

## “Starry Leo,” the Sun, and the Astrological Foundations of Sixtine Rome

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### Résumé de l'article

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# “Starry Leo,” the Sun, and the Astrological Foundations of Sixtine Rome\*

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For Elio Costa

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## RÉSUMÉ

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On connaît le pape Sixte v pour son dévouement dans le rôle de réformateur au sein de l'Église catholique. Son pontificat a été consacré à reconstituer et à appliquer la parfaite orthodoxie de l'Église apostolique. Bien que personne ne doute de son zèle pour la réforme de l'Église catholique, cet article présente un autre aspect de la personnalité et du pontificat du pape Sixte v; en effet, sa façon de diriger s'avérait en accord à la fois avec la tradition judéo-chrétienne et la tradition caractéristique de la Renaissance et de la période baroque. Ce côté du pape Sixte v ne fut pas jusqu'à présent révélé en

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Pope Sixtus v's bull *Coeli et terrae*, which forbade the study and practice of divination—including judicial astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, necromancy, and hydromancy—was published on 5 January 1586.<sup>1</sup> Following the edicts of the Council of Trent, only astrological predictions concerning agriculture, navigation, and medicine were deemed acceptable. While the prestige of the divinatory arts declined following Sixtus v's edict, the practice was by no means curtailed, for in 1588 Giovanni Paolo Gallucci dedicated to Sixtus v a book on astrology which was twice reprinted in Italy over the next 20 years.<sup>2</sup> The 1590s saw the continued popularity of astrology, both natural and judicial, as well as other types of divination, particularly among the clergy, including members of the Franciscan Order.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, Pope Urban VIII found it necessary to reiterate and expand upon Sixtus v's constitution in his own bull *Inscrutabilis* of 1631.<sup>4</sup> Yet while Urban VIII was prohibiting astrology and the divinatory arts in his official capacity, it is well known that in his private affairs he was a veritable convert to the occult arts.<sup>5</sup>

Given this discrepancy between official policy and private practice by Urban VIII, one is led to question whether a similar situation was not actually in effect at the outwardly stern and orthodox court of Sixtus v. Marcello Fagiolo has recently considered the connection between Giovanni Bordini's stellar street plan of Sixtine Rome and the references in the panegyrics of the period to the “polar star” of the Sixtine *stemma*, yet the question of the pope's reception of such evidently “heretical” allusions remains unclear.<sup>6</sup> This paper attempts to analyze these apparently contradictory signs and thus to show that Sixtus v actually created the mythology of his life and pontificate on the basis of his natal chart. In order to achieve this end, attention will be focused on the allegorical representations of the pope's Good Works, from which it will be shown that the poet Guglielmo Bianco used Ovid's *Fasti* in order to compose the verses, or *anime*, just as the ideator of the allegorical Good Works had used the same source to devise the images, or *corpi* drawn by Cesare Nebbia. It will also become clear that the Sixtine iconographer

deferred to the syncretistic treatment of Olympian gods and their Egyptian counterparts in ancient Roman astro-mythology in order to imbue Sixtus v with a most ancient and venerable heritage, while at the same time pushed the method forward to encapsulate key figures of the Christian and particularly Franciscan traditions. Finally, it will be shown that the natal and electoral charts spawned the most fundamental, and heretofore misunderstood tenet of the Sixtine pontificate, namely, that Pope Sixtus v was privy to the deepest secrets of the universe as both another Moses, and another Hermes Trismegistos.

#### THE MYTH AND ITS ASTROLOGICAL FOUNDATION

The story of Pope Sixtus v, as documented in the many biographies written during his pontificate, opens even before his birth, with the dream of his parents (Piergentile "Peretto" di Giacomo and Marianna da Frontillo [di Camerino]) that their future son would become very famous, rising from humble origins to achieve the highest dignity.<sup>7</sup> Sixtus v was born in Grottamare, on the Feast of Saint Lucy, Friday, 13 December 1521 at 16 hours.<sup>8</sup> The fourth of seven children, he was compared to the Sun in the middle of the planets, an analogy made the more appropriate since Saint Lucy was herself a symbol of light.<sup>9</sup> He was baptised "Felice," meaning "happy," or "fortunate" in order to seal, or at least prod the future foretold for their auspicious son. Felice's exceptional nature was proven early on, as he survived a veritable inferno, pestilence, and drowning, respectively compared to Moses at the burning bush, untouched by the Passover, and rescued by the Pharaoh's daughter. As a teenager, Felice wished to be called "Crinitus," "the long haired," so that he might compare himself to a comet.<sup>10</sup> In accord with the plan of Divine Providence, Cardinal Montalto, as he came to be known, became pontiff on 24 April 1585; the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, according, we are told, to the reckoning of the fourth-century astrologer Firmicus Maternus.<sup>11</sup> That his election day fell on a Wednesday, finally, was regarded as a confirmation of the extremely good fortune which this day had brought to Felice throughout his life, as Mercury had overseen every one of his major promotions, culminating in this greatest of them all.<sup>12</sup>

Although the story of the pope's birth has been reported quite regularly by scholars with all the veneration accorded the gospels, the "Wednesday fallacy" was de-mythologized by Nicola Pansoni not long after the 400th anniversary of the pope's birth.<sup>13</sup> I would suggest that Wednesday is not the only case of hyperbolic embellishment in the

account of the life of Felice Peretti. The "history" of the pope's life sounds suspiciously like that created for the Emperor Augustus, it smacks of the Neoplatonism eschewed by the Roman Catholic Reform papacy, and it is not without Christological and Franciscan resonances. The promise of a "wonder child" recalls the son of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* and therefore serves to conjure the Golden Age, to assimilate Felice to the Emperor Augustus, and to cement his future station as Christ's vicar.<sup>14</sup> The dream of his parents recalls that of Augustus's mother Atia, and it evokes the portent circulating in Rome a few months before Augustus's birth that "nature was pregnant with a king for the Roman people."<sup>15</sup> The comparison of the youth to the Sun, recalling the syncretization of both the Emperor and Christ to the Sun-god Apollo, not to mention Saint Francis, again reinforces the providentiality of his birth and future vocation, and echoes almost exactly the dream of Augustus's father that Atia would give birth to the Sun.<sup>16</sup> By extension, Atia's impregnation by the serpentine Apollo contributes to the child's solarian nature not only as an *alter Apollo*, but also as another chosen son of God.<sup>17</sup> The idea that Felice is in the centre of the planets affirms the Chaldean-Ptolemaic view of the universe, and conjures the Ciceronian and Macrobian appellation of the Sun in this context as the "leader, chief, and regulator of the other lights, mind and moderator of the universe."<sup>18</sup> It also, of course, brings to mind the creation of the Sun on the fourth day, and its interpretation by Christian exegetes as the first Mosaic prophecy of Christ's coming.<sup>19</sup> Felice's youthful wish to be called "Crinitus," moreover, was surely an allusion not only to a comet and the great political change he would bring to the *respublica Christiana* as pope, but also to the "crinitus Apollo" of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and, in this sense, designed to reinforce his solarian character.<sup>20</sup> The analogies to Moses serve to reinforce the Christian and particularly Franciscan way of life for which Felice was destined, since Moses is a type of both Christ and St. Francis. They also set up an implicit parallel between the Sun and the rays of light which would emanate from Moses's visage following his ascent during the Exodus from Egypt. That Felice became pope on the anniversary of the foundation of Rome suggests that Sixtus v was to be aligned with both Romulus and the Emperor Augustus, the second great founder of Rome, and that during his pontificate he would re-establish and rule the Golden Age, thereby accomplishing anew the prophecies of Anchises in Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>21</sup> The idea that Mercury oversaw the rise of Felice to power is suggestive of the god's traditional role as protector of Rome and its ruler.<sup>22</sup> It

also evokes the Christian Mercury, Saint Michael, protector of both the Hebraic and Roman nations, as well as the Franciscan Mercury, Saint Francis, founder and protector of Sixtus v's Order.<sup>23</sup> Since Mercury is also a god of dreams, it becomes clear that the youth was fated, even before his birth, to become the Franciscan vicar of Christ.<sup>24</sup> To be sure, the glory of this child was so great that he could not have helped but attain the highest dignity, even if Mercury did not, in truth, oversee his rise to power!

The mythology of Sixtus v, while informed by good omens, solar imagery, and astrological references, all of which are tied to the idea of Rome, does not, in and of itself, provide suitable justification to suggest that the pope was receptive to the occult arts, much less that he adapted them for his own use. The prophetic nature of his birth and rise to the papacy could be readily attributed to a healthy imagination or, in a more sober vein, to the workings of Divine Providence herself, and need not have been given any extra-Christian meaning. Like the exorcisms chanted before the pagan obelisks and columns, which were derived from magical formulae, and like the waxen talismans of the *Agnus Dei* which the pope presented to visiting dignitaries, the story of his life is presented in a purely Christian context, quite devoid of any influence of Fate.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, there would be no reason to suppose that the astrological allusions contained in his life-story were anything but rhetorical devices, or that the birthplace, date, and hour, provided by the pope himself, served any purpose other than contributing to the historical truth and accuracy of the biography, were it not for the sparse, but potent astro-magical references and illustrations in the literature, devices, and artistic ensembles created for Sixtus v after the bull against divination was issued.

