but note the fact.

<sup>64</sup>This stripe is an insignia of some kind; see fn. 3, above.

<sup>65</sup>This word denotes the descendants of Belus (the Semitic Baal), a king of Egypt and son of Neptune. See Apollodorus *Library* 2.4.

<sup>66</sup>A celeusma was a coxswain's call.

<sup>67</sup>The kingfisher was associated with Alcyon. See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.384 and 710-95.

<sup>68</sup>Deucalion and his wife, Pyrrha, were spared in the great flood of



the earth, and correspond to Noah and his wife in the Bible, in Genesis 6. The Deucalion myth appears in Apollodorus *Library* 1.7.1-2 and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.318-415, etc. Cf. ii-14 fn. 57.

<sup>66</sup>Arion (fl. 625 B.C.E.) was a historical poet whose authentic works are now lost, but around whom legends have grown up, such as that he, like Orpheus, could charm animals with his poetry; threatened by pirates, he received permission to sing his poems one last time, which attracted dolphins around the ship. He sprang overboard, was rescued by the dolphins, and lived to see the pirates crucified. The story appears in Hyginus *Fabulae* 1.23-4. Arion reappears in Book Two: see ii-10 fn. 1.

<sup>67</sup>I.e., the Gulf of Sydra.

<sup>68</sup>This is the Greek name for the group of nymphs whom the Romans called the "Succulae." They became the Pleiades. Cf. Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.21.

<sup>69</sup>A Titaness, mother of most of the river gods and their sisters, the Oceanids. She was spared by Zeus in the general route of the Titans. She reappears in iii-9.

<sup>70</sup>This word, otherwise unknown, could be a typographical error for *linter* (skiff) or even *lombus* (pinnacle).

<sup>71</sup>Ino was a daughter of Cadmus of Thebes. She raised her nephew Dionysus, Semele's child by Zeus, as a girl in order to conceal him from Hera's jealous anger. Ino became a minor deity, living with the Nereids and rescuing sailors in distress. The Romans called her Mater Mutata. Cf. also the next footnote.

<sup>72</sup>Melicerter was the son of Ino and Athamas, and was killed by her at a time when she was driven mad. He was buried by Sisyphus of Corinth, who started the Isthmian Games in his honor. Like his mother he became a sea deity, and was renamed Palæmon. The Romans called him Portunus. Melicerter was the Greek form of Melikartha, a Canaanite deity. Cf. fn. 74, above.

<sup>73</sup>Bruno's term is *jurisconsultus*.

<sup>74</sup>This probably means "tzigane," i.e., gypsy.

<sup>75</sup>This suggests "pot luck." The phrase also suggests a pot used for a lottery. Cf. ii-8 fn. 14.

<sup>76</sup>The Marsians were a Latian tribe famous for their wizardry and snake magic. They reappear in ii-5. Cf. ii-5 fn. 9.

<sup>77</sup>A logodædalist is a person given to odd circumlocutions and honeyed phrasing in his speech.

<sup>78</sup>Literally, "little man," a preferred, if unfamiliar, term even now. The "little" term goes with "little image" in the list directly below.

<sup>79</sup>A ballista was a special kind of military catapult which threw projectiles sideways. Cf. *Atria* fn. 6.

<sup>80</sup>Bruno appears to be adapting the Greek *skolops* into Latin; the

*skolops* was a sharpened stake or pale.

<sup>81</sup>A caltrop was a large cross-shaped military obstacle with four sharpened points used to inhibit cavalry charges. It was set down so that if any three of its points were on the ground, the fourth would project upwards.

<sup>82</sup>Bruno's term, *Pyrius pul.*, is puzzling. It is clearly a powder of some kind (*pulver*). Could it be *Tyrian* powder? At least that would associate it with a place, though the term is unknown. "Pyrius" suggests "flame," at best, which seems less unlikely in this military context than "pear," the other word suggested by this term.

<sup>83</sup>*Muricida*, literally "mouse-killer."

<sup>84</sup>Or a petty tradesman.

<sup>85</sup>The term is *Lappa ma*. "Ma" could be "marinima." The term is puzzling.

<sup>86</sup>Tocco suggests *Lanista*, a trainer of gladiators.

<sup>87</sup>The term Bruno uses, *Acetosae*, is an Italian word to which Bruno has given a Latin ending.

<sup>88</sup>The term Bruno uses, *nasea tox*, seems to be a typographic error. *Nasea* is a non-existent feminine or neuter plural word; *nasus* (nose) is the closest to it, but it is masculine. We suggest *nasi tox* (voice of the nose), a nose blow or snuffle.

<sup>89</sup>I.e., a caller of the dead.

<sup>90</sup>It is hard to say whether Bruno was anti-Semitic; it is certainly negative to mention Jews in this field, with all the surrounding unpleasant people and things, but what about "wise woman" (often meaning "witch") above "Jew?" Or "hostler," "groom," and "property" below? It is hard to say what Bruno means by this indication alone.

<sup>91</sup>Specifically, dusky-colored complexion.

<sup>92</sup>I.e., full of freckles.

<sup>93</sup>The chelys is a tortoise-shell harp.

<sup>94</sup>Bruno's term, *Pneumat. org.*, indicates a musical organ powered by bellows or wind, as opposed to a mouth or reed organ.

<sup>95</sup>Tocco suggests "Hair tinter."

<sup>96</sup>*Cupidines* are little cupids.

<sup>97</sup>*Flora*, thus the word could equally be *Flora*, the goddess of flowers.

<sup>98</sup>There are many versions of the stories of the god Adonis, famous for his handsomeness. The tale of his love with Venus is the subject of a poem by Shakespeare. The classical sources are, above all, Bion's "Lament for Adonis," but also Apollodorus 3.14.3-4, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.519-59, and 708-39, Hyginus *Fabulae* 58, 248 and 251 and *Poetica Astronomica* 2.7. Cf. also ii-13 fn. 11 below.

<sup>99</sup>This could mean a noisemaker or carouser.



<sup>100</sup>Bruno's term is *tympanist*; this could be a drummer or a *tympanistria*, a girl tambourine player.

<sup>101</sup>Bruno's term is *Fistula urtic.*, which might also mean "leather reed."

<sup>102</sup>A monochord was a one-stringed musical instrument not usually used for performance but for the understanding of the principles of acoustics, overtones, etc., and of the universe. The Pythagoreans in antiquity and such renaissance thinkers as Kepler, Fludd and Kircher used it as a tool for philosophical inquiry. Cf. *musica speculativa* in ili-5, where we have included a picture of one.

<sup>103</sup>*Panicum* is "panic grass," mentioned in Pliny 18.7.10 par. 53.

<sup>104</sup>Bruno's term, *Milium*, appears to be a misspelling of *millet* (millet).

<sup>105</sup>Bruno's term is *Dactyl*, which could mean the poetic meter "dactyls," but it also suggests the Gods of the Five Fingers, as in Hesiod's "Idean Dactyls" or as in the *Orphica*. Cf. Hesiod (1959:76-7).

#### Book One, Part Two, Chapter Fourteen

<sup>1</sup>*Partem*, appearing in 1591 and in Tocco, makes little sense. Our reading is possible if one uses *parte*.

<sup>2</sup>"Fruits" must be "meats," since fruits were not smoked any more in Bruno's day than now. Also, as *frutta di mare* (literally, "fruits of the sea") is Italian for seafood, it may have been idiomatic to say something similar of fruit for "fruits of the land."

<sup>3</sup>It is difficult to imagine what the chain that links these images might consist of, except that they are all two- or more-part images.

<sup>4</sup>We are inconsistent here in the interest of clarity. At times we use "field," and at times "campus," to avoid confusion. See also i-2-13 fn. 3, above.

#### Book One, Part Two, Chapter Fifteen

<sup>1</sup>I.e., invisible.

<sup>2</sup>By implication, things which exist in many forms should be avoided in conceiving of the overall array.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., a fertile field; the sense is that one need not regrow vegetables that are already harvested; if the land is fertile there is no problem growing new ones.

<sup>4</sup>In other words, the materials should be selected so that they seem to invite arraying, somehow, as a gessoed wall invites a fresco mural or a

wax tablet invites writing.

<sup>5</sup>"Elements" are letters, but this is a metaphor; what Bruno is saying is that if the elements which one has selected have too much in common, their overlaps will make them hard to peruse or to understand the significance of their combinations.

<sup>6</sup>This evokes Vergil's *Aeneid* 1.203: "Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit..."

<sup>7</sup>This passage provides the direct justification in Bruno for Frances Yates's construction of memory wheel charts in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) and *The Art of Memory* (1966). See the introduction to this book and also i-2-3 fn. 1.

<sup>8</sup>I.e., the species. In the list, "lustration" means "purification by some ceremony but especially by sacrifice." Bruno's *reustratio*, "reustration," may be a nonce word. Bruno's list, while lengthy, seems not to be intended to be inclusive but simply a sampling of possible species which behave as he has described.

#### Book One, Part Two, Chapter Sixteen

<sup>1</sup>I.e., one makes an anagram from the word "altar" forming "art." Anagrams were taken very seriously in Bruno's time, far more so than in ours. For example, in a French work of 1583 on poetics by Etienne Tabourot, *Le Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords*, which is only a modest-sized work, no fewer than twenty-five pages are devoted to anagrams, in (1969:70-7). At this point it becomes clear why Bruno has, throughout, referred to letters as "elements": he sees them as potential elements of new worlds as well as of the words where they were found. The images which he is using here are those associated in the previous chapters with the atrium of the altar. It is helpful, in following Bruno's logic, to imagine a large chart of the atrium and its satellites.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., "la," "lo," "li," etc.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., two poles, two temperate zones, one tropic zone.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., L, M, N and R.

<sup>5</sup>This example has no liquid.

<sup>6</sup>Bruno means the term grammatically, in the sense of a noun clause modifying a noun, as in "Bruno, the renaissance thinker..."

<sup>7</sup>What Bruno means by "outer regions" here is probably the outer part of the arrays of which the campuses are a part.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Seventeen

<sup>1</sup>See i-2-13 through i-2-16, above.

<sup>2</sup>This image may refer to a moderating warrior. *Noni* (genitive of the word meaning "nine") may be a typographical error.

<sup>3</sup>We have already encountered the early mnemonic works *De Umbris Idearum* ("Shadows") and *Cantus Circeus* ("Circe's Song") and will meet them again in Books Two and Three.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. i-1-1 fn. 1, ii-9 fn. 1 and iii-14, etc. This last describes the sixteenth of the seals.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Eighteen

<sup>1</sup>Bruno appears to be moving from one corner of an atrium to another. Cf. i-2-7 fn. 3.

<sup>2</sup>This is the meaning of the phrase *vel atri alterius regionis* which is used twice.

<sup>3</sup>Tocco's edition, which seldom notes scrambled grammar, marks this passage with an asterisk to indicate confusion.

<sup>4</sup>This reading of the passage depends on the phrase indicated in fn. 2 above.

<sup>5</sup>Bruno's term, *simimathematica*, is a neologism which he does not explain. We suggest it comes from *simia* (monkey) and, as "monkey mathematics," or imitative mathematics of the sort he frequently ascribes to the "mere mathematicians." What Bruno favors is, of course, what he calls the higher mathematics, especially *mathesis*, his symbolic mathematics which is discussed in Yates's article in Edwards (1967:1-2:406) and Yates (1964:97-302). Cf. iii-8 fn. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Tocco suggests *numero* ("by number"), but we prefer to leave the word as is, taking it as an inner accusative of respect.

<sup>7</sup>I.e., supplying another's place, substituting so that no locus remains without the same number of elements as each other locus has.

<sup>8</sup>*Thirty Seals* we have already mentioned as another Brunonian memory work. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 24.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Nineteen

<sup>1</sup>After GHI, the next logical sequence would be KLM. Following "do re mi fa so" as a musical pattern, KLM would yield "so so so." That is the source of the "su" which one finds in AHM and KHC. But then

where, in the latter, C appears, one would expect to find a "la." It seems to us that the "ba ba ba" in Bruno's array is probably a typographic error for "la la la."

<sup>2</sup>When this diagram, one of those which, in our introduction, we believe was engraved by Bruno himself, appears in iii-4, a chapter dealing with archetypes, it makes perfectly good sense. Bruno provides no explanation why it is also printed here.

## Book One, Part Two, Chapter Twenty

<sup>1</sup>This chapter climaxes and summarizes Book One, putting forward Bruno's claims for the virtues of magic and divinity (by "magician" he means something more akin to what we would mean by "an adept"), and the separation of the world into moieties of the intelligent (the initiated) and the vulgar (the uninitiated). Bruno half playfully attempts to combine the language of mystical induction with philosophical induction (e.g., the ambiguity when he says *invenit materiam*, the soul "encounters matter," implying that it transforms it mystically in some way).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 8.

<sup>3</sup>The frenzy or madness to which Bruno refers is the familiar inspired madness of Plato *Phaedrus* 249d (1961;1973:496), a key point in the Platonic aesthetics. Bruno's interest in frenzy or madness is shown by the title of one of his Italian works, *De gl' Heroici Furori* (1585), "Of the Heroic Frenzies." Throughout the present work we use the above form of the title, taken from the title page of the first edition; other forms are more common, such as *De gli Heroici Furori*.

<sup>4</sup>The three-fold division of music was a common conception in the renaissance, consisting of *musica mundana* (music of the spheres), *musica humana* (literally "human music" but usually called "earthly music," which would be any music one could actually perform, and which was thought to be a pale imitation of music of the spheres), and *musica speculativa* or conceptual and philosophically analytical music, in which the Pythagoreans were said to excel. Cf. Plato *Timaeus* 135b-d, (1961;1973:1165-6). This concept is fully developed in Boethius' *De Institutione Musicae, Libri Quinque*, to which Bruno appears to be referring throughout this passage, and which was well known in Bruno's time. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Bruno's "elsewhere" here and in the following passage is *Thirty Seals* (1890:2 pt. 2;133-4). Cf. the *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15, above. The idea is traceable back through the middle ages, for instance to Bernardus Silvestris's *De Mundi Universitate, Libri Duo, sive Megacosmos et Microcosmos*, back into antiquity. For example it is expounded in Boethius' *De Institutione Musicae* already mentioned in fn. 3, above, in Friedlein's edition

(1867;1966:224-5), in Aristoxenus and Nichomachus and, through these latter, possibly to lost Pythagorean texts. In Bruno's time this syncretic concept of the arts led to the development of opera and the flourishing of the pattern poem, as in ours it has led to such intermedia as concrete poetry, happenings, etc.

### Book Two, Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Jupiter's nurse, Amalthea, is sometimes depicted as a goat. Bruno normally calls Jupiter "Jove," a practice we shall follow to avoid confusion.

<sup>2</sup>Presumably the boy and girl are Jove and Juno. Fortuna became a goddess in her own right during the later Roman Empire.

<sup>3</sup>Normally the Corybantes would celebrate Cybele, whose devotees they were, doing ritual dances and clashing spears and shields. The connection with Jove follows Hyginus *Fabulae* 139.

<sup>4</sup>The cannibal is Saturn. Rhea tricked Saturn by giving him a rock to eat in place of the baby Jove. Cf. Hyginus *Fabulae* 139.

<sup>5</sup>This image mimics that of the golden fleece of the ram that rescued Phrixus from being sacrificed by his father Athamas; Phrixus then sacrificed the ram and hung his fleece in the sky, where it became the constellation Ares. Cf. Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.20. It was also the object of the quest of Jason and the Argonauts. The hero of Bruno's story is, however, quite clearly Jove.

<sup>6</sup>This is the myth of Saturn's castration.

<sup>7</sup>"Arms" are surely armed men, probably the Centaures.

<sup>8</sup>According to the myth, Jove threw Mount Aetna down upon the monster Typhoeus or Typhon; the story is told in Hesiod *Theogony* 853-61, but also in Apollodorus *Library* 1.6, and in Hyginus *Fabulae* 42, from which a great many of the versions of the myths in Bruno appear to derive.

<sup>9</sup>The woman warrior suggests Minerva/Athena. The oak is sacred both to Jove and to Odin/Wodan (whom Bruno calls "Germanic Jove," cf. ii-3 fn. 7), whom these images also suggest, in which case the woman warrior could be his consort Freyja. But if this is so, then identifying him with a southern origin is puzzling. Cf. Simek (1984:292-306).

<sup>10</sup>Jove transformed himself into an eagle (viz. Apollodorus *Library* 2.37 and Hyginus *Fabulae* ii) to take Ganymede to Mount Olympus to be his cupbearer and lover. The eagle is immortalized as the constellation Aquila and Ganymede as Aquarius, which is why they appear in Hyginus' work, an account of the myths associated with the traditional constellations. For a fuller account, see ii-3 fn. 7, below.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. the footnote above, and note the possible sexual connotations of Jove's position; there are several such suggestions in Bruno's book.

<sup>12</sup>Although all the earlier images of Jove are traditional, this one is puzzling. It might suggest Odin's helmet, some image of a devil, or perhaps the god Apis, borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians. A son of Pharoeneus (or, in some versions, Apollo) and the nymph Teledice, Apis became a seer and physician, protecting Argos with his skills. See Apollodorus, 2.11, 2.1.2 (1921:128-31). The forms surrounding him are more traditional for Jove, however. The cuckoo is known as "Jupiter Picus." Cf. also ii-2 fn. 2 and ii-5 fn. 1. The constellations Sagittarius and Pisces, mentioned in the text, are identifiable in the picture on the wheels.

### Book Two, Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup>"Hera," Juno, means "brightness." The girls suggest the Graces. Cf. i-2-11 fn. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cuckoos were, according to tradition, notorious for their infidelity. Cf. ii-1 fn. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Tocco (1891) changes *admoveo* (1591) to *admoveo*, thus enabling this reading.

<sup>4</sup>This suggests the Alcmena and Amphitryon story, but it is varied from Apollodorus *Library* 2.4.5-11 and Hyginus *Fabulae* 40. Hebe is daughter of Jove and (later) wife of Hercules; she is famous in mythology for her exquisite beauty.

<sup>5</sup>The winged boy suggests Icarus, while Jove (king and judge) is somehow fused here with Daedalus, Icarus's father. Cf. Hyginus *Fabulae* 40. Cf. also ii-6 fn. 61 below.

<sup>6</sup>This seems to be a variant on the Blind Justice image.

<sup>7</sup>Semele, daughter of Cadmus of Thebes, loved Jove and wished to see his natural form, but when she did she was burned up by Jove's flames. The first part of the image suggests this myth, but the second part does not refer to any of the sources of the Semele legend. She is, however, central to the Orphic myths as mother of Dionysus, suggesting a connection with the sixth image. Cf. ii-10 fn. 10 below.

<sup>8</sup>The tree suggests the Tree of Life of the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also the final form of Jove/Zeus in one of the main texts of the Orphic Cult, the *Rhapsodic Theogony* attributed to Onomacritus (ca. 550 BC), included in Doria (1976:99-117). The myth is also common in Germanic mythology; cf. "Yggdrasil" in Simek (1984:467-9).

## Book Two, Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup>Here Bruno has *circumstantes*, which means "those who are standing around." He uses this and *adstantes*, "those who stand by" and other such terms more or less interchangeably, all summed up as "attendants." The exception is described in the next footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Traditionally, those people whom one did not, at least for the moment, wish to honor would be placed on one's left; thus, the things which are *not* associated with Jove but which are, in a sense, the opposites of those qualities associated with him, are listed here. The same is true later in this book with those who stand *opposite* to the various deities. This latter, however, seems more emphatic.

<sup>3</sup>This and the next eight images are rhetorical terms.

<sup>4</sup>These are two aspects of "Celebrity."

<sup>5</sup>Reading *susceptio* for *suspicio*.

<sup>6</sup>Attempting to trace the source for this image of "Germanic Jove" or "Wodan" past Albumassar has thus far proved unsuccessful. Tacitus's *Germania* gives no detailed description, and it is hard to find works to which Bruno or Albumassar's translator might have had access which give anything like the image presented here, either for Olympic or Germanic deities. The two main sources on Nordic gods in Bruno's time were by Albert[us] Krantz[ius] (d. 1517) and by the exiled archbishop of Uppsala and Metropolitan of Sweden, Olaus Magnus (1490-1558) whose *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus earum Diversis Stanibus...* (1555) had appeared in two editions in Latin and one in Italian by Bruno's time. Neither gives Germanic gods that correspond closely with Bruno's, though these must have been familiar to him. We therefore conclude that he has taken the astrological illustrations as adapted for the 1563 Bede, and ascribed their imagery to the Germanic deities. Cf. ii-1 fn. 10, and also the introduction to this book.

<sup>7</sup>Ganymede was used as a metaphor for man-boy love. For this, see James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

<sup>8</sup>Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536) mentions Ganymede in two major places in the *Colloquies* (1956), in "The Epicurean" p. 550 and "Trins" p. 150, this latter the translation of the *Hospitium*. But in neither case does he seem particularly vehement concerning Ganymede. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 2. Neither is it clear from where the suggestion of Ganymede as a catamite occurs in the description of the Nordic Jupiter. Olaus Magnus's *Historia* (1555L:106-7) tells of the worshippers of the gods, in celebrating them, moving with "effeminate motions of their bodies," and there are other suggestions that the rites included homosexual acts as well. But nowhere

does Olaus Magnus impute homosexuality to Odin/Wodan, though he might have been expected to do so. Neither does Simek (1984), the best modern handbook on Germanic mythology, refer to anything of this sort. Thus, a catamitic Ganymede is, therefore, more to be associated with the Greco-Roman Zeus-Jove than with Odin.

## Book Two, Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup>The occult image of Saturn, in alchemy and in the astrology of Bruno's time, centers around the ideas of potential force, violence, undisciplined strength, and, in the sense of incapability of reproduction, age. In this text Saturn suggests, above all, the ancient, the frightening and the primeval. This is not completely reconcilable with Saturn as the former fertility god of the Italian peninsula, or with the father-slaying, child-devouring Kronos whom the Orphic cult knew, or with the Olympic religion's titanic fool. Bruno appears to be syncretizing at least some of these aspects. Cf. ii-1 fn. 6.

<sup>2</sup>The "ouroboros," the serpent devouring its tail, is a very common image of eternity in early occultism, depicted in, for example, Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (1928-31:2, pl.4), with its accompanying explanation. It also appears in alchemy.



<sup>3</sup>Janus, guardian of gates and beginnings, was also associated by the Romans with peace and war—hence the staff, suggestive of a weapon, with the olive, the emblem of peace. The connection with Saturn is, however, obscure.

<sup>4</sup>The old woman suggests a titanic fool—but, through her association with the owl she becomes a parody of Minerva; the pig and the water serpent are mysterious.

<sup>5</sup>This suggests an image of Rhea, Saturn's consort. Cf. ii-1 fn. 4, above.

<sup>6</sup>Dis (Hades) is Pluto's realm: the underworld. Cf. *Atria* fn. 10.

<sup>7</sup>This reading depends on substituting *arcum* for *arcum*.

<sup>8</sup>This verse passage has shorter lines than the previous ones, and



is suggestive of the *Aeneid*. Over the past few paragraphs Bruno has been moving away from any specific concern with Saturn, and is now dealing with negative feelings in general—his real subject has now become abnormal psychology, only very loosely associated with Saturn.

<sup>12</sup>In other words, she makes her worst dreams come true.

<sup>13</sup>The Lapiths, a warlike tribe from Northern Thessaly, traced their descent to Ixion, who attempted to seduce Juno as described in i-2-12 fn. 4, above. He was indeed punished severely. But nowhere in the usual sources can we find an account of Jupiter's wrath being visited upon all the Lapiths. It appears that Bruno has synthesized a number of myths into his account.

<sup>14</sup>See fn. 10, above; and, for Ixion, i-2-12 fn. 6. Why Ixion is a figure associated with doubt is curious, since he is usually associated with faithlessness.

<sup>15</sup>This image is heightened when one realizes that suicides were traditionally buried at crossroads, thus intensifying the view of doubt as self-destructive.

<sup>16</sup>The Larvæ are vampires, the sinister, nocturnal counterparts of the Lares, household gods (see i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 68). Of the Larvæ, none were more dreaded than the night specters called "Lemurs."

<sup>17</sup>This suggests that, at one point, Bruno may have had the sections of this chapter arranged in a different sequence, with Hunger following Death.

<sup>18</sup>Tocco has a note here, *ne c'è da meravigliarsi della licenza prosodica* ("nor should one be amazed by his prosodic license") referring to the roughness of these lines' prosody. The same holds true of the other aspects of their construction; e.g., the mixed metaphor of the intestines "grown together like gravel" (gravel does not grow).

<sup>19</sup>I.e., she grinds her teeth.

<sup>20</sup>Besides being vivid language, this is also a *figura etymologica*, since *lambit* and *lambrium* come from a common root, *lab-* and *lap-* whence the English "lip" and "lap."

<sup>21</sup>I.e., she swallows a lot of air.

<sup>22</sup>I.e., forever.

<sup>23</sup>Might Bruno mean Ochus or Oenus? Ochus does not exist in the classical mythology which Bruno uses, so, unless the figure is drawn from some occult text, his appearance here could be a typographic error of some kind. Also, Tocco is uncertain of this portion of the text, suggests *velamento*. *Complicatis e digitis, impetum* for *velamento*, *complicatis in/sinu manu habet digitis. Impetum...* (1591).

<sup>24</sup>We cannot find the proverb to which Bruno is alluding, but perhaps it is more like our modern "proverbial," said when we want to excuse ourselves from saying something which we know is conventional.

simply because we cannot think of a better way to say it.

<sup>25</sup>This reading is only possible if one changes *abhorrent* to *abhorrentur*.

<sup>26</sup>The Parcae, Fates or Moiræ (Lachesis, Clotho, Atropos, the spinners), are believed to have been originally minor deities in some Greek province, like fairies in attendance at a child's birth, but the cult spread and became fixed into three roles: Lachesis would card the raw thread of life, Clotho would spin it, and Atropos would cut it, thus determining the future destiny of the child. The earliest known mention of them is in Hesiod *Theogony* 904. Cf. ii-12 fn. 10 and ii-13 fn. 8, below.

<sup>27</sup>As already noted several times, Orcus is one of the names both of Pluto (Hades) and of his realm.

<sup>28</sup>The Eumenides (kindly ones) were originally goddesses worshipped at some Greek cities, and they either became merged or developed into the Furies or Erinyes, female spirits whose particular task was to punish offenders against blood kin.

<sup>29</sup>Bruno has mentioned the all the traditional rivers of Hades (e.g., those mentioned in Vergil *Aeneid* 6) except the Lethe, associated with forgetting.

<sup>30</sup>Why Obriareis (Briareüs) is in this list is obscure, since the others are famous sinners and he (or his family?) is innocent, being normally a watcher over the imprisoned Titans. Is Bruno saying something about guards?

<sup>31</sup>Egestus is the goddess of need, mentioned only by Silius Italicus among the classical authors.

<sup>32</sup>This appears to be a Brunonian neologism, perhaps meaning something like lack of spirit, dispiritedness, etc. Tocco queries it in (1891:218).

<sup>33</sup>I.e., an inhabitant of Leuke.

<sup>34</sup>I.e., an inhabitant of southern Italy.

<sup>35</sup>The Lombards were famous for their long beards, thus the fanciful description. They were among the earliest Christians to enter into banking, and were believed by the credulous to be strikingly stingy or miserly.

<sup>36</sup>This association of old age with coldness is a commonplace in renaissance writing, and is followed by the many descriptions of Venus as a warm planet, Saturn as a cold one, and so on. But what the coldness has to do with Bruno's subsequent remark, that Saturn must be honored, is striking. Bruno's admonition actually to worship *any* pagan god, certainly must have seemed offensive to his more religiously orthodox contemporaries.

<sup>37</sup>The picture of Saturn does not correspond closely with any of the images of him that are given in the text. There Saturn is fear-inspiring, while



in the picture he looks, at the worst, like a gnome. On the wheels of his chariot are Capricorn and Aquarius (Ganymede), the former of which is logical enough but the latter of which is curious, since Ganymede is associated with Zeus-Jove, and the constellation symbolizes the return to sources.

#### Book Two, Chapter Five

<sup>1</sup>The Bull of Apulia is hard to identify with any precision. The Apulia district of Italy has no special association with bulls. The Bull could be the Egyptian god Apis (see ii-1 fn. 12), whose horns are traditionally represented as extremely formidable, if there were a typographic error confounding *Apisius* with *Apulius*. Apis is also associated with Apia in the Peloponnesus, whose mythical ruler he is at one time alleged to have been; and Apia might also have been mixed up with Apulia. More likely, however, is that the error confuses *taurus* (bull) with *caurus*, a "west wind [that seems to] blow from the mouth of *Iapulia* itself, from its innermost reaches, as it were" says Aulus Gellius in the *Attic Nights* 2.22.21-2 (1925:1,188-9).

As for the chimera, it was a female monster, spawned by Typhon, already mentioned, who ravaged Lycia until slain by Bellerophon. She appears in Homer *Iliad* 6.178-83 and in Hesiod *Theogony* 319-25.