The most prevalent references of an astrological nature, common to the art and literature of Sixtine Rome, revolve around the lion, taken from the coat-of-arms of the pope and assimilated to the zodiacal Leo. The clearest manifestation of this analogy is to be found in one of the two devices published in 1589 by Giovanni Pinadello, which shows Sixtus v as the lion of his *stemma* looking at and echoing the stance of the astrological Leo in the zodiacal band in the sky, and accompanied by the motto "ARDESCITQVE TVENDO" ("He is inflamed by watching it"—Fig. 11).<sup>26</sup> The device shows, quite clearly, that Sixtus v is the earthly counterpart to the astrological Leo and, since the pope is "enflamed" by it, the zodiacal sign becomes a signifier of the Sun, who rules fiery Leo,<sup>27</sup> and hence, of Apollo and consequently of Christ. The closest analogue to the device is found in the Good Work

of Sixtus v known as the *Acqua Felice* represented on the main wall of the main hall of the most important ensemble commissioned by the pope, namely, the Salone dei Papi of the Lateran Palace (Fig. 12). Beneath this representation of the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice and its terminal fountain is a verse which compares the pope's replenishing of Rome with water to the flooding of the Nile when the Sun enters Leo in July.<sup>28</sup> In a manner typical of Sixtine rhetoric, the comparison is made clear through a play on words so that "starry Leo," the zodiacal sign, is complemented by "great-hearted Leo," Pope Sixtus v. To reinforce the pope's station as Christ's vicar, the illustration of the *Acqua Felice* features the terminal *Moses Fountain*. Since Moses strikes water from the rock in the central niche of the fountain, then his action forms a biblical parallel to the effects of the Sun in "starry Leo."<sup>29</sup> As an important *typus Christi*, Moses therefore emphasizes the connections between "starry Leo" as an analogue to Christ, and "great-hearted Leo" as at once an *alter Moyses* and vicar of Christ.

The distinction between Sixtus v as Christ's vicar and Sixtus v as an *alter sol*, which becomes somewhat blurred in the *Acqua Felice*, is completely eradicated in the following Good Work of the pope represented in the Salone dei Papi (Fig. 13). Here, the representation of the *Port of Terracina and Pontine Marsh* is accompanied by a verse in which Apollo bemoans his ineffectiveness beside the pope, saying, "The earth has its Sun, why should I put forth my rays? For what is granted to you, Sixtus, was not within my power."<sup>30</sup> No longer is Sixtus v presented merely as Christ's vicar, rather, he is an *alter sol*, and *alter sol iustitiae*. The analogy made very early on in his life has been realized, and, as the holder of the highest dignity on earth, Sixtus v has become the "leader, chief and regulator of the other lights, mind and moderator of the universe." Indeed, it was not simply an artistic quirk which prompted the representation of the zodiacal Leo holding the Peretti pear branch in the armillary sphere in the western loggia of the Lateran Palace, executed between 1588-89 (Fig. 14), nor was it a flight of poetic fancy to pervade the decoration of the stairway leading to the Sistine Chapel of Sixtus iv in the Vatican, commissioned by Sixtus v in 1586, with the solar symbolism of Sixtus v-Apollo (Fig. 15).<sup>31</sup> The equation of Sixtus v to the Sun was the most widespread and important symbolism of his pontificate, emanating from his person and spreading over the entire city of Rome, most notably and visibly in the Egyptian obelisks, those antique monoliths dedicated to the Sun, which were raised, exorcised, and dedicated to the *sol iustitiae* by his radiant vicar. Of course, these allusions to

the pope as the Sun were not unique: during the Renaissance the idea of the Sun-pope was adopted at least as early as Nicholas v's pontificate and continued to hold sway through the reign of Sixtus v's precursor, Gregory XIII, well into the Baroque period.<sup>32</sup> And just as so many Renaissance popes garnered justification for their assimilation to the Sun from their natal charts, so, too, with Sixtus v the solar allusions were imbued with a very specific meaning which, as we have seen, pointed to the birth of a special solarian child in the provincial town of Grottamare, and they were conveyed by utilizing his own, extremely personal heraldry. To be sure, the assimilation of the Sixtine lion to the zodiacal Leo was far too consistent, despite its relatively meagre appearance in the works of art commissioned by the pope, and far too central to the story of the pope's birth in its solarian nature to have been created exclusively as a rhetorical device. That this solar imagery was, in fact, viewed as a serious sign of God's plan, based very much on reality, may be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt by considering the sermon delivered by Pompeo Ugonio on the Feast of Saint Luke in 1587, and published a year later. In his peroration, Ugonio quotes a verse from Virgil's *Georgics* describing the orbit of the Sun through the 12 signs of the zodiac as a segue to his pronouncement that the accession of Felice Peretti to the See of Peter had been preordained in the stars.<sup>33</sup> There could be no clearer testimony to confirm that the mythology of the Sun-pope Sixtus v was created from a prognostication made according to his natal chart. After all, the mention of divination after 1586, both orally and in print, particularly with regard to the pope himself, could have provided ample grounds to send Ugonio straightaway to the Inquisition!

#### THE NATAL AND ELECTORAL CHARTS

The physician Andrea Argoli cast the natal chart of Felice Peretti in 1639 in order to prove that Sixtus v's death was foretold in the stars, notwithstanding, it must be reiterated, Urban VIII's bull of just eight years prior.<sup>34</sup> I shall accordingly use the chart cast by Argoli in the following analysis (Fig. 16). In order to approximate the original reading, reference is made to the most common sources used by Renaissance astrologers, namely, the *Tetrabiblos* of Claudius Ptolemy, the *Astronomica* of Marcus Manilius,<sup>35</sup> and the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus.<sup>36</sup> When appropriate, reference is made to the methods of relevant Arabic astrologers. Since the reconstruction of a prognostication is a dangerous exercise, even with foreknowledge of the conclusion(s), I shall provide a

general idea of how the pope's natal chart could have been read by concentrating on the most fundamental aspects. The analysis is guided by a passage in a panegyric written by Giovanni Antonio Peretti to commemorate Sixtus v's election to the papacy.

In a discourse on the cupidity of mankind and the depths to which the human race had fallen, Giovanni recalls the vital incident which would alter the course of history: "Mensis erat, quo formosi ferit ardua signi/Cornua sol radijs, adverso Scorpius astro/Congitur obscuro croceam velamine frontem" ("It was the month in which the Sun, with his rays, touched the lofty horns of the beautiful sign, turning towards the dark constellation of Scorpio and crowning its forehead with a saffron covering").<sup>37</sup> This wonderfully cryptic passage takes on great meaning with respect to the natal chart of Felice Peretti. The Sun, on which Giovanni places great emphasis, is located in the twelfth house, within five degrees of the ascendant (ASC). The Sun is therefore in an aphetic place, called by the Arabs the Hyleg, or "giver of life," and, as such, exerts some of the most beneficial forces of the chart.<sup>38</sup> The Sun is in the first degree of Capricorn, corresponding to the goat-fish's "lofty horns," and agreeing with Giovanni's poetic description. The Sun is also conjunct the ASC, which is likewise in the sign of Capricorn. This "beautiful sign," as Giovanni calls it, is a particularly significant one because it was used by the Emperor Augustus to symbolize his fated birth and great fortune.<sup>39</sup> It was also, of course, the Sun-sign of Christ.<sup>40</sup> As the sign shared by Augustus, Christ, and Felice, Capricorn may well have prompted the Virgilian allusions regarding the pope's birth and seemed to solidify the child's future station as a second Augustus and vicar of Christ. According to Renaissance practice, the ASC in Capricorn indicates Saturn's rulership of the chart.<sup>41</sup> Saturn himself is located in the second house in his other domicile of Aquarius, so that, according to Firmicus, "the indication is for high position, fame and every type of good fortune" (*Matheseos*, iv, xix, 6). Together, then, Capricorn and Saturn conjure the Golden Age allusions and imperial vicarship of the Sixtine mythology. In his panegyric, Giovanni continues by following the projected course of the Sun to "the dark constellation of Scorpio." Attention is therefore shifted from the eastern sector of the chart to the mid-heaven (MC), which is indeed located in Scorpio. He then explains that the Sun has crowned the forehead of Scorpio with a saffron covering, hence, we may surmise, illuminating the otherwise dark constellation. As Argoli's chart reveals, the star which is conjunct to the MC is Arcturus, and it

just so happens that this most powerful *lucida* of Böotes is of a yellow, or saffron, colouration. Giovanni accordingly singles out the extra-zodiacal constellation which crowns the natal chart as a sign of signal importance. The extremely auspicious nature of Arcturus is known from Manilius, who explains that “to folk born in this hour Fortune herself makes bold to entrust her treasures, so that the wealth of monarchs and temple finances will be in their keeping: they will be kings under kings, and ministers of state, and be charged with the guardianship of the people” (*Astronomica*, v, 358-62). The MC of the pope’s natal chart accordingly yields another essential component of the Sixtine myth, namely, that the youth would achieve the highest dignity, the guardianship of Christ’s flock as successor to this king of kings.