<sup>2</sup>Bellona was the ancient Italian goddess of war, who is represented at various times as the wife, sister or companion of Mars, and who is, like him, a war god, as suggested by the resemblance of her name to the Latin word for war, *bellum*. In earlier times she was known as "Duellona" and corresponded to the Greek "Enyo." Because she is featured in no main myths that have survived, she is not well known. However, a temple was built in her honor in 296 B.C.E. by Appius Claudius Cæcus, not far from the Circus Maximus, and it was occasionally used for meetings of the Roman senate.

<sup>3</sup>The image here suggests Moses with the Tablets of the Ten Commandments. However, there are symbolic superimpositions. The wolf suggests the North and its gods. Perhaps Bruno is suggesting that the North has broken the Ten Commandments, possibly by adopting the reformed church.

<sup>4</sup>This image suggests Freya and Thor—again some point about the Germanic powers seems suggested on the symbolic level.

<sup>5</sup>Here we have an image which relates to but is not directly the Bacchantes. They are running amok like the Bacchantes, but are not themselves Bacchantes. In this context perhaps some representation of the Germanic powers in Bruno's period is indicated, a period which was, after all, the period immediately preliminary to the Thirty Years War.

<sup>6</sup>Because of the hardness of oak wood, "oak" became a common image for the collective martial strength of a nation, e.g. in the Welsh battle song, "Heart of Oak."

<sup>7</sup>"Bruno" is and was a common traditional name for a bear. Might this image refer somehow to Bruno himself? This seems plausible, if he was aware of his own tendency to get into controversies and saw this as his "deformity."

<sup>8</sup>Bruno's word is *sumulatio*, evidently a neologism.

<sup>9</sup>These refer to regions famous for sorcery, the one Italian and the other Greek. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 77.

<sup>10</sup>"Gradiuan" is a name for Mars, probably meaning, etymologically, "he who marches forth."

<sup>11</sup>"Bistonian" refers to Thrace, a region of Greece famous for its warriors.

<sup>12</sup>"Strymonian" also refers to Thrace.

<sup>13</sup>The historic Scythians, an Iranian nomadic people, were famous for their warlike qualities; according to Herodotus' *Histories* Book 4, they appeared in the third century B.C. and conquered most of southern Russia and Central Asia; they then disappeared mysteriously in the third century A.D. However, in the middle ages, in many of the O-T *orbis terre* maps for instance, the former Scythian territories retain that name and, presumably, the eastern Slavic peoples were sometimes called "scythians" up through the sixteenth century.

<sup>14</sup>In this case, "chiding" refers to the old military tradition of insulting the enemy, of calling out hostile epithets at them during battle.

<sup>15</sup>Bruno's term is "hyperborean," referring to the far north, which was, to ancient times, mysterious. Eagles were associated with the hyperboreans.

<sup>16</sup>The Erinyes were the goddesses of vengeance, particularly in charge of revenging crimes against blood kin. They are the same as the Eumenides, "the kindly ones," since they were associated with justice. The Romans called them the Furies. There were, traditionally three of them. Erinyes (also known as "Singularis Erinyes") is one. We find her in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.452, 8.481 and 10.314. But nowhere in the classical sources is Erinyes associated with a crescent-moon standard. However, the Turks always marched under such a standard. This suggests some association with the Turks, who were the most powerful non-Christian entity at the time. Cf. ii-4 fn. 25, above, and fn. 24, below.

<sup>17</sup>The Cocytus is a river of cries and weeping in Hades.

<sup>18</sup>"Noise" and "Ardor" are not capitalized in either edition, so they appear not to have been intended as personifications, unlike the others in this list. However, it would make more sense if they were.

<sup>19</sup>See fn. 5, above.

<sup>20</sup>The "gad-fly" or "god-fly" torments Io in Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 1.567 (1922:1,265), and it became a popular metaphor. For example, Socrates is described in Plato *Apology* 30e (1961:17), as a gad-fly of Athens.

<sup>21</sup>Erebus is the primeval darkness, personified with the same name as a man with his sister Nyx, night, born of Chaos and, with Nyx, father of Aether, the upper air, and Hemera, day. Cf. Hesiod *Theogony* 123-5.

<sup>22</sup>Erinys, Fury, described throughout here as a woman, is both a virgin and a mother. The virgin mother need not be associated with the virgin Mary, since there are several such mothers in the ancient traditions. But it seems that Bruno has invented a goddess of wrath in this passage and has made her a servant of Erebus and daughter of Nyx (cf. fn. 21, above). The argument that he might be talking about Erinys solves nothing, since the Furies or Eumenides are of unknown parentage.

<sup>23</sup>Bruno's term is *rixia* (quarrel), the equivalent of the Greek *eris*. But this can refer to a positive strife, as, indeed, the Eumenides, being just, are not necessarily negative or horrible. Hesiod mentions Eris as a person in the *Works and Days* 802-4, making her the mother of Horcus (oath) at a birth assisted by the Eumenides. In Homer's *Iliad*, Eris is a goddess sister of Ares, the Greek equivalent of Mars.

<sup>24</sup>The Sea of Marmara lies between Asia Minor and Thrace. In early times it was quite wild, but in Bruno's it was the seat of Constantinople and was highly civilized. Thus it is perhaps to evoke the Turks that Bruno alludes to a "Lion of the Marmara."

<sup>25</sup>I.e., he is not wearing a chain mail shirt as one normally would under such armor.

<sup>26</sup>This is the Greek skolops. Cf. the "Field of Mars" among the campuses in i-2-13.

<sup>27</sup>Tocco suggests a period belongs here, unlike the comma in the 1591 edition. We agree. But also, the horses in the picture of Mars are turning away. The gist of Bruno's remarks therefore seems to be that Mars is moving them aside in order to drive his chariot over the fallen soldiers. Tocco also notes that the Turks never wore chain mail, cf. fn. 25, above. It seems odd that Bruno does not draw the parallel between Mars and Thiwaz or Tiu (for whom Tuesday is named), the Germanic war god. Cf. Simck (1984:413). Also, logically, Bellona (see fn. 2, above) should appear in the picture. Because the engraving was borrowed from Bede (see our introduction) she does not, thus creating a discrepancy between Bruno's text and its illustrations.

## Book Two, Chapter Six

<sup>1</sup>Most of the images of Mercury in this chapter are drawn from Ovid's *Fasts*.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.666-7.

<sup>3</sup>This image is a variant of the by-now familiar one of Hermes Trismegistus whom, as noted in i-1-12 fn. 2, the hermetic thinkers regarded not only as a historical figure of very great antiquity, but whom they further regarded as the originator of philosophy in the lineage of Pythagoras and even of Plato. As also noted there, he was sometimes identified with the Egyptian god Thoth, but that does not seem to be the case here. See the introduction to this work.

<sup>4</sup>This image suggests some variant, perhaps from a lost deck, of the seventh card of the Tarot's major arcana, "The Chariot," whose significance is the conquest of natural forces, the coming to grips with one's karma. Cf. "Papus," *The Tarot of the Bohemians* (1958:135-7).

<sup>5</sup>Of the many neologisms and nonce words in this chapter, some suggest existing words, but others are improvised collections of stems and morphemes culled from various sources. Bruno's focus is on his acoustic or logical sense, not his normative, semantic one. This is in keeping with the logomania of Bruno's Mercury. But as for "Certioration," this comes from a *certiorari*, a legal term meaning a petition to certify or ascertain, and it is not one of Bruno's coinages.

<sup>6</sup>Tocco (1891) has a note here, suggesting that the word should be *disertatio* (eloquence).

<sup>7</sup>Most of these are terms in rhetoric or are literary forms.

<sup>8</sup>The brook is, apparently, the Pierian Spring, drinking which one would attain the gift of poesy; this is apparently born out by the allusion to "Pierian Song" a few lines below.

<sup>9</sup>Is Bruno intending *facundia* (fluency)?

<sup>10</sup>Pericles (490-29 B.C.E.), Athenian orator and statesman, is identified, proverbially, with Athens in its greatest period. But he is not particularly associated with wit. Perhaps Bruno is using this image for rhetorical polish and phrase-making.

<sup>11</sup>Honey-tongued.

<sup>12</sup>The 1591 edition has *malli*, which makes no sense. Tocco suggests *manu* (hand), which seems plausible enough.

<sup>13</sup>*Luculentia* suggests Lucullus, a Roman general noted for his opulent feasts. It is, however, a coined term.

<sup>14</sup>These are famous lyres in mythology.

<sup>15</sup>As with the previous descriptions of the Gods, those figures associated with Mercury's left represent his negative side, inverting the

positive one.

<sup>16</sup>Or "jesting, joking."

<sup>17</sup>Dodona was the ancient seat of the Oracle of Zeus and Diane. The wind rustled the leaves, moving a whip made of chains, from which hung some buttons that touched a basin. This basin must be the shield that Bruno has in mind.

<sup>18</sup>The disease of writing too much, cf. Juvenal 7.35.

<sup>19</sup>Bubo is Minerva/Athena's horned owl, but is also a god in his own right, the god of bad luck.

<sup>20</sup>This is a word play, a pun between "couple" and "copula," this latter a grammatical term for the verb "to be" which connects two or more ideas. The old man in the image could be Aristotle.

<sup>21</sup>See Martianus Capella *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* 442. Cf. i-2-6 *Aria* fn. 3.

<sup>22</sup>The overall meaning of the allegory seems to deal with a relationship to language—Mercury is reared on it and suffers from it, virtually as an illness.

<sup>23</sup>The conch-shell.

<sup>24</sup>*Theoninus* means, generically, "satirical." It is named for Theon of Alexandria, one of the last members of the Museum, who flourished around 365 C.E.

<sup>25</sup>These are legal terms.

<sup>26</sup>Umpiring or refereeing.

<sup>27</sup>This is a horned serpent mentioned in Pliny 8.23.3 sec. 85 and 1.37.45 sec. 126, as well as in Lucian, Propertius, and others.

<sup>28</sup>Might this be a typographic error for *apocryphianus* (nuncio)? Note that at this point we have an ascending hierarchy of courier, priest, legate, nuncio. In this context, some form of nuncio would make sense.

<sup>29</sup>1591 has *Sparta*, but Tocco suggests *Sporta* (basket or hamper).

<sup>30</sup>Food is sometimes used as a philosophical term for pleasure, as in Cicero *De Senectute* 143-4.

<sup>31</sup>What is lost here in translation is the rhymes, for instance, *illectio* and *pellectio*, etc. Bruno's language here is very musical, replete with rhymes, sometimes at the expense of semantic sense, as in, to name a familiar English-language poet, Edgar Allan Poe.

<sup>32</sup>We have not succeeded in identifying this castaway, and what the castaway is doing with the crowd of images accompanying him and standing around is obscure.

<sup>33</sup>Mercury's sandals were, of course, a gift from Jupiter, intended to make him swift as Jove's thought.

<sup>34</sup>"Lucifer" here means the morning star, not the devil.

<sup>35</sup>Or "escape" or "emission."

<sup>36</sup>The image of Mercury as winged is rare, possibly from some

occult text.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. ii-4 fn. 19, above. Quite a few of the images here also appear in [Lo] *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* (1584).

<sup>38</sup>"Amora" is an unknown word, perhaps a female personification of Love, or a typographical error for "Amor."

<sup>39</sup>"Pernicity" is a neologism suggesting "nimbleness," quite suitable for Mercury.

<sup>40</sup>This could also refer to heavy breathing.

<sup>41</sup>Here the "triple formed" seems less likely to signify the Christian Trinity than a pagan reference, such as Hermes Trismegistus, the "Triple Goddess" (Diana) or the three brothers Jove, Neptune and Pluto.

<sup>42</sup>The Euripus was a channel between Boeotia and Euboea, now Egripos. Since this passage deals with figures who metamorphose their shapes, there is most likely some character or god associated with the channel who changes, but we have not identified him or her.

<sup>43</sup>Vertumnus was an Etruscan and, later, a Roman fertility god, responsible for seasonal changes in vegetation; he could change his shape at will. See Ovid *Fasts* 409 (1931:348-9).

<sup>44</sup>Erysichthon was punished with insatiable hunger; his daughter, who supported him, was given the gift of assuming any form she chose by her lover, Poseidon. In many of these forms she got herself sold, then returned with the proceeds to her father. In the end Erysichthon was reduced to devouring his limbs. The story is told at some length in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8. However, it makes little sense that Bruno should refer to Erysichthon and not the daughter, Mestra.

<sup>45</sup>The chameleon that is intended is almost certainly the animal, since this is a list of creatures and individuals who change. It is unlikely to be the peripatetic philosopher Chamaeleon (ca. 350-after 281). According to Liddell and Scott (1940), the chameleon is "an image of changeableness," e.g. in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1100b.6.

<sup>46</sup>Bruno's sentence lacks a predicate.

<sup>47</sup>Bruno's use of "signify" indicates that these characters are not to be taken literally but emblematically.

<sup>48</sup>The rays from the eyes is a convention of Neo-Platonism, since it was felt that the light came from the soul to the object it illuminated and was only partially helped by mere physical light. One finds this image in many poems of the sixteenth century.

<sup>49</sup>Here again we have the Pierian fountain; cf. fn 8, above.

<sup>50</sup>Do not confuse these with arabic djinns. Bruno is alluding to indwelling spirits, the singular of which is the familiar "genius."

<sup>51</sup>Cf. ii-6 fn. 3, above. Traditionally, Hermes Trismegistus lived at Memphis.

<sup>52</sup>This adjective is puzzling. The only suggestion we can make is



that it might refer to the maenads, frenzied women of Bacchic ecstasy.

<sup>12</sup>Again, Hermes Trismegistus is clearly meant, but "interpreter" or "translator" is a standard epithet for Mercury as god of language. At this point we leave the occult Hermes and get to his public identity as scholar or teacher.

<sup>13</sup>The tale of how the young Hermes stole Apollo's cattle is told in the fourth of the Homeric Hymns, 1.16-512, in *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (1929:364-401). The various other thefts appear throughout classical mythology.

<sup>14</sup>Here we have a number of terms from the Greek educational system, from the gymnasium. Bruno uses these terms ironically to refer to superficial or pedantic rhetoricians and grammarians whom he sees as the corruptors of language.

<sup>15</sup>Aonia was in Boeotia, the rustic area of Greece whose inhabitants were traditionally described as dense or stupid.

<sup>16</sup>Aganippe was a spring sacred to the muses on Mount Helicon, near Thespiae in Boeotia, whose water imparted poetic inspiration, like the Pierian Spring.

<sup>17</sup>We can follow Bruno's train of thought here, that, although he is allegedly talking about Mercury himself, just here he has taken up an outside form of some kind, so that "Mercury's valet" is presumably not Mercury himself but a double or familiar. The attributes discussed make it clear that we have now returned to the occult side of Mercury/Hermes.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. i-2-11 fn. 1.

<sup>19</sup>See fn. 57, above.

<sup>20</sup>Castalia was a nymph who, fleeing Apollo, drowned herself in a spring on Mount Parnassus. The spring was then consecrated to Apollo and the muses, and pilgrims to the shrine of Delphi purified themselves there; the Roman poets indulged in the fiction that it conveyed poetic inspiration. The charites, mentioned a few lines below this, are the Graces, sisters of Castalia. Cf. i-2-11 fn. 2.

<sup>21</sup>This image is repeated.

<sup>22</sup>This must be Daedalus and Icarus. Cf. ii-2 fn. 5 above.

<sup>23</sup>Pasiphae fell in love with the white bull presented to Minos of Crete and thereby became the mother of the Minotaur who lived in the labyrinth that Daedalus built. This provides the connection between the bull and Daedalus in Bruno's train of images. Cf. ii-2 fn. 5.

<sup>24</sup>The caduceus was an enchanter's wand, consisting of three shoots, one of which formed the handle and the other two being intertwined at the top. The place of the latter was later taken by serpents, in tradition.

<sup>25</sup>This is the grammatical and editing symbol, meaning delete, invented by Aristarchus of Alexandria in the 3rd century BC.

<sup>26</sup>In the sense of "cultivation."

<sup>27</sup>This is repeated from a few lines above.

<sup>28</sup>Here the 1591 version has many periods between the images, which Tocco has, correctly we feel, changed to commas.

<sup>29</sup>This sounds like a proverb, but it is not included in any of the dictionaries of Latin proverbs; perhaps it is proverbial without actually appearing in any specific saying, such as our "canny Scotsman" or "thrifty Yankee."

<sup>30</sup>Tocco suggests *rhonchus* (snorting, sneezing, etc.).

<sup>31</sup>By "bilinguality" Bruno does not mean speaking two languages fluently but speaking with two meanings, as with a forked tongue.

<sup>32</sup>I.e., a clever trap of words.

<sup>33</sup>This refers to the Carthaginians in the Punic Wars, as the Romans traditionally viewed them.

<sup>34</sup>This suggests the Ulysses and Diomedes section in Homer's *Iliad* 10.

<sup>35</sup>The Cimmerian coast of the Black Sea was proverbial for distance, darkness, and occasionally coldness.

<sup>36</sup>Alexander cut the Gordian Knot, thus fulfilling the oracle that he who untied it would conquer the world.

<sup>37</sup>The Knights Templar was an order founded in the twelfth century to care for the sacred places in the near east. Over the next two centuries the order accumulated great wealth until it was dissolved in 1314, its members being accused of every conceivable crime from heresy to sodomy. It then became proverbial as an instance either of papal rapacity or of appalling corruption. Its members wore a distinctive costume unlike those of other orders, with a white helmet like a modern construction worker's, a simple tunic and loose pants, thus endearing the order to book illuminators and illustrators, who kept its memory alive.

Bruno's phrase, "Templar devotion," seems to imply that the Knights Templar were loyal to their charge and to their order, whatever else they were. Or it could be a subtly ironic allusion to what their enemies said they were loyal to, presumably a vice.

<sup>38</sup>We can find no particular story associating a Donkey with Cyllene, the mountain in northeastern Arcadia which was, traditionally, the birthplace of Mercury, but the story of Mercury's theft of Apollo's cattle has already been mentioned. Cf. fn. 54, above.

<sup>39</sup>Bruno wrote a satirical comedy about a donkey. It was suppressed, and all copies lost or destroyed. He alludes to this in several places in his writings. Donkeys are also mentioned several times in his comedy *Il Candelajo* ("The Torchbearer").

<sup>40</sup>The unity of opposites was a theme in the more esoteric cosmological tradition from the time of Pseudo-Dionysius (5th century CE) onwards, and he shares his emphasis on this with Nicholas of Cusa (1401-

64). The theme appears in the Italian works, primarily, in *De la Casa, Principio e Uno*, First Dialogue, where he argues, for example, that corruption of one thing or person is the generation of another, hatred of opposition is love of the convenient, etc. Cf. Giordano Bruno, *Dialoghi Italiani*, ed. Giovanni Gentile (1958:34-5). Bruno's concept of such opposites or contraries is not unlike Blake's in the eighteenth century.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Judges 15.8. There is some dispute as to whether a jawbone or some other bone was intended by the biblical author, but the jawbone has become proverbial as a humble tool of revenge, for example in John Milton *Samson Agonistes* 11.13-50.

<sup>66</sup>This and the following refer, once again, to the lost donkey satire. Cf. fn. 70, above.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 18.35.80 par 353.

<sup>68</sup>This could be an allusion to the papacy as the "Whore of Babylon."

<sup>69</sup>The "giants" are princes, prelates, grand scholars, etc.

<sup>70</sup>"Hebetude," a neologism, suggests dimwittedness or possibly a state of responding to stimuli automatically and mechanistically, void of spiritual or intellectual reactions of any kind, as in the disease of this sort, "hebephrenia."

<sup>71</sup>The Getae were a Thracian tribe on the Danube. This allusion and the one below are very obscure.

<sup>72</sup>"Syrian Stupidity" is a curious allusion, since Syrians were not proverbially stupid. Perhaps it is an oblique reference, with "Syrian" standing for someone else who would have been recognizable to Bruno's contemporaries.

<sup>73</sup>This inscription, possibly a quotation from an unidentified source, is important in its recall of i-1-10, the chapter on signification.

<sup>74</sup>The story is told in Hesiod *Theogony* 11. 270-294.

<sup>75</sup>Most accounts suggest parallels between the Roman Mercury and Odin or Wodan, the chief Nordic god. Cf. ii-3 fn. 6, and Simek (1984:260-4). Here, however, Bruno's Mercury seems closer to the often malicious prankster Loki, cf. Simek (1984:238-43).

<sup>76</sup>In German folklore today, the Swabians are proverbially charming, if not precisely intelligent or trustworthy. However, Bruno's remark could be an oblique compliment to Johann Heinrich Heine, the dedicatee of the work, who was of Swabian descent.

<sup>77</sup>The constellations associated with Mercury on the drawing are Gemini and Virgo, both suggesting industriousness, among other things.

## Book Two, Chapter Seven

<sup>1</sup>Saturn was told that if his first wife, the Oceanid Metis (sometimes considered the goddess of thought), bore another child it would be a son who would overthrow him; so he swallowed Metis. Only nine months later did he consider that he might have acted hastily. He called on either the Titan Prometheus or the god Vulcan (traditionally depicted as extremely ugly, and therefore the more likely image of the old man here) to rescue him from this predicament. One or the other of them solved the problem by splitting Jove's head open with an axe. Out leaped Athena/Minerva, who then revealed herself as the new goddess of wisdom, the arts, crafts, etc. Both these images appear in the first two paragraphs of this section.

<sup>2</sup>This describes Pallas, who was Athena's childhood friend, according to many versions of the myth, whom she slew by mistake. Full of remorse, she then took the epithet Pallas for her own. Another variant is that Pallas was a Titan whom she killed, taking his armor from him. In any case, it is the commonest epithet for Athena/Minerva.

<sup>3</sup>The technical terms here come from Oratory, one of Minerva's arts. But some of the terms are neologisms, as in the previous chapter.

<sup>4</sup>Or "extreme."

<sup>5</sup>We follow Tocco's substitution of *Gerræ* for *Gerra* in the 1591 text.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., artists, presumably of the sort who might be described as a herd rather than as individuals.

## Book Two, Chapter Eight

<sup>1</sup>The staff and the pouch are the traditional insignias of the cynic, per Martial 4:53. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 30.14.44. par. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. ii-6 fn. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Bruno has labeled both this and the next image as the "fourth."

<sup>4</sup>This refers to the Delphic oracle; the tripod is a symbol of perfection.

<sup>5</sup>The association with the juniper is suggestive of nordic mythology.

<sup>6</sup>The juxtaposition of the philosopher and laughter and squeezing blood for divination suggests an oriental source, not an occidental one.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. fn. 5, above. This suggests either a Germanic or an Oriental god, but does not correspond precisely with any single one that we have found.

<sup>8</sup>Sagueis is the word which appears in the 1591 edition; it does not



exist. Might it be some form of *seguor*, in which case we would have "following Fertility"?

<sup>12</sup>See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.623-97.

<sup>13</sup>The juxtaposition of "use" and "fruit" suggests "usufruct," to have the enjoyment of something.

<sup>14</sup>This image suggests the Tree of Life. Cf. ii-2 fn. 8.

<sup>15</sup>The fat man must be Silenus, Dionysus's elderly companion. See Apollodorus *Library* 2.5.4 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.89.101, etc.

<sup>16</sup>The image of Fortuna which follows is somewhat contradictory; if she really has a hundred arms, how can she have one left and one right hand? The Fates appear to have disappeared from the passage, with some of their attributes being merged into hers. The little boy is likewise puzzling. Cf. ii-1 fn. 2.

<sup>17</sup>Could this be "Fortune's jar" from the mislabeled "Atrium of Mercury" in i-2-13 *Fields*?

<sup>18</sup>Bruno's image of Pluto is unusual, since Pluto is not normally depicted as being winged. In fact if it were not for Bruno's aside, in parentheses, one could not identify him. Cf. ii-10 fn. 2 and Chapter Fourteen, next-to-last section.

<sup>19</sup>For Bruno's full image of Tellus, see ii-14, below.

<sup>20</sup>This appears to be the title to a missing story, since Bacchus never makes any actual visits to any of Bruno's Olympian courts. The devotees of Bacchus were noted for their orgiastic behavior, often being joined by the local women to the distress of their husbands. From the Bacchantic tradition we get our word "Bacchanale." A thyrsus is a pole twined with ivy or grapevine and tipped with a pine cone; it was carried in the processions of the Bacchantes and is a clear phallic symbol. It may also be the ancestor of the maypole of nordic midsummer festivals. Cf. ii-10 fn. 4 and i-2-6 *Atria* fn. 2.

#### Book Two, Chapter Eight, Part Two

<sup>1</sup>The 1591 edition includes a chapter "viii" and a chapter "iix," the latter of which Tocco calls, still, chapter "viii" while noting that it is a duplication. It is, however, clearly still a part of the materials concerning Apollo, and, since Aesculapius is a son of Apollo, we prefer to call it "chapter eight, part two." In any case, it seems to be incomplete, as there is no other mention of Chiron the centaur than the one sentence in the first paragraph below. In any case, Aesculapius, also known as Asclepius, was the patron god of medicine, and his story is told in Apollodorus 3.10.3-4, Pausanias 2.26.3-10, Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.14 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.533-46, 626-744.

<sup>1</sup>This was the proper and traditional sacrifice to Aesculapius. However that it is done by an old man in philosopher's garb suggests Socrates, whose last words were to remind his friend Crito that he owed a cock to Aesculapius. Cf. Plato *Phaedo* 118 (1961:98).

<sup>2</sup>"Paeonian Assistance" is another reference to Apollo, this time as medical healer. Machaon and Podalirius were Aesculapius's two sons however, and Bruno has perhaps mixed up Paeonius and Podalirius; Machaon appears in the next phrase after the one in question.

<sup>3</sup>The sentences here seem to belong together, rather than to have a period after "Condition" as in both the 1591 and 1891 editions.

<sup>4</sup>The adjective "Stygian," coming, of course, from the river Styx in Hades, means "gloomy" or "dark." It does not necessarily mean "of or pertaining to the river Styx." But note that "squalor" is repeated at the very end of this passage, this time in following a reference to Charon, the ferryman of dead souls, carrying them across the Styx. Cf. i-2-6 *Atria* fn. 10.

#### Book Two, Chapter Nine

<sup>1</sup>This chapter, like the last and the following ones, suggests that it is intended to be part of the overall Apollo group. For one thing, Circe is not an Olympian. For two, she does have an association with Aesculapius. In any case, Bruno was fascinated by her, since one of the attributes of her drugs was to put an end to memory. As already noted, one of his texts on memory is entitled *Cantus Circæus*, "The Song of Circe." Cf. i-2-17 fn. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. ii-8 pt. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Sea nymphs.

#### Book Two, Chapter Ten

<sup>1</sup>For Arion, see i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 69. Bruno's point here is that Orpheus is an even greater musical magician than Arion, since he can charm plants and rocks as well as living beings. Cf. fn. 3, below.

<sup>2</sup>The black king is Pluto or Dis. Cf. ii-8 fn. 14.

<sup>3</sup>The lovely maiden who is taken away could be Persephone or Iphigenia but might also be Eurydice, Orpheus's lover. According to Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.78-85 (1924:2,70-1), Orpheus then shuns women for men; this seems to be the point of the sleeping between two beautiful men here. In the following book of the *Metamorphoses* 11.1-66, Orpheus is torn apart by Cicones, wild Thracian women who are infuriated that Orpheus will not respond to them. In most accounts, however, Orpheus is torn apart

by Bacchantes (cf. ii-8 fn. 17), but his lyre is saved by Apollo and placed in the heavens as the constellation Lyra. This is the version in Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.7 (1960:191-3). Note, however, that Bruno's Orpheus is playing the cithara, not the lyre; this downplays the poetic element and substitutes a more likely musical one, since the lyre is strictly an accompanying musical instrument, not a solo one.

<sup>14</sup>As already mentioned, the thyrsus was a phallic staff carried by Dionysus and his attendants such as the Bacchantes. Cf. ii-2 fn. 7, and i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 2.

### Book Two, Chapter Eleven

<sup>1</sup>Apollo took over most of the functions of the earlier sun god, Sol ("Helios" to the Greeks), as the centuries wore on. Nonetheless, Bruno distinguishes between the two here. Some of the passages in this section evoke passages in the works of Julian the Apostate, especially his "Against Heraclius the Cynic" and "Hymn to King Helios/Dedicated to Sallust (Oration IV)," in Julian (1913:1,352-435). The list of attributes associated with Sol suggests a synthesis of traditional Greco-Roman materials and also the occult meanings associated with "The Sun," the nineteenth pip in the Major Arcana of the Tarot de Marseilles. The Sun rules the elements, nutrition, digestion and the mineral kingdom. However, in the Tarot there are two naked children instead of stallions and other significant differences also. Cf. "Papus" (1958) 178-80.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., he brings darkness, makes the sun set.

<sup>3</sup>The Horai are traditional lesser deities, female gods of natural processes.

<sup>4</sup>Meaning "flowering."

<sup>5</sup>Meaning "plucking."