Although Giovanni sees fit to concentrate on only the most essential data of the natal chart, the present analysis deals with other key aspects. The descendant (DESC) is located in Cancer. Together, Cancer and Capricorn evoke the Gates of the Sun, translated in Neoplatonic thought as the portals through which the unblemished soul passes on its journey to earth, and back to immortality in heaven.<sup>42</sup> The Portal of Capricorn on the ASC suggests that the youth would ultimately attain immortality, and, in a Christian sense, achieve salvation, a natural complement to his role as solarian leader of the renewed Golden Age of Christianity. The unusual clustering of planets in Capricorn, all of which are fiery, whether by nature or, as in the case of Mercury, by association, indicates the fiery nature of the chart, particularly since Capricorn presides over fire, according to the doctrine of Manilius (*Astronomica*, iv, 384). The Sun’s conjunction with Jupiter and the ASC is an extremely positive union which points to the general good fortune of the child, and the “universal benevolence” that he will bring to the world.<sup>43</sup> Mars is also conjunct with the Sun and Jupiter, as well as the ASC, and is exalted in Capricorn so that his fiery nature is at its most powerful. The union of Jupiter and Mars again bodes unusually well, and “indicate[s] high position and great power” (Firmicus, *Matheseos*, vi, xxiii, 1). Mercury’s conjunction with Mars suggests that Felice would be highly “intelligent and learned in great doctrine.”<sup>44</sup> Since the ASC in Capricorn is in the terms of Mercury, that is, within the first 10 degrees, the prognostication is again extremely positive. According to Firmicus, “those who have the ascendant in the terms of Mercury will be literary men, learned, correct in judgement, who faithfully carry out their entrusted duties. They will be made caretakers or governors of state, responsible administrators, or governors of the

treasury” (*Matheseos*, v, ii, 15). Indeed, the luminaries on the eastern sector, as well as the ASC in Capricorn and MC with Arcturus, the two cardinal angles of the chart to which Giovanni refers in his panegyric, connote similar futures and reinforce the extreme honour, power, and greatness which the newly-born child would one day achieve.

Once an idea has been reached as to how the pope’s genethliacal chart could have been interpreted, there remain the questions of why and how the solar Leo was chosen in lieu of the obvious choice of Capricorn in order to convey this truly incredible geniture. The answer to the first query is endemic in the Roman Catholic Reform spirit of the Sixtine pontificate and can be analogized to the pope’s incorporation of antique *spolia* in the construction of his Christian edifices. In other words, the pagan component inherited from the Renaissance was too well ingrained in Roman Catholic Reform culture to be completely eschewed, so it was subsumed, often seemingly imperceptibly, into its fabric. The solar lion, then, was far enough removed from the natal chart as not to be readily connected, as opposed to Capricorn, which had been used by numerous Renaissance rulers and which would have reminded most every viewer of the births of Augustus, Christ, and Sixtus v.<sup>45</sup> The lion could stand, totem-like, as a metaphor of the Sun-pope without belying its occult meaning, while its significance as a symbol of the pope’s Hyleg in the horns of Capricorn would have been clear to the adept who could penetrate the surface. Indeed, the *prisci theologi* of the Sixtine court would have grasped the reason for the pope’s youthful, and seemingly cavalier, wish to be called “Crinitus” quite readily by connecting it to the resplendent Sun of his chart and, it must be added, to the sign of Capricorn, the “sol supramundanus” from earliest Egyptian times.<sup>46</sup>

The answer to the second, and more important query, may be found in the principle of *amantia* set forth by the Augustan poet-astrologer Manilius, whereby Leo is said to love Capricorn (*Astronomica*, ii, 497-98). This principle draws on the fact that the Sun was born in Capricorn, and celebrates his birthday in this sign at the Winter Solstice, while his place of residence is the sign of Leo.<sup>47</sup> The clearest indication that the Manilian principle was, in fact, the basis for the choice of “starry Leo” in place of Capricorn is contained in the devices of Pinadello. As I have shown above, the “solar Leo” device sets forth the idea that the pope is another Sun and clearly provides the connection between the lion of his *stemma* and the astrological Leo. The other device of Pinadello functions as an icon, as opposed to a narrative, and features a lone pear tree and the motto: “EXIIT AD COELVM RAMIS

FELICIBVS ARBOS/ALTAS MIRAMVR FRONDES SED PLVS SVA POMA" ("The tree sprang forth towards the heavens with its happy branches/We marvel at its lofty leaves, but even more at its fruit"—Fig. 17).<sup>48</sup> The Peretti pear tree, which certainly evokes a number of readings, ranging from its similarity to the Venusian trees of the Hesperides, to Augustus's oak on the island of Capri, to the Tree of Lebanon of the *Immaculata*, also belongs to a venerable tradition, descending to Egyptian times, in which the month of December was called the "fruit-bearing" month.<sup>49</sup> The *anima* tacitly confirms this reading by isolating the fruit as the most significant aspect of the tree, while the reference to the heavens insinuates an astrological connection. Since Capricorn rules the month of December in calendrical lore, owing to the Sun's course through the zodiac, then the connection to the pope's natal chart is complete. Together, then, the two devices of Pinadello symbolize Leo and Capricorn and, as such, confirm the Manilian reading of the pope's natal chart according to the principle of *amantia*. In sum, they set out the method required to understand the occult underpinnings of Sixtine Rome for those inclined to receive it.

Before turning to the works of art commissioned by Sixtus v to convey his fated birth and pontificate, it is necessary to consider the electoral chart of the pope not only because the prognostication made on the basis of the natal chart promises Felice's accession to the papacy, but also because the panegyrics written in commemoration of the occasion and alluding to the electoral chart indicate that it actually confirms the central idea of the Sixtine myth, that Sixtus v would realize the Golden Age during his pontificate.<sup>50</sup> The panegyrics therefore provide the conclusion gleaned from the electoral chart just as the Sixtine myth and Giovanni Peretti's panegyric summarize the natal chart. Since the primary concern at this point is to determine whether the electoral chart could have been related to the natal chart and the two simultaneously translated in the art of Sixtine Rome,<sup>51</sup> it will not be necessary to reconstruct the prognostication which was evidently made on its basis. Rather, it will be necessary to consider the lord of the chart, the house signs, and the disposition of luminaries in relation to their counterparts on the natal chart.

The only unknown information required to reconstruct the chart is the time of the pope's election, since we know the place (Rome) and date (24 April 1585). According to the master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleoni, the conclave met at 10 hours, said mass in the Pauline Chapel at 12 hours, listened to him read the papal bulls germane to the election of a new pope, and thereafter

raised Cardinal Montalto to the See of Saint Peter. Although Alaleoni does not provide a precise hour for the election, the life of Sixtus v written by the pope's secretary Antonio Maria Graziani and emended by the pope states that he was elected at around 13 hours (8:00 a.m.).<sup>52</sup> Since he was also born at "around" this time, it is entirely possible that the parallel was an intentional one, and it is on this basis that I shall use a chart cast according to a time of 7:49 a.m. (Fig. 18).<sup>53</sup> The ASC is located in Gemini and indicates that Mercury is the lord of the chart. An astrological complement to and *raison d'être* for the pope's favourite and most auspicious day has accordingly been found. It is also significant that the twin sons of Leda and Jupiter, who were catasterized as the constellation Gemini and variously identified as the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, Apollo and Hercules, Romulus and Remus, and, one should add, Peter and Paul, are the guardians of Rome.<sup>54</sup> Mercury also guards Rome in astrological lore and, in his Judaeo-Christian manifestation as Saint Michael, he cares for both Rome and the Hebrew nation, as does Saint Francis as the "ruler" of Sixtus v's Order, and a traditional *alter Moyses*. The idea of Rome, her rulership and sovereignty, which is so central to the Sixtine myth, is accordingly contained in both the electoral ASC in Gemini and the natal ASC in Capricorn. Moreover, Gemini is vitally connected to the Sun in Manilian doctrine, since the twins enjoy his guardianship.<sup>55</sup> As such, the Sun is once again the essential foundation for the relationship between Capricorn, Gemini, and Leo: Sol-Sixtus v was born in Capricorn and now, as pope, he guards Gemini and the city of Rome from his residence in Leo, the *città leonina*, that is, the Vatican.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps even more importantly, Gemini was also evidently associated with the triple mountains of the Sixtine heraldry by at least one of the pope's contemporaries as the illustration of the pope's *stemma* flanked by its component parts in a manuscript recently published by Cecilia Sansolini makes clear.<sup>57</sup> In this particular instance, the accompanying inscription, "ASCENSVM GEMINO NIXVS MONS MONTE MINISTRAT" ("The mount leaning upon the twin mount favours his climb"), may be read in a double sense to encapsulate not only the twins of the electoral ASC, but also the constellation Nixus, or Hercules the Kneeler, which was quite literally leaning on Gemini in the northern sky at the time of his election! Moreover, in the illustration the triple mountains and their inscription flank the *stemma* together with the Sixtine star, there identified as the polar star: "EXCIPIIT HVNC CLARO LVCIDA STELLA POLO" ("The bright star welcomes him on the famous pole"), and it just so happens that at the moment of the election of

Cardinal Montalto to the See of Peter Polaris was exactly conjunct the ASC,<sup>58</sup> much as it responds to the triple mountains in the manuscript illustration, and as it surmounts the mountains in so many Sixtine schemes, from the devices which populate the so-called *parerga* of the frescoed cycles to the obelisks of the Sixtine *piazze*, to the Viminal, Quirinal, and Esquiline hills which Fagiolo has shown to lie at the very heart of the Sixtine street plan.<sup>59</sup>