<sup>6</sup>Meaning "peace."

<sup>7</sup>By "Chaldeans" Bruno probably means "Babylonians."

<sup>8</sup>The "ides," "kalends" and "nones" are the portions of the thirty-day month used by the Romans.

<sup>9</sup>The *fésta* are "feasts," plural of *festum* and are therefore no more a "genus" (singular) in Latin than they would be in English. Thus, Bruno is making a sort of word play here.

<sup>10</sup>Iris is the minor divinity of the rainbow, a favorite of poets, and is also a messenger of the gods. This description of her is rather unorthodox, since she is usually described as being extremely attractive.

<sup>11</sup>An asperger is a vessel used by Roman Catholics to sprinkle holy water during the asperges ceremony; "lustrating" priests are those engaged in such a ritual of purification.

<sup>12</sup>Lucina is the persona of Diana who is associated with childbirth. Diana also rules the moon. Her brother is the sun. Cf. ii-12 fn. 5 below.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., this is an explanation of a solar eclipse.

<sup>14</sup>Normally the principal Germanic sun god, Balder, is one of the most attractive of the northern deities; besides ruling the summer sun, he rules light in general, peace, beauty and eloquence. He is not the only sun god, however. Cf. Simek (1984:34-41). Besides Balder, there are also Sol, cf. Simek (1984:368-9), and there are also gods of drought, heat waves, and so on. Neither does Tacitus' *Germania* shed any light on the matter, though his section 45 mentions the sun; nor do Krantzius (1548) and Magnus (1555, though cf. ii-3 fn. 8), though they were the principle sources of information on Norse deities in Bruno's time. None of them specifies that the sun was a particularly important deity to the nordic pagans, although they might have been expected to do so in their accounts. It is all but impossible to match up Bruno's harsh image with any particular Germanic sun god, but it is certainly not the lovable Balder. Possibly some aspects of Thiwaz or Tiu (see ii-5 fn. 27, above), who is indeed a terrifying deity, are merged here with this sun God. Thiwaz is associated with the wolf, and this looks right for the animal in the picture below.

<sup>15</sup>The "describer" is the artist who originally made the picture used by Bruno, presumably the unknown illustrator of Bede (1563), whose model in turn was the cycle in Albumasar blended with the Germanic tradition, as we have described in the introduction. There is only one significant iconographic difference between Bruno's picture of Sol (i.e., that in Bede) and the one in the 1487 Albumasar: the latter carries a winged cross, while Bruno's holds a plain staff.

### Book Two, Chapter Twelve

<sup>1</sup>Luna is the Roman goddess of the moon and equivalent to the Greek Selene; they are personae of Diana and Artemis respectively. But Luna figures in surprisingly few myths and, thus, there are relatively few sources in classical literature which mention her at any length. She does, however, appear in Hesiod *Theogony* 11.371-4 (1929:176-7), and there is a *Homeric Hymn* to Selene, in Hesiod (1929:458-61), and she is also in Apollodorus 1.7.5. The moon is also the eighteenth pip of the Major Arcana in the Tarot de Marseilles, where it stands for repressed desires, terms, ends, the fall of the spirit into the material world, materialization, illusory creativity, reflected light, thus suggesting Bruno's images concerning the waning moon, later in this section. The visual image in the Tarot is of a moon with a face over two castles, two jackals baying at the moon, and a crustacean under water reaching out eight claws up at it. Cf. Papus

(1959:174-7) and Thierens (1930:76-7). *Laona* is, of course, the Latin word for "moon," and because of the element of personification, we translate *Laona* as "the moon" in the chapter title but leave it as "Luna" from then on to the end of the chapter.

<sup>2</sup>Both Tocco and 1591 have *pasto* here, which makes no sense. We believe it is a typographical error for *pastor* (shepherd).

<sup>3</sup>The sleeping man suggests Endymion with whom Selene fell in love. He had fifty daughters by her. In the most familiar story, he was a shepherd on Mount Caria, and Jove bestowed on him eternal youth and life in the form of eternal slumber, while Selene descended every night from heaven to visit and embrace him in his grotto; this story is told in Apollodorus 1.7.5-6. Another shepherd, this one who lies under a spreading beech tree, is Tityrus, in Vergil *Eclique* 1.1. He is believed to be a representation of Vergil himself, but he has no association with Luna or Diana. Furthermore, Tityrus is lying down but is conversing with Meliboeus, so this seems to be unlikely in comparison with Endymion. Yet this is typical of renaissance texts in which like and like or unlike and unlike are conspicuously compared for aesthetic effect.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., a satyr.

<sup>5</sup>A cincture is a belt or girdle in classical dress. What the image suggests is that these women are all pregnant.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., lyre-players.

<sup>7</sup>A "coronis" is a scribe's flourish, used to indicate the end of a chapter or book. Generalizing from this, it is another item in Bruno's list of endings.

<sup>8</sup>This suggests "aversion" in the religious sense, as to avert calamities with divine aid, e.g. as in Cato *De Rustica* 141.2.

<sup>9</sup>I.e., from the Isle of Lemnos, associated with Vulcan. There is an association here with Diana, in that a series of events initiated by her led all the women of the island to kill all the men; finding that an all-female life did not suit them, the women welcomed the Argonauts when they stopped there after obtaining the golden fleece, and a new generation resulted.

<sup>10</sup>The Parcae are the Fates. Cf. ii-4 fn. 22.

<sup>11</sup>This reading depends on changing *caute*, which both editions have, to *cauter*. Marpesian marble from the island of Paros was proverbial as the hardest variety of that stone.

<sup>12</sup>Bruno obviously distinguishes here between Sol and Apollo; he is ambiguous about that distinction elsewhere in this work, sometimes joining and sometimes separating them.

<sup>13</sup>*Vulgar* means "the crowd" or "the masses," as in the modern word "vulgar," though with a less pejorative tone.

<sup>14</sup>The cheapness of seaweed was proverbial. Cf. Horace *Satires* 2.5.8.

<sup>15</sup>A manipule was a pole with a handful of hay or straw twisted around it, sometimes used as a military standard by the Romans.

<sup>16</sup>Bruno's term, *adoxus Palimphema*, is transliterated Greek; the effect of suddenly, at the climax of this list, switching into such a transliteration is all but impossible to achieve in our translation.

<sup>17</sup>Bruno's term is *extelligentia*, which we take to mean an outer system of intelligence, perhaps the senses operating in collaboration with the mind.

<sup>18</sup>Bruno's term is *Agnomona*, also transliterated Greek. See footnote 16 above. As for "Cyclopic," this refers to the Cyclopes, one-eyed giants (plural of "Cyclops"). The sense is of something enormous.

<sup>19</sup>This translates *gracilitas*, a rare word meaning "meagreness" or "slenderness."

<sup>20</sup>The Gabines were the inhabitants of Gabii, a Latin town east of Rome which the early king Lucius Tarquinius Superbus conquered as the result of treachery on the part of his son Sextus. Bruno's term which we translate "Gabineness" is *Gabinitas*, literally "a state of being Sabine." What he is getting at is obscure unless it is a typographic error. Cf. Livy 1-52.5-54.10 (1925:1,182-9).

<sup>21</sup>The book Bruno saw in Germany is presumably the 1563 Bede discussed in the introduction.

As for the Germanic tradition, Sol (=Sun) and Mari (=Moon) are indeed associated with ships as well as chariots, but are usually depicted as pursued by wolves, not dragons. Cf. Simek (1984:249-50) and ii-11 fn. 14, above. The goddess of Night is Nott, cf. Simek (1984:291-2), but the idea of doubling her seems to be Bruno's. As for the chariot being pulled by children, these could be Máni's, Bili and Hjúki, cf. Simek (1984:48-9,181).

<sup>22</sup>This image, of the wandering salesperson or merchant, is usually associated with Mercury or Thoth. But what Bruno seems to mean is, literally, a "street-walker," a prostitute, whose goddess should be Venus Meretrix.

<sup>23</sup>I.e., night.

<sup>24</sup>I.e., during the night, there is no sun, and without the sun there can be no life. Thus night without day cannot produce life.

### Book Two, Chapter Thirteen

<sup>1</sup>Bruno's Court of Venus is fairly straightforward, without most of the occult overlays which enter into the Court of Luna, for instance, with its references to the Tarot cards and perhaps to alchemy. Bruno uses this court to express his poetic gifts to their fullest.

<sup>2</sup>The birth of Venus/Aphrodite from *aphros* (foam) and *ditos*



(birth) is a myth embodied in its Greek words. Cf. Hesiod *Theogony* 195.

<sup>7</sup>The *horæ* can be translated literally as the "hours," but in fact they represent the four seasons.

<sup>8</sup>The *cestus* is a traditional girdle which was said to have the power of exciting love.

<sup>9</sup>This could be Manto, the beautiful daughter of Tiresias of Thebes, who became a seer in her own right. Manto was the founder of Mantova (Mantua), where Vergil was born, and Vergil was thought to have been something of a seer, as we know from Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Abstruse as this connection is to us today, to Bruno's time it would have been far less so, since patron saints and eponymous founders were far more celebrated then than they are today. However, the person being referred to could also be Cybele.

<sup>10</sup>Tocco adds capitals to *Deus* (god) in his edition; we restore the 1591 reading.

<sup>11</sup>In the Tarot de Marseilles, the Empress card would be tempting to cite here. But the Empress has her sceptre in her left hand, while her right is holding a shield with the emblem of an eagle on it. Her meaning is wisdom and spiritual strength, while Venus is the very epitome of earthly beauty and force.

<sup>12</sup>The *Parcae* or Fates vary in number from one to three according to the various authors. Their earliest mention is in Hesiod *Theogony* 1. 904. Cf. ii-4 fn. 22.

<sup>13</sup>This might be Persephone, who slept in a field of poppies before Pluto abducted her, and who ate pomegranate seeds at a later point in the story. Cf. ii-10 fn. 3, and see the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

<sup>14</sup>This seems to represent the Judgement of Paris.

<sup>15</sup>This appears to be a representation of Adonis, with whom Venus fell in love. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 9.

<sup>16</sup>This is surely Cupid, who figures later in the picture, and who has a sort of court of his own.

<sup>17</sup>This refers to the theory of the four humors, each governing one of the four basic temperaments. These were choler, spleen, bile and blood, and they had a central place in Galen's medical system, whose influence persisted well into the renaissance.

<sup>18</sup>Zephyr is the west wind and its god. See Hesiod *Theogony* 378-80. The ritual dance appears to be a *tripudium*, a ritual dance from western Greece associated with him. Cf. fn. 34 below.

<sup>19</sup>The stems of *anathema* used here mean "bane-of-quarrels."

<sup>20</sup>See fn. 15 above.

<sup>21</sup>Bernice or Berenice was a Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt, famous for her caution as well as for her beauty. Her story is told in Catullus 68 and Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.24.

<sup>22</sup>This is a personification of Eros, the supposed child of Aphrodite whom Hesiod, in the *Theogony* 11.119-20, calls "the most beautiful among the deathless gods." "Cupid" translates "Eros." "Amor" is a late interpretation of "Cupido."

<sup>23</sup>This sounds more like an Egyptian god than a Greek one. The god is, in any case, hard to identify. From the context, he sounds like a figure in one of the myths about Aquilo (Gr. Boreas), the god of the north wind, since he is associated with Zephyrus and can "charm" Aquilo.

<sup>24</sup>Orithia was abducted by Boreas according to Apollodorus *Library* 3.15.1.

<sup>25</sup>The city of Tyre in Phoenicia was famous for its purple dyes, made of the mollusks in its waters.

<sup>26</sup>The historic Gætuli lived in what is now northern Morocco. The connection with disease is unknown.

<sup>27</sup>The Island of Cos was proverbial for its luxury.

<sup>28</sup>The city of Sidon was often linked to Tyre in Phoenicia. Its connection with haughtiness is unknown.

<sup>29</sup>The Paphian cloak is a cestus; see fn. 4, above.

<sup>30</sup>This suggests "Dawn-star," the planet Venus. But this cannot be determined for certain in such a brief reference.

<sup>31</sup>Dione was the mother of Venus in some accounts.

<sup>32</sup>Alexander of Troy, not of Macedon.

<sup>33</sup>Hyperion was the son of a Titan and father of Sol.

<sup>34</sup>Leto or Latona was a powerful goddess of oriental origin, known to the Greeks as mother of Apollo and Artemis. She figures in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3, and appears also in Hesiod *Theogony* 404-10, 918-20, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.157-381, Hyginus *Fabulae* 53, 55, 91 and *Poetica Astronomica* 2.26.

<sup>35</sup>Trivia is an epithet for Hecate, and means "she of the three ways." Diana (Gr. Artemis) came to be identified with Hecate by the Romans, although the original Hecate was a terrifying underworld Titan who retained her honors after Jupiter's degradation of the others. She appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 2.25-62, 438-40, and in Apollodorus, Pausanias and in repeatedly in Vergil *Aeneid*, e.g. at 7.774 and 11.566, etc.

<sup>36</sup>Hymen is the patron deity of marriage. He has no myths of his own.

<sup>37</sup>Lampsacus was a city on the Hellespont.

<sup>38</sup>Its "member" is a phallus, but it is hard to see why this belongs to the head unless it is a metaphor for the tongue.

<sup>39</sup>"Favonian" is an adjective associated with Zephyr, and thus suggests a warm breeze.

<sup>40</sup>This is a Greek poetic name for Italy.

<sup>41</sup>"Zephyrean" is an alternate adjectival form of Zephyrus.



<sup>38</sup>Cf. Ovid *Art. Amatoria* 3.795-6.

<sup>39</sup>Panchaeon is unknown. It must be some Greek area that produced perfume.

<sup>40</sup>Pharos was in Egypt, where it had a famous lighthouse, not to be confused with Paros.

<sup>41</sup>This is an epithet for Apollo; in early times one of the principle centers for Apollo's worship was at Thymbra near Troy.

<sup>42</sup>The Orontes was a major river in Syria, hence its name being applied to goods from that country.

<sup>43</sup>This probably refers to the Corycian mountain cave on Mount Parnassus.

<sup>44</sup>The Lycæum and Mænalum are terms associated with festivals in Ovid's *Fasts*, evidently the places where these festivals took place. The Apeninum seems to refer to the Apennine mountains of Italy. The Parthenium is the area of Mount Parthenius in Arcadia, and Arcadia was the region of Greece most associated with pastoral poetry. It was thought of as we might think of the Garden of Eden.

<sup>45</sup>"Acidalian" is an epithet for Venus, perhaps from the fountain of that name in Boeotia. The others in the list that follows, except for "Dionean," are place names associated with the virtues that are mentioned; for example, "Cnidian" refers to Cnidos, where a famous statue of Venus was made, and this is presumably the source of the image of its composition. "Lucrine" is the only one of these adjectives which is repeated; it probably refers to the city or lake of Lucrino near Baiae in southern Italy.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. fn. 27.

<sup>47</sup>See fn. 45, above. Why Lucrino's name is repeated is puzzling, as is its connection with merriment.

<sup>48</sup>Arceilaus (ca. 315-240 B.C.E.) was a Greek philosopher in the Platonic tradition, and was a founder of the Middle Academy at Athens. His association with a sculpture of Cupid is, however, obscure.

<sup>49</sup>These are typical Brunonian logical terms. Cf. his *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum* (pub. posth. 1609).

<sup>50</sup>I.e., speaking together.

<sup>51</sup>A rhetorical term, repetition of the same sound with different meanings, as in a pun.

<sup>52</sup>This is Bruno's term, clearly an abbreviation for some unidentified concept.

<sup>53</sup>This comes from *per se* (literally "through itself" but idiomatically "in its own right"), which has passed into English usage.

<sup>54</sup>I.e., becoming less interested in someone.

<sup>55</sup>It seems as if this passage should have come in the discussion of Cupid's right hand.

<sup>56</sup>I.e., by magic.

<sup>57</sup>Tantalus was punished in Hades with a powerful hunger and thirst, with food and drink placed just beyond his reach; thus the term "to tantalize."

<sup>58</sup>This translates *applicatio* (application) rather freely.

<sup>59</sup>In Roman comedy this is an idiom for thief. Cf. Plautus, *Audacia* 2.4, 11.46. *Fur*, which has three letters and stands for *furnivus* [thief], was often branded on criminals.

## Book Two, Chapter Fourteen

<sup>60</sup>Tellus is the personification of the Earth in the productive sense, sometimes used as a metaphor and sometimes as a divinity. The image of Tellus is strongly suggestive of such myths of pregnant monsters as the Akkadian Tiamat, whom Marduk slays in the *Enuma Elish*. The "queen who is remarkable for her swiftness," below, also suggests an origin in semitic mythology, though we have, of course, no way of knowing precisely what texts were available to Bruno. For a translation of the *Enuma Elish*, see Doria's *Origins* (1977:182-236). Cf. ii-8 fn. 16.

<sup>61</sup>This suggests, specifically, the Grecian Rhea (=the Roman Ops) impersonating Tyche, the goddess of Chance (=the Roman Fortuna, though not exactly). The Titaness Rhea married Kronos (=the Roman Saturn), mothered Zeus and saved him from Kronos. See Apollodorus *Library* 1.1.3 and 1.2.1, Hyginus *Fabulae* 139, etc. Tyche appears in Hyginus *Fabulae* 2.25 (1960:215).

<sup>62</sup>Evidently these nymphs are the Muses, and their leader is Mnemosyne, the muse of Memory, for whom see i-1-9 fn. 1 and elsewhere.

<sup>63</sup>Clearly the twenty four mouths are the hours, but the keys do not seem to fit into any known mythological configuration.

<sup>64</sup>Male attendants of Cybele, already discussed. Cf. ii-1 fn. 3 and d iik-13 fn. 5.

<sup>65</sup>Here Tellus is more metaphorical, standing for the Earth.

<sup>66</sup>I.e., those who go in front of her.

<sup>67</sup>I.e., life or breath.

<sup>68</sup>Oceanus is the god of the river Oceanus, which was believed to issue from the underworld and to flow all around the earth. The god Oceanus was a Titan, but did not join his brethren in opposing Jupiter. He appears in Homer *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in Hesiod *Theogony* 133, 337-70, 787-91, in Apollodorus *Library* 1.5.2, and in Ovid *Metamorphoses* x13.949-55 etc.

<sup>69</sup>Normally Triton, singular, is a minor sea god, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.330-47. But it is not uncommon for there to be more than one Triton.

<sup>1</sup>A minor sea god, mentioned in Hesiod *Theogony* 237 as having conceived, with Tellus, "fair-cheeked Ceto and Eurybia." References to him apart from his daughters are very rare.

<sup>2</sup>Castor and Pollux (Gr. Polydeuces) are the famous Gemini of astrology, known as the Dioscuri, who sailed with the Argonauts. Castor was famous as a tamer of horses. Pollux is mostly famous for his generosity, since, when Castor was killed by Idas, Pollux offered to share half his life to keep his brother alive. They appear in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.301-2, 372-3 but in no other major literary works; they are, however, in Hyginus *Fabulae* 14, 79, and esp. 80, and in his *Poetica Astronomica* 2.22. Cf. iii-6 fn. 3, below.

<sup>3</sup>Deucalion is the Greek Noah; cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 68.

<sup>4</sup>The Asopus or Esopus is the name of two important Greek rivers and their gods. One originated in Phliasia, and flowed through Sicyonia into the Gulf of Corinth. The other flowed eastwards through Boeotia. The gods do not appear in any major myths or literary works, but do figure in the local mythology. But the river appears in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.6.33.

<sup>5</sup>These are plural uses of the familiar figures from Homer's *Odyssey*.

<sup>6</sup>This gardening tool is associated, traditionally, with gravediggers.

#### Book Two, Chapter Fifteen

<sup>1</sup>Or the creator.

<sup>2</sup>Bruno has *Arion can.*, which we take to be *cantus* (song). Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 69.

<sup>3</sup>Bruno has *Mors Sator*.

<sup>4</sup>The 1591 edition has *Deumstans II*, obviously a typographical error.

<sup>5</sup>The 1591 edition omits numbers for "Cupid" and "Hymen" here.

#### Book Two, Chapter Sixteen

<sup>1</sup>Bruno has *Pro.*, which appears to mean "proposed" here. Also, for the significance of the word chart and alphabet, see our introduction to this work.

<sup>2</sup>The "crown" seems to refer to Jupiter's crown.

<sup>3</sup>In the 1591 edition this entry repeats the "H" from the above paragraph, and seems to be a simple continuation of it.

<sup>4</sup>Bruno has *volat.*

<sup>5</sup>Cyllene is the mountain where Mercury was born, sometimes also described as his mother. Hence "Cyllenian" is often an epithet for

Mercury. However, there is no association of a donkey with Mercury. It could be that we have another reference here to Bruno's lost donkey satire. Cf. ii-6 fn. 80.

<sup>6</sup>Bruno does not specify what these ordinal numbers refer to.

#### Book Three, Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15. Bruno's *Thirty Seals* is one of his principle works on the memory, which we hope to translate in due course. For all Bruno's allusions to it here and elsewhere, it has little practical relationship with the present work. However, the reader might find it worthwhile to examine the following chapters: *De Campo* (On the Field) p. 79, *De Catena* (On the Chain) p. 81, *De Arbore* (On the Tree) p. 81, *De Agricola* (On the Farmer) p. 83, *De Vexillo* (On the Banner) p. 84, in the following *Explicatio* (Explanation) section, the explanations of the chain, tree and banner on pp. 123, 124 and 132, and in the final section, the articles on art, mathesis and magic on pp. 195, 196 and 197. If the reader wishes to pursue the matter further, the roots of such images as these lie in such works as the *Ars Demonstrativa* and *Ars Brevis* of Ramón Llull (=Raimondus Lullus, 1232-1316), both extremely difficult to read, in Anthony Bonner's edition of Llull (1985:1,305-646). Bonner's footnotes include numerous references to Bruno. Also valuable are Frances Yates "The Art of Raymond Lull" (1954) reprinted in Yates (1982:9-77), and the first part of her *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (1979), which deals with natural magic and Christian cabbalism as currents in the sixteenth century throughout western Europe. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 10, above.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Field VI" following i-2-13, and i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 23. We have added the letters of the Latin alphabet which correspond to the minerals in Bruno's list. Note that I and J are the same letter, as are U and V. We have already commented on the cabbalistic root of these alphabetical lists, here and elsewhere in *De Imaginibus... Compositione*. Cf., for example, the illustrations from Ramón Llull in Yates, *Lull and Bruno* (1982:fig.116).

Furthermore, only a few of these lists appear in the *Lithica*, described in Lesky (1966:812) as "a didactic poem of sorts on the magic power of various stones [which] has no connection with Orphic doctrine, but is, rather, a sample of the literature which passed on such superstition in prose and verse and was influential deep into the Middle Ages in a Latin version (by Mardobus Redonensis)...." Nor is there significant overlap with Demigeron (second century B.C.E.), whose *De Virtutibus Lapidum* is the other major surviving source on the subject. Our conclusion is that probably Pliny, Bruno, or Bruno via Pliny either made many of them up from

linguistic root forms or picked them up from some as yet unknown source. For the text of the *Lithica*, see Abel (1881). Demigeron's work has recently appeared in a new edition with English translation, as *De Virtutibus Lapidum: The Virtues of Stones* (1989).

<sup>1</sup>This probably is a term for asbestos, mentioned in antiquity in Pliny *Natural History*, 37.10.54 par. 146. It was also associated with Arcadia.

<sup>2</sup>The term may be *barippe*, an unknown precious stone, black with red and white spots, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.55 par. 150.

<sup>3</sup>Or *bronteia*, "thunder-stone," possibly a meteorite.

<sup>4</sup>Celandine, "swallow-spice," mentioned in Pliny 25.8.50 par. 154. It was fabled to be found in a swallow's stomach.

<sup>5</sup>Cinædia, an unknown precious stone found in the brain, it was supposed, of the fish cinædus, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.56 par. 153 and 33.11.53 par. 146. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 31.

<sup>6</sup>Chlorite, a precious stone, grass green in color, possibly the same as *smaragdoprasus*, mentioned in Pliny in 37.10.56 par. 156. In Hyginus the scylla is a fish in *Fabulae* 198, but in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.151, and in all other known citations, Scylla is a bird. Scylla and Circe were bitter love rivals, per Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.65, 13.732 and 14.1-764.

<sup>7</sup>*Draconitis* is an unknown precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.58 par. 160. Its name comes from the genitive of *draco* ("dragon"), hence Bruno's image.

<sup>8</sup>*Eumetris* is an unknown precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.88 par. 160. Its name suggests "well-measured" or "well-proportioned," thus its associations here. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 46.

<sup>9</sup>*Galactites* is milk-stone, an otherwise unknown precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.59 par. 162. *Gassidone* (Gassinades) is a semi-precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.59 par. 193.

<sup>10</sup>This is tongue-stone, a stone in the shape of a human tongue, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.59 par. 193; the story of Philomela transformed into a nightingale appears in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.668.

<sup>11</sup>*Gorgonia* is "gorgon-stone," so called because it hardens when taken from water and exposed to air. It is a form of coral, and is mentioned in Pliny 37.10.59 par. 164.

<sup>12</sup>This is *girazole* (It.) or heliotrope ("turnsole"), mentioned in Pliny, 2.41.41 par. 109 and 22.21.29 par. 57.

<sup>13</sup>*Hephestitis* is "vulcan-stone," an unknown precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.60 par. 166.

<sup>14</sup>This precious stone, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.60 par. 197, comes from the term *Hammonis cornu* (Ammon's horn); it is typically shaped like a ram's horn and is associated with the Egyptian ram-headed god, Ammon, identified with Zeus by the Greeks and Jupiter by the Romans. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 38.

<sup>15</sup>This is an unknown precious stone mentioned by Pliny at

32.11.54 par. 154; its name suggests *Hyenia gemma* (hyena stone).

<sup>16</sup>*Liparis* is an unknown precious stone is mentioned by Pliny in 37.10.62 par. 62. Its name suggests a connection with the Islands of Lipari in the Tyrrhenian Sea off Sicily, which include Vulcano, Stromboli and Lipari itself. In ancient times they were known as the *Aeoliae Insulae* (Islands of Aeolus, the wind god).

<sup>17</sup>This Persian precious stone, *Mithrax*, is connected somehow with Mithra, the Persian sun god, perhaps because of its brilliant color. It is mentioned in Pliny 37.10.63 par. 173. Flora is a Roman goddess of flowering plants, a fertility goddess.

<sup>18</sup>We have been unable to discover anything concerning this stone.

<sup>19</sup>This stone, *Nebrides*, was a precious stone sacred to Dionysus. The name comes from *nubri*, the fawnskin worn by the Bacchae at the Bacchanalia. The name suggests a brown, dappled gem, probably more properly a semi-precious stone. It is mentioned in Pliny 37.10.64 par. 175.

<sup>20</sup>The name suggests *onix* (mountain-stone) or perhaps sideritis (star- or steel-stone); it is an unknown semi-precious stone mentioned in Pliny 37.10.65 par. 176. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 27.

<sup>21</sup>*Paneres* or *panerastos* is a precious stone with the supposed property of making fruitful, mentioned in Pliny 37.10.66 par. 178.

<sup>22</sup>The stone *peanitis* takes its name from Pæan the Healer, an epithet for Apollo; see C. Julius Solinus, a Latin grammarian of the third century AD, in chapter nine of his book on grammar. Cf. Pliny 37.10.66 par. 180.

<sup>23</sup>This must be *aleatoria gemma* (rooster gem), a gem found in a rooster's mouth. See Pliny 37.10.54 par. 144.

<sup>24</sup>The theory of signatures is part of Rosicrucianism, which may or may not be relevant to Bruno, since Rosicrucianism first surfaced a few years after Bruno's death, early in the seventeenth century. There is also a severe shortage of scholarly material on early Rosicrucianism, especially as it relates to literature as a whole. In this regard, Frances Yates *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972) is only the beginning of an inquiry. However, the theory of signatures is, to some extent, covered in Walter Bauman's "Secretary of Nature, J. Heydon" in Hesse (1959:303-18). Heydon's key work in this regard is *The Holy Guide* (1662).

### Book Three, Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup>*Theutis* is another name for the Egyptian god Thoth, i.e. Hermes Trismegistus, mentioned many times already, cf. i-1-12 fn. 2 and ii-6 fn. 3, etc. The form "Theutis" resembles "Taaautos," the Phœnician name for the same divinity, literally "scribe of the gods."

<sup>2</sup>The key words, capitalized here, are in alphabetical order in the original Latin. The alphabet in the left hand margin is given by us for the

reader's convenience; it does not appear in earlier editions.

<sup>2</sup>The final letters are missing from the alphabet.

### Book Three Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup>Though this is what the text says, Bruno seems to be referring to the figure which appears in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup>Nola, it should be recalled, is Bruno's birthplace, and he is sometimes referred to, by himself and by others, as "the Nolan."