The electoral MC is in Pisces. As an inherently regal sign, when interpreted in its Christian and religio-political senses as Christ and the Church, the Sun and Moon, and the Pope and Emperor, Pisces complements the ASCs of both natal and electoral charts.<sup>60</sup> Since Pisces also rules the Hebrew nation, owing to an auspicious conjunction in the Fishes before the birth of Moses,<sup>61</sup> then there is an implicit connection between Gemini, as ruler of Rome, and Pisces, as ruler of the Hebrew nation and, by proxy, the Franciscan order.<sup>62</sup> The DESC is in Sagittarius, the armed centaur who is ruled by Jupiter and guarded by the Moon-goddess Diana. Since the natal DESC is ruled by the Moon, then there is an inherent link between the western angles of the pope's astrological charts.<sup>63</sup> In short, the cardinal angles of both charts not only set forth the most fundamental ideas of the Sixtine pontificate, but they may be synthesized to demonstrate the providentiality of Sixtus v's birth and pontificate. In addition, the unusual clustering of planets on the Eastern sector vividly recalls that of the natal chart and suggests that this sector will again play a significant role. The Sun and Jupiter are again in proximity, this time in an extremely positive union in the sign of Taurus in the eleventh house of Aries.<sup>64</sup> Mercury and Saturn are also together once again, this time in beneficent conjunction in the eleventh house of Aries.<sup>65</sup> Together, the signs ruling the Sun and Jupiter, Mercury and Saturn are located on the Eastern sector in houses belonging to Capricorn and Aquarius, both ruled by Saturn, and to Aries and Taurus, respectively ruled by Mars and Venus. As the parents of Rome's founders Mars and Venus therefore complement Saturn's rulership of the Golden Age. The Eastern sectors of the electoral and natal charts accordingly assert the idea of the Golden Age in which Saturn reigns, Sol-Apollo is king, and Rome and her world empire are ruled by Mercury and the descendants of Mars and Venus, from Aeneas through Romulus and Augustus to Sixtus v. Finally, in tandem with the Moon which respectively rules and guards the DESCs of Cancer and Sagittarius, the Virgin, so integral to the Virgilio-Sixtine Golden Age, returns. When read according to the astro-mythological tradition which yielded the prog-

nostication of the newly-born Felice's future greatness, then, the electoral chart dovetails with the natal chart as though tailor-made.

#### ASTROLOGY AND THE GOOD WORKS OF SIXTUS V: THE "STARRY LEO"

In order to understand the application of Sixtus v's natal and electoral charts in the works of art he commissioned, specifically those located in secular ambients featuring his Good Works, it is necessary to remember that just as the "starry Leo" of his public persona is related to his natal chart only when read in a very specific manner, so, too, the artistic cycles may be understood as carriers of the pope's "Fate" only when one is well versed in Sixtine hieroglyphics. The programmes at the Lateran Palace and Salone Sistino of the Vatican Library containing the pope's Good Works could have been read without recourse to his astrological charts, and indeed they were intended to be read exclusively as carriers of official doctrine by all but the initiated; the programmes in the Libreria Segreta of the Vatican Library and in the salone of the Palazzo delle Terme of the Villa Montalto containing the pope's Good Works, on the other hand, were intended primarily for the edification and enjoyment of Sixtus v and his entourage so that the Good Works were not accompanied by narratives containing doctrinal messages. Nonetheless, the astrological references are so well enscenced within the Good Works that these programmes, like those in the Lateran and Salone Sistino of the Vatican, could have been read without realizing that there is an occult meaning lurking beneath the surface. It hardly needs to be reiterated that the pope who issued the bull against divination would not have wanted just any run-of-the-mill humanist to understand the centrality of astrology in his life, as in his art.

In order to penetrate the hermetic messages contained within these programmes, specifically within the pope's Good Works, I shall focus on the allegorical representations featuring the Sixtine lion since, as I have shown, the lion of the Sixtine *stemma* was often assimilated to the zodiacal Leo, and it was through the intimate relationship between Leo and Capricorn that the connection to the pope's natal chart was to be made.<sup>66</sup> It may be inferred from my explication of the natal and electoral charts that the synthetic translation of the "horoscopes" in the art of Sixtine Rome draws on a veritable mine of mythological characters in order to convey some fundamental ideas about Sixtus v, his birth and pontificate. Since the syncretization of one pagan god to another readily yields associations to a third and a fourth god, and so on, I shall provide an idea of the essential associations con-



tained within the *impresse* by drawing on the fundamental aspects of the natal and electoral charts. I shall not delve into an exhaustive treatment of all possible connections, both astrological and mythological.<sup>67</sup> Since the verses accompanying the images are absolutely integral to their meaning, according to the traditional relationship between *anima* and *corpo*, I shall draw on them in the course of the analysis in order to uncover the essential astrological content.

Of the four *impresse* of Sixtus v featuring the lion as protagonist, two are common to each of the ensembles, namely, the *Abundance*, showing the lion shaking a pear tree for fruit, and the *Extirpation*, with the lion dispensing justice with his thunderbolt. The *Abundance* commemorates the grain which Sixtus v brought to Rome at reasonable prices in the form of a lion who shakes a pear tree for fruit so that his flock may obtain sustenance (Fig. 19). Of all the *impresse*, this image provides the clearest indication of the Golden Age recreated by Sixtus v due to the stance and action of the lion. It also yields a hermetic reading quite readily once the pendant devices of Pinadello have been understood. The stance of the lion in the *Abundance* echoes that of the lion in the “solar Leo” device and indicates that he is to be aligned with the Sun. In turn, the tree which the lion shakes for Peretti pears is the “fruit-bearing” tree of December and, hence, the zodiacal sign of Capricorn which is ruled by Saturn, the god of the Golden Age.<sup>68</sup> A consideration of the *anima* of the *Abundance* at the Vatican Library affirms this analysis and provides additional components.<sup>69</sup> As the most forthright of the verses composed for the pope’s Good Works, this *anima* specifically speaks of the Golden Age of Saturn returning during the Sixtine pontificate and accordingly summarizes the essence of the Sixtine myth, as of the *corpo* of the *Abundance*. There is an implicit link, therefore, between Saturn’s age and the god’s rulership of the natal chart, and this link is strengthened when considering that Ovid has Janus explain the advent of Saturn to the shores of Latium in Book I of the *Fasti*, corresponding to the month of January and the Sun’s course through Saturn’s domicile of Capricorn.<sup>70</sup>

The *anima* also compares the abundant fruit to a cornucopia, a logical association considering that the personification of Abundance holds a horn of plenty, as do those of Peace and Concord, not to mention Fortune (Cartari, *Imagini*, 317, 459). When read allegorically, then, the cornucopia reasserts the meaning of Saturn’s reign as one of peace and plenty, and tacitly underscores the extremely fortunate prognostication made on the basis of the child’s natal chart. The cornucopia is

not the sole attribute of the qualities of Saturn’s age personified, however; it also belongs to Mercury as a god who likewise brings peace and prosperity to the earth.<sup>71</sup> The cornucopia of Bianco’s verse accordingly belongs to the rulers of Sixtus v’s natal and electoral charts, so that both Saturn and Mercury may oversee the abundance which their protégé has brought to the earth. The cornucopia may also be read on a literal, as opposed to an allegorical level. In this sense, it not only acquires the meaning of a good luck charm, or talisman, but it also points to Amalthea’s she-goat who suckled Jupiter as an infant, and whose broken horn was used to feed the young god abundant fruit (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 111-28). Jupiter has therefore entered the scene, and since he guards the Sun’s domicile of Leo, then it may be inferred that Leo-Sol is also assimilated to Jupiter. However, the relation to Capricorn and Taurus, the signs housing the Sun and Jupiter on the respective natal and electoral charts, is not yet evident in this context. Ovid is again helpful in this regard because he discusses the meaning of the cornucopia in Book iv of his *Fasti*, when the Sun has entered Taurus. A connection is made therefore to the electoral chart of Sixtus v and to Taurus as a symbol of abundance. Since both Capricorn and Taurus are earth signs according to the astrological triplicities, as well as traditional symbols of abundance,<sup>72</sup> then in composing his verse the poet Bianco must surely have co-ordinated the events of the months of January and April, and drawn on the coincidences of the goat-fish and she-goat, while keeping in mind the associations of Capricorn as the birth sign of the Emperor Augustus and Felice Peretti, and of Rome’s foundation and Sixtus v’s election when the Sun was in Taurus. Once the Taurean component of the *anima* has been uncovered, the location of Jupiter is a relatively straightforward matter because Taurus is not only the “fruit-bearing” tree of Spring, but he is also the embodiment of Jupiter in his escapade with Europa (he is represented here as a leonine and solarian Taurus-Jupiter!).<sup>73</sup> And once both tree and lion are understood as Taurean symbols, then it would follow that the “fruit-bearing” tree of Capricorn be complemented by a lion who likewise symbolizes a conflated Capricorn and Jupiter. This analogy is borne out by turning not to Ovid, but rather to the lore of the Egyptians which is so essential to understanding the “fruit-bearing” tree as a symbol of Capricorn. In this case, the lion’s beneficence suggests the renewed Golden Age established by Pan-Capricorn and Jupiter following their defeat of the Titans in Egypt, an association which, as I shall show, is confirmed in the pendant *impresse* of the *Extirpa-*

tion.<sup>74</sup> As such, the leonine and solarian Sixtus v is imbued with the additional natures of the goat-fish and Jupiter. With the help of the Vatican *anima*, then, the *Abundance* emerges as a symbol of the conjunction of the Sun and Jupiter in Capricorn on the natal chart, the union of the Sun and Jupiter in Taurus on the electoral chart, and Saturn's and Mercury's respective lordships of the natal and electoral charts, as of the Golden Age of Sixtine Rome.