<sup>3</sup>The interpenetration and correspondence of things and the life of all physical entities are the themes, not only of this verse paragraph but also of many of Bruno's writings. While the former is a commonplace in renaissance mysticism from Lull to Kircher and an assumption of cabalism, the notion of the life of all objects is a much rarer idea, not original with Bruno (it is a hallmark of the Jain religion, for instance) but simply very rare in his time or before. Work should be done tracing its origins.

<sup>4</sup>The monad is the indivisible, impenetrable unit of substance which, for Bruno, constitutes spiritual and physical reality. Bruno's concept of monads seems to be adapted from Democritus (ca. 460-370 B.C.E.), and its influence on other thinkers is considerable, notably on Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz (1646-1716) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1824). In Bruno's works, the monad first appears clearly defined in *De gl' Heroici Furori* (1585;2.2), in Gentile's edition (1958:1125), but it is most fully discussed in *De Monade, Numero et Figura* (1591), which was published shortly before *De Imaginum... Compositione*. The most precise discussion we know of concerning Bruno's use of the monad concept is in Horowitz (1952:92-106).

<sup>5</sup>The diagram which follows is, of course, a magic square like the famous "Enigma of Sator," described in Higgins (1987:25-6). But the diagram is also a prototype of the "labyrinthus cubicus," a sort of verbal construction in which each successive line is a rotation, usually by one letter, of the line above it. The genre appeared in the sixteenth century and continued popular, especially in Portugal and in East Central Europe, into the eighteenth century. Cf. Higgins (1987:231) and Hatherly (1983). Also, cf. iii-1 fns. 1 and 2, above.

### Book Three, Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup>See iii-3 fn. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Bruno's first diagram of this chapter interrupts the poem as here. The words in the boxes are part of the poem, and they scan as dactylic hexameters. Here follows a translation of the words of the text:

Line 1: a) (No number). From the same

b) 10. Boys,

c) 20. Sacrificers- might this be a typographic error for *adolescentes* (teenagers)?

d) 30. And girls

e) (Blank)

Line 2: a) 40. Then man

b) 50. And old man

c) 60. Ugly,

d) 70. Handsome

e) 80. And wretched

Line 3: a) 90. Happy

b) 100. Large

c) 200. Blind

d) 300. Chaste

e) 400. Wise

Line 4: a) 500. Stupid

b) 600. Foolish

c) 700. Suffering

d and e) From them comes Column

Line 5: a) 2. Fork

b) 3. and Tripod

c) 4. Chair

d) 5. Serpent

e) 6. and Noose. The text of the poem then resumes.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., made of steel.

<sup>2</sup>The "signs of the archetype" diagram translates:

1	2	3
A	B	C
Boy	Girl	Woman
11	12	13
D	E	F
Column	Fork	Tripod
101	102	103
G	H	I
Overturns	Strikes	Sits
1001	1002	1003
K	L	M
Dog	Bull	Old Woman



<sup>7</sup>This series of images is easier to visualize if one leaves the numbers in roman numeral form rather than converting them into arabic numerals. In some cases, however, Bruno's conversion of the numbers into images is faulty. Nevertheless, the concept is a picturesque one at the very least.

<sup>8</sup>The same diagram follows i-2-19.

### Book Three, Chapter Five

<sup>9</sup>This chapter is the key one for Book Three, since in it he gives examples of the images he has described since Book One, Part Two. His demonstration of how the whole universe is implied by the opening passage of the *Aeneid*, which most of his educated contemporaries would have known by heart, is a tour de force, and gives strength to his argument that almost everything implies almost everything else, and he expands on its words to show either how they imply his world view or how they can be used as a starting point for further expansions and meditations. For this reason we have left some of the materials in their original Latin and have used a poetic style which, though it may be inconsistent with the rest of our translation, attempts to familiarize the reader with the actual Latin words and meanings which Bruno draws on, through the use of tabular lines and italics. Bruno's own style here is also exceptional, with many words set in capital letters within the text. As for Mnemosyne, the muse of memory, she is already familiar from earlier passages, from i-1-9 on, while Proteus is the symbol of mutability (cf. Homer's *Odyssey*), so that the juxtaposition of the two images suggests a preparation for change or the memory of something which has not yet happened. Such a figure has less a mnemonic function than a psychological one, since the positioning appeals to the imagination and senses more than to any faculty of recall or even occult area; the symbols are not vivid enough to force recall of something, but they are excellent as foci for conceptual contemplation, so that it seems important not to undervalue the psychological and philosophical value of *De Imaginum... Compositione* when pointing out that it is also a memory text.

Also, rhetorically in the opening line, Bruno is using an aorist construction, which indicates past action not yet completed. The sense is that you *know* Proteus because you have seen him, you know him in your mind, therefore, because you have sensed him.

<sup>10</sup>Vergil's last name is Maro.

<sup>11</sup>The text to which Vergil refers in the following passage is (cited line-by-line from our translation *Aeneid* 1.1-3: *Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris* ("I sing arms and the man, he who first an exile from Trojan shores") *Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit* ("came by fate to Italy and the Lavinian coasts") *litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* ("after much tossing about on land and sea"). Bruno especially plays on the

resemblance between *os, oris* (mouth) and *ora, orae* (edge, boundary), especially the dative and ablative forms.

<sup>12</sup>Marsus was an epigrammatic poet of the Augustan age, slightly younger than Vergil.

<sup>13</sup>The parentheses are Bruno's; he uses them, occasionally, in this section to indicate emphasis rather than, as usual, parenthetical commentary.

<sup>14</sup>Here is an instance of the word-play mentioned in fn. 3, on *orans* (praying).

<sup>15</sup>*Fata* means "fate," but it resembles *facta* (deeds), and Bruno draws on this resemblance later in this chapter.

<sup>16</sup>*Lavinia* is both Aeneas's Latin wife and a portion of the Italian coast named for her. The connection between *Inane* (the void) and her name is obscure.

<sup>17</sup>*Lit[us]* (beach) has only a poetical connection with *infinitum* (infinity).

<sup>18</sup>*Principium* (origin) is derived from *princeps* (prince), and Bruno draws on this repeatedly in the chapter.

<sup>19</sup>*Mulum* (many) is varied through the chapter to mean "often" and anything metaphorically resembling "many." In the next line, *Causam* (cause) is spelled *Caussam* in the 1591 edition, which appears to be an error. Bruno may also be alluding to line 8 of the *Aeneid*, just after the passage he is working with, "*Musa, mihi causas memora...*" (Muse, remember the reasons for me...).

<sup>20</sup>*Iactatus* means "tossed" or "thrown." The great element here is almost certainly the earth, since Bruno is playing with the idea *terris iactatus et alto*, "storm-tossed on land and sea," as emblematic for fortune and chance.

<sup>21</sup>Gorgias was a sophist and rhetorician of the fifth century B.C.E., and is familiar from Plato's long dialogue of that name.

<sup>22</sup>The "series of HARMONY" is apparently the Pythagorean series of proportions, common both to music and to the universe.

<sup>23</sup>The double occurrence of the "V" is per the printed text.

<sup>24</sup>I.e., monads. Cf. iii-3 fn. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Bruno seems to mean sleep, and to refer to dreamland.

<sup>26</sup>This uses *litera* twice, an apokoinou construction.

<sup>27</sup>Bruno links Solomon and Pythagoras elsewhere also, for example in the small text known as "Salomon et Pythagoras," which has come down in Bruno's handwriting in an autograph dated "Wit[t]e[n]berg, 8. Martij 1588: "Quid est quod est? Ipsum quod fuit[?]. Quid est quod fuit[?]. Ipsum quod est. Nihil sub sole novum. ("What is that which is? That which was. What is that which was? That which is. [There is] nothing new under the sun."). Presumably "Salomon" here is referred to less for his role as great king or wise ruler than for his image as a metaphysical thinker or occultist. He was, for instance, believed in Bruno's time to be the author of a number of



<sup>1</sup>Cf. Homer *Iliad* 14, in (1925: 2, 71-3).

<sup>2</sup>Bruno now goes through the images of the zodiac in their astrological sequence starting with Aries, the ram, hence the allusion to the "golden fleece." In some case the images of the zodiacal signs are obscured, as here, by other metaphors and images.

<sup>3</sup>This is the twins, Gemini, though why they are supposed to be huge-headed is obscure. Cf. li-14 fn. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Cancer is the crab, a water sign. The Lymphæ are minor water goddesses, suggesting Aquarius.

<sup>5</sup>Virgo is the virgin; her association with a hare is perhaps ironic, since hares were supposed to be symbols of fecundity and promiscuity, as in the modern popular image of "bunnies."

<sup>6</sup>Normally Libra would be the scales, not someone who is using them. If the grammar is taken at face value, this balancer now becomes the protagonist of the story for the rest of its length. It appears to be he who steps on Scorpio, the scorpion.

<sup>7</sup>The association of Sagittarius, the archer, with medicine is obscure. Capricorn is, of course, a goat. Aquarius, the water bearer, is sometimes depicted pouring water back into its source, and its symbolism is of a return to the source of things, i.e., in this case, the sea. The final constellation of the zodiac is Pisces, the fish, but it is characteristic of Bruno to focus, instead, on Aries, thus suggesting the next cycle.

<sup>8</sup>This chart does not list all the images in each possible way; e.g., where is A-A-C? It also gives weight to the position within the set; e.g., A-A-B is distinguished from A-B-A. Cf. Yates (1979:10-11).

<sup>9</sup>I.e., the numerator in iii-4.

<sup>10</sup>I.e., the banner in iii-3. Also, cf. fn. 1 and 2 to iii-1.

<sup>11</sup>The first figure has twenty places, the second twenty four. Presumably there is some correspondence between the digits—ten fingers and ten toes—and the figure. The second diagram seems outside of this. The only correspondence we can detect is that there are twelve signs to the zodiac, in his poem, thus two times twelve make up the twenty four spaces. However, the system in the second diagram can be simplified; the lower row of numbers represents the digits above it increased by one (or by eleven). Thus it may well be part of the next cycle, and can be ignored in this one. This would leave the second diagram with twenty places, like the first, so there may be some correspondence between them that is not obvious.

<sup>1</sup>The 1591 edition has *catena*, while Tocco's edition has *catena*. Following Tocco's alternate suggestion, we use *catenam*. The idea and word of the "Branch" pun on Pierre de la Ramée (Petrus Ramus, 1515-72), already mentioned in *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 10, whose name means "branch," and whose memory system is, in fact, based on almost endless conceptual branching.

<sup>2</sup>Tocco suggests using the order in which we have translated these lines, which is different from the 1591 edition.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., by your rational effort, natural demonstration and experiment.

<sup>4</sup>For Ramón Llull, see iii-5 fn. 36.

<sup>5</sup>The work that Bruno is referring to is another late work, *De Triplici Minimo et Maximo ad Trium Speculativarum Scientiarum et Multarum Activarum Artium Principia, Libri V* (1591), in Tocco's edition (1889:1 pt. 3,119-361), to the *Vexillum Solis* ("Banner of the Sun") text and *Hortus Solis* ("Garden of the Sun") diagram, both on p. 346. An alternate version of the diagram appears in the *Articuli Adversus Mathematicos* (Articles Against the Mathematicians, 1588) in Tocco (1889:1 pt. 3,1-118), on p. 94, where it appears with the caption *Hortus Solis ad Opus 69 etc.* ("Garden of the Sun for Item 69" etc.). Article 69, on p. 34, reads: *Alii definiunt cuius partes omnes omnibus similiter conveniant, ut ait Proclus, rectam definiendo ut etiam posset definire circulum* ("All of whose parts some define as similar to all, as Proclus says, when he defines a square so that it can also define a circle").

Regarding the diagram itself, Anthony Bonner, Llull's main modern translator, writes in a letter of 10. July, 1987, "As for the *Arbor scientiae* you sent me, my guess is that it's an invention of Bruno's (*Differt ab illa arbor nostra...*). Not only have I never seen it in connection with Llull's work (i.e., in the modern printed editions), but it seems to differ from Llull's approach in that work (which is more organic than combinatorial), and finally that kind of symbolic tree shape is uncharacteristic of Llull. Also my impression of Bruno's approach to Llull (like much of Renaissance Lullism) is that of its being not so much something he's interested in investigating for itself as something he could use and bend to his own purposes..."

In a personal letter dated October 16, 1987, Dr. Charles Lohr of the Raimundus-Llullus-Institut of the University of Freiburg agreed, saying: "the figure which you enclosed with your letter does not appear in any authentic work of Llull... It seems that Bruno got the idea of a tree from [Llull's *Arbor scientiae*] but added to it the combinatorial letters..."

A more elaborate version of the diagram appears in *Thirty Saals*

112, referring to the nineteenth seal, *De Binari Circulari Encyclo* p. 89, but it is a system of alphabetical correspondences without further explanation. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15.

<sup>9</sup>Tyrian purple was made from a mollusk from Tyre in Phoenicia (modern Lebanon). The association, for Bruno in Italy, is that this is in the Orient, the East; the region where the sun hides its head, in the next line, is, of course, in the Occident, the West.

<sup>10</sup>Erymanthus was the name of both a river and a mountain in Arcadia, mentioned in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.244 and 499, v, 608, and *Tristia* 1.4.1 and 3.4.4. Hercules had, as the fourth of his labors, to kill a giant wild boar that lived on Mt. Erymanthus. The reference is to Ursa Major, the constellation.

<sup>11</sup>I.e., Diana/Luna.

<sup>12</sup>This reading depends on changing *queque* to *quasque*.

<sup>13</sup>A basilisk was a fabled serpent or lizard whose slightest look was thought to be fatal. Presumably the light here refers to the light of its glance. But we can find no such tradition associated with a bullock's eye.

<sup>14</sup>"Mathesis" is Bruno's (and others') symbolic mathematics, Pythagorean and more symbolic than material-oriented. His key definition lies in the short chapter on the subject, *De Mathesi* in *Sigillus Sigillorum* (*Seal of Seals*, a sequel to *Thirty Seals*). Cf. i-2-18 fn. 5.

<sup>15</sup>"Quaternities" are groups of four.

#### Book Three, Chapter Eight

<sup>1</sup>Calchas, son of Thestor of Mycenae, was the famous soothsayer who accompanied the Greeks on their campaign against Troy. It was predicted that he would die when he met a soothsayer greater than himself. After the Trojan War he went to the isle of Claros, where he met the soothsayer Mopsus who beat him in a game of guessing riddles. Calchas then either died of grief or took his own life.

<sup>2</sup>The ideas in this diagram interconnect grammatically, line by line, with the second lines parallel to the first:

<i>First line:</i>				
I	II	III	IV	V
Apollo	wreathed	with laurel	rides	a lion
Venus	wrapped	in cloud	adorns	a goat
<i>Second line:</i>				
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
that over-	the foun-	of the tent	of the	which was
turns	ation		soldier	set on fire

that crops	the grass	of the	of the	which was
		garden	maiden	torn
				out

It is the foundation which has been set on fire and the grass which has been torn out in these two rather laconic images.