The tree which yields abundant Peretti pears also symbolizes the grain supply which Sixtus v brings to his faithful subjects, a meaning made clear in the *anima* of the *Abundance* at the Villa Montalto.<sup>75</sup> In this sense, the lion of the *corpo* evokes Ceres, goddess of grain, just ruler of the Golden Age, and "foster-child of Peace" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 341-43; Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 657-704). It also suggests Flora, the goddess who, when known as Chloris, was raped by Zephyr. In restitution for his act, Zephyr married Flora, gave her "the name of bride," let her enjoy "perpetual spring," and dubbed her "queen of flowers." Flora was also given control over farmlands and pastures, and was made a patroness of Rome. In the early days, the Roman senate foolishly chose to disregard her sovereignty and, in retribution, Flora left the land to perish by winds, hail, and rain. The Romans soon learned their lesson and instituted the Floralia in her honour, to be celebrated annually when the Sun is in Taurus. With the recognition she so craved at last attained, Flora resumed her former charge of the Roman soil and secured for her people healthy crops (Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 195ff.). In the context of the *Abundance*, then, the Sixtine lion becomes another Ceres and another Flora, giving to his subjects an abundant store of grain and safeguarding his fields from drought and hail, winds and rain. Once the Sixtine lion has taken on these female guises, then he must necessarily become an *alter Luna*.<sup>76</sup> Although the lion has heretofore been identified only as the Sun, owing to the strategically placed hints in the art and literature of Sixtine Rome calculated to reveal and glorify the pope's public persona, there is ample evidence to confirm that the lion actually has two fundamental natures. According to Valeriano, the sixteenth-century authority on hieroglyphics, the lion symbolizes both the Sun and the Moon, the latter because the Sun gives its light to the Moon, and because the Sun oversees the course of the months, the Moon's proper domain (*Hieroglyphiques*, I, xxvii, xix). Valeriano also describes the Egyptian symbol for the birth of the Moon as a cynocephalus standing on his hind legs, with arms raised to the sky—the precise stance adopted by the Sixtine lion, who in one

sense signifies the birth of Felice Peretti (*Hieroglyphiques*, vi, iii). The Egyptian component, so important for an understanding of Pinadello's pear tree device and hence the Peretti tree of the *Abundance*, is therefore the key to unlocking the lunar component of the lion's essential nature.

Given the manifest assimilation of the Moon and the Sun in the *corpo* of the *Abundance*, it would follow that the MC of the electoral chart also be present, since Pisces was traditionally associated with these luminaries. The key to determining the presence of the electoral MC must be concerned first and foremost with Venus and Cupid, as opposed to the Moon and Sun, the Church and Christ, and so on, since the hermetic reading of the *Abundance* depends upon astro-mythological analogies. An important indication that Pisces is contained in the *impresa* is provided by the story of the catasterization of Venus and Cupid as the twin fish which took place in Egypt during the battle between Jupiter and Typhoeus, leader of the Titans (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 461-72; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 331). Pisces's origins therefore stem from the same Egyptian antiquity as those of both the Sixtine lion and Peretti tree. In the context of the *Abundance*, the connection to Pisces is to be found in Venus's role as *Venus hortorum*, both as overseer of gardens in general, and of the Garden of the Hesperides in particular.<sup>77</sup> In the former sense, the pears are the bounteous fruit of the terrestrial Golden Age of Saturn, and the lion, the conflated co-rulers of this happy era, Luna-Venus and Sol-Cupid.<sup>78</sup> In the latter sense, the Peretti pears become analogues to the golden apples, and the lion assumes the guise of both Luna-Venus and Sol-Hercules, the guardians of the Hesperides.<sup>79</sup> Once the *Abundance* has been understood as the Garden of the Hesperides, it is but a short step to locating the god with whom Venus began that cherished race of men who would found Rome and re-establish the Golden Age, since Venus's garden and golden apples are clear analogues to the Grove of Mars and its treasure, the Golden Fleece of Aries.<sup>80</sup> And now that Venus and Mars have been found, it is but another short step to locating Romulus and Remus, the twins of Gemini, who were brought to the shore of Luperca and given shelter by the *Ficus Ruminalis*, a type for the Peretti tree (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 411-12).

The *anima* of the *Abundance* at the Lateran is unlike the more than 50 verses composed by the poet Bianco to accompany the pope's Good Works in that it concerns a biblical character, namely, Moses, and draws quite clearly on the Bible for its allusion to manna, specifically Exodus xvi and Wisdom xvi, whereas the remaining *anime* of the Good Works draw on imperial *topoi*.<sup>81</sup> On the one

hand, the singularity of the Lateran verse indicates its importance for an understanding not only of the *Abundance*, but of all the Good Works, both allegorical and topographical. On the other hand, the Lateran verse must relate to the same imperial *topoi* which yielded the inspiration for the majority of the verses composed to accompany the Good Works. While Wisdom xvi may certainly be related to the imperial component of the remaining *anime*, I would suggest that Bianco's initial inspiration was still taken from a pagan source, specifically from Ovid's *Fasti*, the discourse on the Roman calendar which is so vital to an explication of the *anime* of the *Abundance* at both the Vatican and Esquiline complexes. In particular, I would suggest that it was taken from the exclamation of Carmentis upon reaching the shore of Rome:

"Gods of the *Promised Land*! And hail! thou country that shalt give new gods to heaven! . . . Hail nymphs of the groves and bands of Naiads! May the sight of you be of good omen to my son and me! And happy be the foot that touches yonder bank! Am I deceived or . . . *from this spot of earth shall all the earth take law?*" (italics mine; Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 509-16)

The manna which Moses gives to his people and the grain which Sixtus v gives to his are therefore imbued with a specifically Roman significance so that the prophecy of Carmentis made soon after her disembarkment that Aeneas and the line of Augustus would rule Rome is realized and perpetuated through the pontificate of Sixtus v, and given a greater antique lineage through Moses and the era *sub lege* (Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 527-32). That this Old Testament recipient of the Cabala was chosen to begin the dynasty which would be propagated through Venus and Mars, moreover, situates Sixtus v firmly within the line of the greatest *prisci theologi* and underscores the occult significance of the *Abundance* and its verse, which may now be understood as a conflation of the pope's natal and electoral charts. The *corpo* of the *Abundance* thus symbolizes the MCs in Scorpio and Pisces, the signs so seminal to the future vicarship of Felice Peretti, as well as the conflated ASCs, DESCs, and luminaries of the pope's astrological charts. It symbolizes the conflated Gates of the Sun through which Leo has come down to Saturn's and Venus's domain to oversee and rule the earth, and to bring peace and prosperity to mankind as the successor to Moses, Saint Francis, and the august Julian clan, and as the embodiment of both Luna-Ceres-Flora-Venus and Sol-Apollo-Jupiter-Pan-Cupid-Mercury-Hercules-Mars. With the Golden Age thus established, the lion will return to the heavens through the Gate of Capricorn and achieve immortality. In other words, it is due to the workings of Divine Providence, preordained

since Egyptian times and, one must add, the writing of the *Pentateuch*, that the child is invested with the powers of the Sun and Moon, of Christ and the Emperor, so that as pope, Sixtus v may usher in the millennium and attain salvation for himself and his faithful flock in the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The *impresa* of the *Extirpation* features the Sixtine lion, now understood in simplest terms as Leo-Sol, standing on a mountain and wielding a thunderbolt, with a flock of sheep huddled at the base, and a number of wolves fleeing from the scene (Fig. 20). The lion's dual intention is made clear in the verse at the Villa Montalto: the lambs are to feed securely while the pope discharges all disruptive forces from his kingdom.<sup>82</sup> As such, the Sixtine lion becomes another Moses, raising his hands to overcome the Amalekites (*Exodus* xvii:8-13), and another Moses and the brazen serpent (*Numbers* xxi:4-9), extirpating evil from his realm. The thunderbolt, which he employs to achieve this latter end, clearly assimilates him to the pagan god Jupiter and his daughter Iustitia. According to the latter reading, Iustitia stands for the Moon, since she is like Ceres, Flora, and Venus.<sup>83</sup> Conversely, when the thunderbolt is understood as an attribute of Jupiter, then the lion symbolizes the union of Jupiter and the Sun and points to both natal and electoral charts.<sup>84</sup> The thunderbolt therefore serves to reinforce the lion's double identity as the Sun and the Moon, and to clearly signify the presence of the planet Jupiter. Since the Sun and Jupiter are in Capricorn on the natal chart, the goat-fish must accordingly be contained somewhere in the image, as must the Taurean bull who hosts these luminaries on the electoral chart. Following the method used to penetrate the *Abundance*, the stance of the lion must be considered in tandem with his action in order to complete the reading. Since the lion's action is aimed directly at the wolves, then they must be significant carriers of meaning. And just as each element of the *Abundance* yields a polysemous reading, based on two fundamental meanings (i.e., lion as Sun and Moon; Peretti tree as generic fruit tree and grain), so, too, the *anima* of the *Extirpation* at the Lateran makes it clear that the wolves which the leonine pope is vanquishing are to be understood as both robbers and prostitutes.<sup>85</sup> One key to interpreting the wolves as robbers is provided by the *anima* of the *Extirpation* in the Vatican Library, which expands on that at the Lateran by pointing to a specific mythological character.<sup>86</sup> In a manner typical of Sixtine rhetoric, the verse asserts that Sixtus v is far superior to Hercules because the pagan hero only managed to free the Aventine from the robber Cacus, whereas the pope has freed all of Italy. The wolves

collectively symbolize Cacus, therefore, and, notwithstanding his superiority to the pagans, the lion becomes Sol-Hercules. Since Ovid describes this very story in his *Fasti*, corresponding to the Sun's course through Saturn's domicile of Capricorn, then the missing Capricorn of the *corpo* is found (II, 310-58). Since Hercules sacrifices to Jupiter after his victory over Cacus, then a rationale is provided for the thunderbolt as well. The day set aside for commemoration of Hercules's feat, moreover, is dedicated to Evander's mother Carmentis, the "happy prophetess" accorded the status of a goddess and readily comparable in her just and chaste nature to Iustitia.

While the Ovidian passage certainly helps to elucidate the astrological meaning of the image, there is another story in the *Fasti* in which Hercules also plays a role, which relates to the *impresa* even more closely, namely, the exorcism carried out during the Lupercalia. As Ovid explains, the festival of the Lupercalia is designed to guard the lambs from robbers (II, 359-86). Its main feast day is 15 February, when the Sun is in Saturn's domicile of Aquarius, and the god sacred to the festival is Faunus, otherwise known as Pan and, in astrological parlance, as Capricorn (II, 267ff.). The god's sanctuary is located on Mount Lycaeus (II, 423-24), an analogue to the Montalto mountains of the *impresa*, and, like Jupiter, Faunus holds sway over thunderbolts. In fact, it was Faunus who taught King Numa how to pay penance for Jupiter's thunderbolts, notably when the Sun was in Jupiter's domicile of Pisces (III, 288-354), and it was Pan who had earlier taught Jupiter and his council of Olympian gods how to transform themselves into animals to allay the onslaught of Typhoeus and the Titans<sup>87</sup>—lessons which the faithful flock of the *impresa* have learned so well. Faunus-Pan, like the Sixtine lion, also likes to prance on mountains (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 285-86), and, owing to a rather amusing incident involving Omphale and Hercules, Faunus-Pan, like the Sixtine lion, wears no clothes (II, 303-58)! According to this reading, the lion is assimilated not only to the Sun and Jupiter, but also to Capricorn. As a modern-day re-enactment of the Lupercalia, then, the *Extirpation* becomes a symbol of Capricorn and the allusions to the Sun and ASC, as well as Saturn's rulership of the natal chart are complete. Since Romulus and Remus are called in to retrieve the herds in the *Fasti*, and, in so doing, create the priesthood of the Lupercalia, then there is an implicit connection to the ASC in Gemini of the Sixtine electoral chart. This association is reinforced by reading the thunderbolt of the *corpo* as an attribute of Mercury, and his Christian counterpart Saint Michael, and the wolves as

the minions of the Bad Daemon or, in Christian terminology, the Devil.<sup>88</sup> In turn, the connection between Mercury's ASC in Gemini and the Sun and Jupiter in Taurus on the electoral chart is made explicit by turning to Ovid's description of the Parilia, celebrated on the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, in which the sheep are also safeguarded.<sup>89</sup> The conflation of the ASCs as well as the Sun and Jupiter of the pope's natal and electoral charts is therefore made by way of the festivities of the months of January, February, and April, corresponding to the rule of Saturn and Venus, and the honour of the twin progeny of Venus and Mars.

As prostitutes, the wolves suggest the story of Diana and Callisto, in which the hamadryad is banished by Diana from her sacred grove on account of her unchastity (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 409-507; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 153-92). On learning that Jupiter was the perpetrator of the seduction, Juno punishes Callisto by turning her and her son Arcas into bears, and they are left defenseless to roam the mountainside (the Montalto mountains of the *corpo*). Jupiter finally saves mother and son by catasterizing them as the bear constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, the extra-zodiacal constellations which, not at all incidentally, are the wards of the pope's natal Arcturus and, moreover, intimately bound with the pope's electoral ASC in Gemini.<sup>90</sup> Owing to the traditional association of both Ursa Major and Diana to the Moon, this story points to the lion's lunar nature. Since Juno is also associated with the Moon and, moreover, often holds the thunderbolt of her spouse (Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, XLIV, xvii), then the lion becomes a lunar dispenser of justice for a fourth time (or, if we include Omphale, for a fifth), while his clear assimilation to Jupiter is again reinforced not only in terms of Juno, but also in terms of Ursa Minor, the solarian child. Finally, with the coincidences of the two bears, the Sun and the Moon, husband and wife, and mother and child, the *Extirpation* points to the pope's electoral MC in Pisces. This assertion is borne out when considering the story of Venus Erycina. As recounted by Ovid, Venus is seated atop Mount Eryx in Sicily, holding Cupid in her arms, when she sees Dis, the god of Hades, surveying the island to ensure that the volcano caused by the ashes and flames that Typhoeus is spewing forth has not weakened its foundations. Venus is determined to gain sovereignty over Dis and, confident of her son's power, which gives him control even over Jupiter, she asks Cupid to shoot an arrow into the heart of the monstrous god. Cupid, of course, carries out his mother's wish so that mother and son may reign supreme (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 346-84; Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 573, and IV,

491). Once the thunderbolt held by the Sixtine lion is understood as an arrow, then Mars Gradivus, with his throwing spear is evoked (Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 173-76), and the MC of Pisces is effectively syncretized to the MC of Scorpio as well as to the ASCs, DESCs, and luminaries of the natal and electoral charts. Like the *Abundance*, then, the *Extirpation* recreates the Gates of the Sun and the unblemished soul of Sixtus v in his leonine manifestation, ruling the Golden Age of Saturn as the Sun and the Moon. Unlike the *Abundance*, the *Extirpation* makes Jupiter's presence abundantly clear in the form of the thunderbolt-wielding lion, and "explicitly" recreates, thereby, the actual conjunction of Jupiter and the Sun at the moment of his birth, as well as their union at his election. Since Jupiter is an essential part, indeed, the slayer of Typhoeus, and Venus and Cupid equally vital to his continued demise, then the *Extirpation* again partakes of the Egyptian component so utterly essential to a full understanding of the *Abundance*. To be sure, even the leonine Pope Sixtus v is given a *raison d'être* for his animal form, both here, as in the *Abundance*, since he is the Pan who taught the Olympian gods the art of transformation in their dealings with the Titans. Thus, in accord with the plan of Divine Providence, as revealed and documented during Egyptian times, Sixtus v-Moses-Saint Francis-Romulus-Augustus rules the Golden Age of Saturn as the embodiment of the just ruler from his bastion in the *città leonina*. He dispenses *poena* as both Sol-Apollo-Jupiter-Mercury-Hercules-Pan-Cupid-Mars and Luna-Diana-Juno-Omphale-Iustitia-Venus, the pagan counterparts to the Pope and the Emperor, Christ and the Church, Christ and the Virgin Mary, and the conflated ASCs, DESCs, and MCs of his natal and electoral charts.

The second set of *imprese* is comprised of the *Treasure*, with the Sixtine lion seated on a chest and receiving a crown, sometimes surrounded by cardinals in zoomorphic form holding their keys to the treasure and an angel with a key and sword, and the *League*, featuring the lion seated in a boat, holding a key and a chain-link by which he has persuasively leashed the Christian princes, also in zoomorphic form. This pair of allegories is by far more complex than the first owing not only to the subtler incorporation of planetary deities corresponding to the natal and electoral charts, but also to the even vaster array of pagan deities which are evoked by and necessarily contribute to the meaning of the *imprese*. The method used to compose and hence understand the *Abundance* and *Extirpation*, that is, the assimilation of Egyptian and Roman traditions, is a constant in the second set of allegories, but whereas the story of Pan-

Capricorn, Jupiter and the Titans is essential to the first set, the *Treasure* and *League* defer to a different set of occult traditions, the one more clearly associated with the Hebraic Exodus in the Egyptian desert, and the other with a pagan god and his associates who can not be fully understood in terms of the Sixtine hieroglyphics without the evidence of the *Abundance* and *Extirpation*. Even more than the first pair of allegories, moreover, the *Treasure* and *League* have a common set of pagan and Christian "types" which are echoed in visual form in the *corpi* so that the reading of the one necessarily elucidates the reading of the other. The conclusions drawn for the *Treasure* will therefore be applied to the *League*, and vice versa.<sup>91</sup>

The *Treasure* is one of the most hermetically sealed of the *imprese*, if only because it is represented somewhat differently in the Lateran and Vatican versions (Figs. 21-22). In order to understand its occult meaning it is necessary to focus on those elements which are common to the representations at the Lateran and Vatican, namely the lion, the chest, and the angel with the crown, even though this latter is alternately represented with a regal crown and papal tiara. The animals and angel surrounding the *Treasure* at the Vatican are certainly important for a full understanding of the *impresa*, and will be elucidated once the meaning of the essentials has been explored.