#### Book Three, Chapter Nine

<sup>1</sup>I.e., the Lion (in astrology).

<sup>2</sup>The sounds that the lion makes mean "vowel," which adds up to an extended metaphor, thus our substitution of (hopefully) lion-like sounds. What the lion is signifying here is that it is dawn.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., the south (noon-time).

<sup>4</sup>See fn. 2 above.

<sup>5</sup>The Titaness Tethys, daughter of Gaia or Ge (Earth) and Uranos (Sky), married her brother Oceanus and mothered most of the river gods and their three thousand sisters, the Oceanids. During the war between the gods and Titans, Tethys refused to let Callisto (the Great Bear) set in the river Oceanus, because Callisto had been Jupiter's concubine. All this suggests that at one time Tethys may have been a sea goddess. However, there is no association of Tethys with a cave in any of the places in the classical texts in which she appears, not even in Hyginus where one might expect it. Bruno may be confusing Tethys with some other divinity. What this image does suggest, however, is a reference to the twilight. Cf. i-2-13 *Fields* fn. 70 and ii-14 fn. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Bootes is the same as Arctophylax, the Bear-Keeper, who had been Callisto's son, Arcas, and thus follows her. The story is told in Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2.4. The image signifies night.

<sup>7</sup>This diagram has independent ideas in the boxes of its three rows of seven, each of which is associated with a letter combination and by a roman numeral in sequence. These are:

*First row:*  
BV, tree, I; BR, table, II; C, hearth, III; CR, statue, IV; D, anvil, V; F, ditch, VI; FR, tribunal (judgment seat), VII.

*Second row:*  
G, oven, VIII; GR, bed, IX; H, bolt, X; I, anvil, XI; L, pyramid, XII; M, wheel, XIII; N, rock, XIV.



## Third row:

P, fountain, XV; PR, well, XVI; Q, stable, XVII; R, timber beam, XVIII; S, chariot, XIX; T, skiff, XX; TR, tomb, XXI.

The chart is very close to some of those in Ramón Llull that are reproduced in Yates *Lull and Bruno* (1982) following p. 116 and discussed on pp. 10-11.

<sup>9</sup>In numerology and alchemy, the number five signifies the quintessence or absolutely refined essence of a thing, the fifth form or element that goes beyond the normal four elements of earth, air, fire and water, and intermixes with the ideas or forms behind a substance, and which causes the other four elements to bind harmoniously. This relates to the twenty-one elements in the chart in that there are twenty one items in the boxes; twenty-one equals four groups of five (20) plus one, the quintessence, to make them whole. Cf. i-2-10 fn. 1.

<sup>10</sup>The 1591 edition has no period here; we follow Tocco's suggestion that the period be added. We also should note that the letters of the text and those in the chart do not correspond.

<sup>11</sup>"Of light" is understood, here, since this is a famous line of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* 1.21, repeated elsewhere in the work also.

## Book Three, Chapter Ten

<sup>1</sup>A "field" is, of course, a campus in Book One. The "farmer" image also appears in *Thirty Seals*. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., all five vowels—A, E, I, O and U. "Y" would not be counted here, as it is, basically, a Greek vowel, hence its French name, "i-grec," and its German one, "ypsilon."

<sup>3</sup>What makes it a two-fold microcosm is that it exists both on the physical and ideal plains.

<sup>4</sup>Normally *mediator*, Bruno's word here, would be translated "mediator," the same as in English, but this makes no sense. What he seems to have in mind is, more, a middle man, with a third, neutral principle between active and passive, masculine and feminine, etc.

<sup>5</sup>Again we have Hermes Trismegistos here, and what he praises, a few lines below, as a great miracle is the ability of the quintessence to cause transformations among the four basic elements. However, though this idea must come from the *Hermetica*, it does not appear in the *Primaevera*, which is only the first work of the *Hermetica*. Cf. i-1-12 fn. 2 and ii-6 fn. 3. The term itself comes from the alchemical hierarchy of essences from "primus" (first), which is gross material, up through "quintus" (fifth) which is the most refined, spiritual nature of a substance.

<sup>6</sup>This idea of the thirty fellow singers and the twelve harmonizers is of unknown origin. It seems, on the one hand, to have to do with a

phonemic analysis of language, and, on the other, to refer also to some Pythagorean conception. The numbers make little numerological sense here, so to point to numerology as an explanation seems unlikely.

<sup>7</sup>One would expect Bruno to have named one of the atria in Book One, Part Two for the farmer, but the closest he has is number fifteen, for "Food."

<sup>8</sup>I.e., another source of power, energy, cause, etc.

<sup>9</sup>Tocco has a footnote here, *sq. sic* ("so it follows"), indicating the problems in the 1591 edition at this point. Our translation of the next two lines is hypothetical.

## Book Three, Chapter Eleven

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Pliny 2.15.12 par. 59 and 2.18.16 par. 80.

<sup>2</sup>Here the reference to the zodiac is without astrological significance but refers, rather, to the fact that the constellations of the astronomical zodiac are those through which the sun appears to move.

<sup>3</sup>The pole star of the zodiac would be Polaris, the north star. As for the equinoctial line, this must be the trajectory line of the two points where the celestial equator intersects the ecliptic.

## Book Three, Chapter Twelve

<sup>1</sup>Our reading is based on substituting *fiat* for *fuat*, which does not exist, and on reading *aplannum* as a contracted genitive plural, *aplannorum*.

## Book Three, Chapter Thirteen

<sup>1</sup>See the corresponding discussion of the interpreter, in *Thirty Seals* (1889;2 pt. 2,154-5).

<sup>2</sup>There are twenty two letters in the Hebrew alphabet, and Bruno's imagery follows in the lineage of Christian cabbalism as set forth by Mirandola, Ficino, Giorgi, Reuchlin, et al.

<sup>3</sup>The order of the images in *Thirty Seals* is: fountain, portico, pyramid, grove, yoke, laurel, grotto, seat, throne, column, altar, river, ship, sickle, well, wash-stand, table, oven, boundary, rock, mirror and sepulcher. A somewhat similar list of the possible inhabitants of these rooms appears in *Thirty Seals* with the discussion of the interpreter mentioned above in fn. 1. Cf. *Dedicatory Epistle* fn. 15.

<sup>4</sup>That is, take one from twenty-two and get twenty-one, a number which is divisible by three. This yields seven, a very important prime number for the mystical tradition.

<sup>1</sup>This reading depends upon substituting a *sunt* for the *ut*.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., twenty-two possibilities.

### Book Three, Chapter Fourteen

<sup>1</sup>Here Bruno seems to be equating the atria and the fields, which are, of course, related but which have different attributes. What they have in common is that they are both matrices within which the images function.

<sup>2</sup>The wheel of fortune was believed, in Bruno's time, to have been invented by Pythagoras. Cf. iii-5 fn. 18.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., letters.

<sup>4</sup>A nomenclator was a slave, especially on a Roman estate, who told his master the names of the other slaves. Cf. Pliny 23.1.6 par. 96.

<sup>5</sup>Plutarch, of course, says no such thing. However, the idea is perfectly consistent with Ramus's logic, in which one breaks down each idea into a consistent pair, each pair into another pair and so on. These pairs can be arrayed into a chart for mnemonic purposes and the spaces of the chart do indeed suggest atria and cubicles of a mansion. Ramus has a striking habit of, wherever he is on shaky ground in a discussion, citing an ancient authority, whether justified or not. Cf. Catherine M. Dunn's footnotes to Ramus's *Logike* (1574/1969). But be that as it may, it is, in fact, a good heuristic device, if one wants to remember and organize an array of historical data, to express them graphically in atria and to memorize these. In this way the author once memorized all the Byzantine emperors' dates and the principal events of each one's reign, simply to test Bruno's approach. The problem is, of course, that one forgets all this material relatively quickly, remembering only the shape of the assemblage of atria.

<sup>6</sup>What Bruno seems to be getting at is yet another instance of the parts being included by implication in the whole, the macrocosm/microcosm correspondence that one finds in the lineage of Lull up through Athanasius Kircher (1601-80) and Robert Fludd (1572-1637), for whom see also iii-5 fn. 32. The charts in Fludd's *De Utriusque Cosmi Maioris...* (1617), which deals specifically with the "history of the macrocosm" (that is, with its nature), provide an excellent graphic illustration of this concept, though, it must be stressed, Fludd comes at the end of the Lullian lineage and after Bruno's time. For example, the important circular illustration on pp. 4-5 there (reprinted at the end of these notes) shows the four elements, the zodiacal signs, a sequence of celestial and earthly entities (moving upwards in the chart towards the material world, from macrocosmic to microcosmic: heavens and stars, Saturn, Jove [=Jupiter], Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Fire, Air, Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, "The natural art underlying the animal kingdom," "The natural art underlying the vegetable kingdom," "The natural art correcting the mineral kingdom" and, finally, at the center, the earth. The earth, now moving upwards through the circle

back towards the heavens, is surmounted by an ape (the "ape of Nature" is a common theme in Fludd and in his tradition) which extends through the arts, and by a naked woman holding a chain whose feet stand on this border, who penetrates from mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms through the astronomical zones and into the heavens and beyond. All around the kingdoms are images such as we have found in Bruno. The "element of earth and air" (i.e., the physical world) extends across the kingdoms and into the "liberal arts" area. Outside the heavens are wingless and winged celestial beings, presumably saints and angels, and, on the very outside, heads with wings unfurled and closed. At the very top of the diagram is the tetragrammaton of the ineffable name of Jehovah. The caption to the chart reads: *Integritas Naturae Speculum Artis et Imago* (The Mirror of the Integrity of Nature. And the Image of Art).

<sup>7</sup>This title does not refer to "physics" as physical laws, but to the plural of "physic," that is, a specific medical substance for a specific ailment. However, Bruno is using this, too, guardedly since what he appears to have in mind is alchemical substances, the mention of which would be suspect.

<sup>8</sup>The image suggests Pythagoras. Cf. iii-5 fn. 18.

<sup>9</sup>It is not clear whether Bruno is speaking of time in a general sense or in the sense of the tense of a verb, or if he is speaking of a word, speech or a sound.

<sup>10</sup>We say "elements" but might equally well say "letters." The array of letters is the sequence in the alphabet of those nine letters skipping the vowels, and, mysteriously, the H, J and K.

<sup>11</sup>There is a story that the English system of linear measurements comes from Henry I (1068-1135, regit 1100-35). A foot was said to be his foot, a yard the distance from his eye to the thumb of his outstretched arm, an inch the distance between his eyes, etc. This story is not known from any reputable source, and the fact is that many nations of Europe have an equivalent story. Bruno is evidently, therefore, alluding to the tradition of these stories and is hard put to cite a source for the legend of Henry I; so he names The Venerable Bede (=Saint Bæda, 673-735), although Bede antedates Henry I by several centuries. Bede was also, of course, very important to Bruno, as we have discussed in our introduction to this book.

<sup>12</sup>I.e., the letters of the Latin alphabet.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., Apollo.

<sup>14</sup>By courtroom rhetoric, Bruno means specific argument directed towards a purpose. By deliberative speech he means in normal public speaking, discussing and perhaps persuading someone concerning something. By demonstrative speech he means oratory per se.

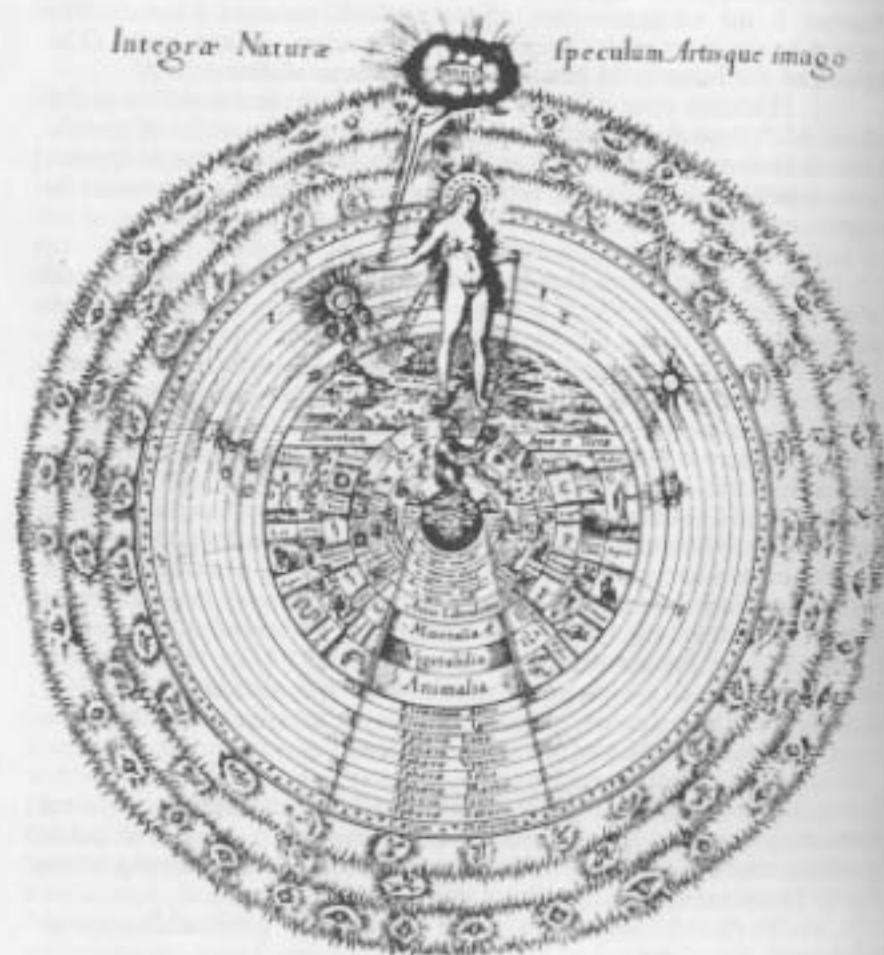
<sup>15</sup>A "polyhistorian" is what we would call a "polymath," a master of several disciplines.

<sup>16</sup>I.e., light and dark, day and night.

<sup>17</sup>Bruno uses the ecclesiastical term here, *anima*, which usually

<sup>19</sup>This last passage, possibly the last Bruno wrote as a free man, is, appropriately, a call to all free people to accept no limits, to move towards infinity.

**Chart of the universe.** From Robert Fludd's *De Utriusque Cosmi Maioris...* (1617). See fn. 6 above.



## Footnotes

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