The lion, as always Leo-Sol in Sixtine *imprese*, stands vigilantly upon the chest, understood, as the Vatican *anima* explains, to be brimming with the gold amassed by the pope for the maintenance of the Church and the battle against the Turk.<sup>92</sup> In the Vatican version, the lion holds a Peretti pear branch in his right forepaw, but this would not initially appear to assimilate him to a pagan god, and hence a planet or zodiacal sign. Since the lion is also more passive than those of the *Abundance* and *Extirpation*, even though he is roaring ferociously in the Lateran version, then the chest on which he rests, and especially the angel who bestows a crown on his head must be the "active" carriers which complement his stance and accordingly "facilitate" a full reading. In general, the chest connotes the civilized Golden Age ruled by Augustus, in which gold was looked upon as a favourable commodity. In particular, it suggests the Temple of Saturn which doubled as a treasury during the principate. The *Treasure* would appear, therefore, to refer to Saturn, who, as it happens, was traditionally represented with purse and keys to indicate his riches and power (here translated as treasure chest and the keys given over to his aides).<sup>93</sup> It can be deduced at this point that this particular Saturn is the ruler of the pope's natal ASC and Sun in Capricorn because the lion

is, of course, Leo-Sol. When understood as the treasury housed in the Temple of Saturn, the chest evokes a related institution, namely, the Roman mint housed in the Temple of Juno Moneta.<sup>94</sup> And just as the mint is readily associated with the treasury, so, too, as the goddess of riches, Juno is a natural counterpart to the civilized Saturn (Cartari, *Imagini*, 176). This relationship is confirmed by astrological tradition since Juno not only guards Aquarius, the zodiacal sign ruled by Saturn, but she also personifies Aquarius. With this conflation of the treasury and the mint and of Saturn and Juno-Aquarius, the *Treasure* quite literally symbolizes Saturn in Aquarius, and consequently recreates the second house and ruler of the pope's natal chart. The angel who crowns the lunar lion may then be understood as the Christian counterpart to Juno's handmaiden Hebe, or her messenger Iris. And since the lion is also inherently solarian, and, as such, guarded by Jupiter, then the angel may double for the cupbearer to the god, Hebe's brother Ganymede, or Jupiter's nuncio Mercury.<sup>95</sup>

The treasure chest also functions as an altar in the *impresa* due to the stance of the lion atop the chest which suggests the sacrificial lamb of God as the Lion of Judah of Revelation. Returning to the *Fasti* and the month of January, corresponding to Saturn's signs of Capricorn and Aquarius, an analogy may be made to the celebration held at the altar of Peace. As described by Ovid, Peace is beckoned to the altar at the celebration and is crowned with laurels commemorating Augustus's victory at Action (*Fasti*, 1, 709-22). If Leo-Sol may be compared to Peace, then the laurel becomes a type for the crown bestowed on the lion to commemorate his peaceful reign and the longed-for victory over the Turk. According to this reading, the allusion to Saturn refers not to the house position(s) of the planet, but rather to Saturn's rulership of Capricorn, since the celebration takes place when the Sun has not yet entered Aquarius. In terms of the eucharistic component of the lion atop the altar, the *corpo* evokes another passage in the *Fasti*, namely, the story of the altar of Baker Jupiter, corresponding to the Sun's course through Gemini. As Ovid explains, the altar was set up in honour of the victory won by the Romans over the Gauls. With the aid of Vesta, Mars, Venus, and Quirinus (Romulus), the last of the grain which was stored in the Capitoline citadel was ground and roasted so that it could be thrown to the enemies as proof that the Romans were not really starving, even though, in truth, they were. The Gauls were taken in by the device and accordingly withdrew (as would the Turks and, it should be added, the French Protestants, who would realize

the power of the eucharistic sustenance) so that the Romans emerged victorious (vi, 349-94). In neither of the above readings does Ovid mention a character who may be associated with the angel, however, and while we may suspect that a winged victory has donned Peace with her laurel crown,<sup>96</sup> and that the leonine Baker Jupiter-Sol is being crowned by Ganymede or Mercury, we must nevertheless look elsewhere for an analogue which contains all of the component parts of the *Treasure*. It just so happens that there is a passage in the *Fasti* which describes the *impresa* almost exactly, and it is located in Book II, corresponding to the Sun's entry into Pisces, and therefore to the MC of the electoral chart. In fact, this passage not only provides justification for the two versions of the *impresa* at the Vatican and Lateran, but it also contains the germ of the *anima* at the Lateran:

O Terminus, whether thou art a stone or a stump buried in the field, thou too hast been deified from days of yore. Thou art crowned by two owners on opposite sides; they bring thee two garlands and two cakes. An altar is built. Hither the husbandman's rustic wife brings with her own hands on a potsherd the fire which she has taken from the warm hearth. . . . the boy stands by and holds the broad basket in his hands. When from the basket he has thrice thrown corn into the midst of the fire, the little daughter presents the cut honeycombs. Others hold vessels of wine. A portion of each is cast into the flames. The company dressed in white look on and hold their peace. Terminus himself, at the meeting of the bounds is sprinkled with the blood of a slaughtered lamb. . . . The simple neighbours meet and hold a feast, and sing thy praises, holy Terminus: thou dost set bounds to peoples and cities and vast kingdoms; without thee every field would be a root of wrangling. Thou countest no favour, thou art bribed by no gold: the lands entrusted to thee thou dost guard in loyal good faith. What happened when the new Capitol was being built? Why, the whole company of gods withdrew before Jupiter and made room for him, but Terminus, as the ancients relate, remained where he was found in the shrine, and shares the temple with great Jupiter. Even to this day there is a small hole in the roof of the temple, that he may see naught above him but the stars. (II, 641-84)

When set beside the *impresa*, it is clear that this description of the festival in honour of Terminus provided the iconographer, very possibly Sixtus v himself, with the inspiration to devise the *Treasure*. The "two owners" who crown Terminus are conflated as the angel, alternately holding a regal crown and papal tiara in the Lateran and Vatican versions. The altar is, of course, the treasure chest. The company standing around the altar and "hold[ing] their peace" are the animals in the Vatican version of the *impresa* with their keys of peace. The blood sprinkled on Terminus, as well as the corn and wine, are translated by means of the lion

on the altar as the sacrificial lamb. The honeycomb, in turn, is replaced by the Peretti pear branch, as is the corn, as an attribute of Luna-Ceres-Juno. The shrine dedicated to both Terminus and Jupiter reinforces Jupiter's rulership of Pisces, as well as his guardianship of the solar lion. Once the lion is understood as Jupiter, the identification of the angel as Ganymede and/or Mercury is substantiated. The absence of the company of animals in the Lateran version suggests that the gods have made way for Jupiter and Terminus, now understood to be conflated in the person of Leo-Sol. The hole in the roof of the temple, finally, explains the situation of the treasure chest in the open air. With the conflation of the South-Eastern sector of the natal chart grasped, the true Christian significance of the angel becomes absolutely clear: he is the messenger of God, that is, of Christ, the Christian Sol-Jupiter whose eucharistic presence is manifested by the lion on the altar of the *Treasure*, and he is the messenger of the Christian Luna-Juno, at once the Virgin Mary, to whom Sixtus v was greatly devoted throughout his life, and Christ's bride, the Church, whose continued safety and ultimate victory on earth motivated the pope's parsimonious stockpiling of *scudi* in the first place. In short, he is Mercury, the god of commerce, of peace, and of boundaries, who was traditionally assimilated to Terminus.<sup>97</sup> The verse accompanying the *Treasure* at the Lateran, finally, pits Plato against Sixtus v and explains that the pope's financial policy is naturally superior to that proposed in the *Republic* for the well-being of the *polis*.<sup>98</sup> Although Ovid makes no mention of Plato in his *Fasti*, it should by now be clear that Bianco arrived at the idea of using Plato as the *exemplum in malo* by interpreting the passage quoted above,<sup>99</sup> just as he had used the *Fasti* for his choice of Moses in the *anima* of the Lateran *Abundance*.

In addition to its significations as both treasure chest and altar, the *Treasure* evokes the Ark of Noah, not only due to the conflation in Christian tradition of the words *arca* and *ara*, but also due to the presence of animals surrounding the chest in the Vatican version of the *impresa*. Once the Sixtine lion is understood as Noah, then he takes on the additional guise of Noah's pagan counterpart Janus, the god who not only rules boundaries, like Terminus and Mercury, but who also rules the year and, indeed, the universe.<sup>100</sup> As the Ark of Noah, in turn, the treasure chest evokes a host of related arks, including the hollow ark which brought Romulus and Remus to safety in the mud of Lupercal, near the *Ficus Ruminalis* (hence the trees with twisted trunks in each *corpo*) (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 383-412), the ark of bullrushes which carried

Moses to safety (*Exodus* II:3,5), and, above all, the Ark of the Covenant, the same ark which led the Hebrews in their exodus through the desert (*Numbers* x:33), on which blood is sprinkled on the Day of Atonement (*Leviticus* xvi:14-16; *Hebrews* ix:3-5; *Romans* III:25), and which was placed in the Temple of Solomon within the Holy of Holies, guarded by two winged cherubim (translated as the angel crowning the lion) and accessible only to the high priests of the Old Covenant who also served as its guardians (the zoomorphic Cardinals).<sup>101</sup> The angel standing to the left of the ark may accordingly be identified as the angel who showed King David the site where the Temple was to be built and the Ark which he carried to Jerusalem subsequently housed (*I Paralipomenon* xxii:2-5). Constructed according to the designs first shown Moses atop Mount Sinai, the Ark of the Covenant was given occult meaning early on, especially by Alexandrian theologians who saw in the physical ark a Neoplatonic reflection of the universe. Whereas the *Abundance* and *Extirpation* defer to the mythic and pagan story of the Titans and Olympians, then, the *Treasure* and its pendant look to the Hebraic and Christian descriptions of the Temple.<sup>102</sup> According to an occult, or Neoplatonic-Cabalistic reading, the two coats-of-arms of Sixtus v which decorate the treasure chest of the Vatican *corpo* correspond to the seals which cover the rings fitted to the ark on its two principal sides, and the sides themselves, both principal and secondary, to the equinoxes and seasons (Philo, *Questions*, 56). The angel, as the conflated cherubim of the altar of the ark symbolizes the two highest attributes of God, namely, his powers of creation and of rulership, powers which may be equated to the pope's building of Sixtine Rome, and his earthly sovereignty (hence papal tiara and regal crown) (Philo, *Questions*, 64). Since the wings of the cherubim overshadow the top of the ark, known as the mercy-seat, and the mercy-seat in turn supports the *Logos*, then the Sixtine lion becomes another *Logos* (Philo, *Questions*, 68). As the eucharistic substance, finally, the lion evokes the table, which was constructed of pure gold, like the ark and mercy-seat, and which functioned as "a vessel for food," that is, "a kind of communion" (Philo, *Questions*, 69). The "incorporeal and intelligible" world of the ark is therefore conjoined with the "substance of the sense-perceptible world," macrocosm with microcosm, and the divine with the human natures of Christ, as of his vicar, Sixtus v, the other "mediating *Logos*" who likewise resides in Leo, the sign of the tribe of Judah (Philo, *Questions*, 94). With pear-branch in hand, finally, the lion becomes another Aaron with his flowering rod, the vehicle by which

“it shall please God to make our life as a springtime by ridding it of covetousness, that insidious foe which is the source of our misery” (Philo, *Moses*, II, xxxiii-xxxiv). Since the Ark was originally guarded by the Levites, namely, Gerson, Caath, Merari, and Moses and Aaron, Caath’s grandsons (*Exodus* vi:16-20; *1 Paralipomenon* vi:1-3), and, later, by their descendants, then the zoomorphic Cardinals charged to care for the treasure become analogues to the four Levitical sects of Israel.<sup>103</sup> The leonine Sixtus v-Noah-Moses-Janus-Mercury-Terminus-Romulus, who is given the natures of the seven heavenly luminaries as well as the cardinal angles of his natal and electoral charts, thus becomes another *sol iustitiae* once again, residing in the house created for him at the beginning of the world, and overseeing the last battle to be waged and won before the end of time.

The *League*, as the Vatican *anima* explains, represents Sixtus v-Leo-Sol having managed to make peace among the zoomorphic Christian princes (Fig. 23).<sup>104</sup> This meaning is echoed in the stance of the lion which alludes quite clearly to the so-called Gallic Hercules, the eloquent peacemaker. Since the lion pacifies the princes by means of the key and chain-link from his sea-borne position, then these attributes must contain the clues required to “fully” penetrate the occult meaning of the *League*. While the Gallic Hercules proper certainly holds a chain-link, he does not hold a key and, what is more, he does not stand in a boat. These attributes must accordingly point to pagan deities who share with the Gallic Hercules his peace-keeping powers, much as Hercules the law-giver and harbinger of peace may be assimilated to his “French” *alter ego*. The key which the lion holds in his right forepaw, and the chain-link in his left may be related to the key which Janus holds in his left hand, and the staff in his right, especially since Janus has the ability to maintain peace (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, ix, 17-18). Janus, who gave his name to January, is described in this manner in Ovid’s *Fasti*, notably when the Sun is in Capricorn, where he also exclaims that he “had naught to do with war,” and that his key was the only weapon he required (I, 99-103; I, 253-54). The boat, finally, must surely allude to the Ark of Janus-Noah, and hence the related vessels of Moses and Romulus and Remus.<sup>105</sup> The lion also suggests Saturn, who rules the Golden Age with Janus. Whereas Saturn-Sixtus v has given his key(s) to the zoomorphic Cardinals in the *Treasure*, in the *League* he keeps the key for himself, to symbolize the power which he exercises over the zoomorphic princes. The chain-link, which radiates from the lion’s left forepaw, like the radii of a circle, suggests a connection with geometry, the Liberal

Art which Saturn rules and, it must be added, which forms an essential basis for the astrologer’s art.<sup>106</sup> The boat, finally, recalls that Saturn arrived in Rome by way of the “Tuscan river” and that, to commemorate his advent, the Romans minted copper coins with an image of Saturn’s boat (Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 239-40). When read according to his attributes and the events corresponding to the Sun’s course through Capricorn, corresponding to the natal ASC, the lion thus becomes a conflated Janus-Saturn, ruling the Golden Age from the Tiber river, the boundary between the Vatican side of Rome ruled by Janus and the Capitoline side ruled by Saturn during their collective Golden Age.

In addition to his assimilation to the Gallic Hercules, Janus, and Saturn, the Sixtine lion is also presented as another Mercury. This is evident on two counts. First, Mercury was traditionally represented with the chains he shares with the Gallic Hercules.<sup>107</sup> Secondly, the *anima* of the *League* at the Lateran explicitly compares Sixtus v to Mercury, rhetorically asking whether he might be called “the true Mercury.”<sup>108</sup> When the Mercurial nature of the lion is understood, then the *corpo* reproduces in allegorical form the respective rulers of Sixtus v’s genethliacal and electoral charts. The chain-link, key, and boat must therefore relate directly to Mercury as well. The chain-link, of course, refers in one sense to the eloquence which Mercury shares with the Gallic Hercules. It may also be compared to the four cords held by Mercury which symbolize the four parts of the world, the four seasons, and the four parts of the zodiac (the two equinoxes and two solstices) (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, xix, 15; Cartari, *Imagini*, 337-38). This latter not only reinforces the occult reading of the Ark of the Covenant in the *Treasure*, as in the *League*, but it also implies a specific application to the pope’s horoscope, whereby the chain-link becomes a signifier of the house divisions. The clearest confirmation of this assertion is the presence of Capricorn, located to the right of the lion (our left) and corresponding to the natal ASC, likewise located on the Eastern sector of the chart. By implication, the white eagle stands for the DESC. The remaining princes are accordingly located between the North-Eastern and North-Western sectors of the chart, that is, beneath the horizon. This reading is tacitly confirmed by the *anima* of the *League* in the Lateran, in which Mercury is described as both a chthonic and celestial being, “who either conveys the commands of God or summons souls from Hades,” following Ovid’s account of the god in the *Fasti*, corresponding to the month of May and the Sun’s location in Taurus (v, 663-74). In keeping with their actual per-



sonalities and actions, the Christian princes are therefore residing, quite literally, in Hell! Indeed, it is no wonder that the Mercurial Sixtus v has to tie his sturdy chain-link around the necks of the princes in order to reform them and, with Herculean skill, make possible their translation from the depths to the Heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>109</sup> Only the capricorn and white eagle, who may be identified as Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Tuscany and King Stephen Bathory of Poland, are exempted from the vagaries of the underworld, no doubt because of all the Christian princes they were the dearest to Sixtus v's heart.<sup>110</sup> The key, in turn, signifies the tool which Mercury uses to unlock the gates of Heaven and Hell, while the lion's watery location evokes the "water of Mercury near the Capene Gate," that is, the thermal bath whose healing waters actually enable the user to "wash away the perjuries of past time," an appropriate antidote for the Christian princes (Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 673-74; 680-81).

The lion also suggests Carna, the wood nymph who was defiled by Janus. By way of restitution for his act, Janus gave to Carna the power to open and close doors, and dubbed her "goddess of the hinge" (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 101-102). Janus also gave Carna a magical branch of whitethorn which she used to vanquish evil spirits, and on one particular occasion, when the Sun was in Gemini, Carna came to the cradle of a five-day-old child who was suffering from the jabs of screech-owls and cured him with water, arbutus leaves, and rod of Janus (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 127-69). In the context of the *League*, then, the boat may signify the cradle of the child; the whitethorn and Janus-rod, the chain-link; the arbutus leaves, the olive branches in the mouths of the princes; and the key, the goddess's power over hinges.<sup>111</sup> Owing to her intercessory powers, as well as the similarity between her maltreatment by Janus, and Flora's by Zephyr and Callisto's by Jupiter, Carna may be regarded as a Moon-goddess and, as a result, the lion's essential being as Sun and Moon is therefore contained in this, as in all Sixtine *imprese*.

Once the lunar component has been found, the evidence of the *Abundance* and *Extirpation* dictates that Venus and her son Cupid are also present both here, as in the *Treasure*, with mother signifying the Moon, son the Sun, and, in unison, the electoral MC in Pisces. As another Venus, the lion's advent to the shores of Latium recalls the birth of Venus and the Golden Age which she, like Saturn, heralds, while the boat may relate to both the traditional seashell which carries the goddess to shore, and especially the actual boat from which Venus rules her vast domain (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 90-132). The key may signify the dual powers of

Venus in her Neoplatonic natures so that, like Mercury, she may be given charge over both chthonic and heavenly realms.<sup>112</sup> The chain-link, finally, is not at all unlike the umbilicus which belongs equally to Venus Amon and Jupiter Amon, the Egyptian deities of purification who are consecrated to the "water of the Sun," and given the honour of being carried in a boat by priests (Cartari, *Imagini*, 532, 165). As another Cupid, the lion's advent to the shore in a boat conjures the Egyptian hieroglyph of the Sun in a boat. Since this hieroglyph symbolizes the purifying qualities of the Sun's rays, then there is a clear connection to the waters shared by Mercury, Venus Amon, and Jupiter Amon (Cartari, *Imagini*, 66-67). The key which Sol-Cupid holds must surely stand for the keys which unlock the gates of the Sun so that the chain-link may again suggest the astrological divisions of the heavens in general, and very possibly the conflated ASCs, DESCs, and northern sectors of the genethliacal and electoral charts in particular.

#### SIXTUS V AS HERMES TRISMEGISTOS

Like the first set of *imprese*, the *Treasure* and *League* reproduce in allegorical form key aspects of the conflated genethliacal and electoral charts of Sixtus v by drawing not only on the Roman calendar and calendrical lore, but also on the ancient and venerable traditions of Egypt. The action of each allegory takes place at Lupercal, either on the shore, or in the water, but always near the *Ficus Ruminalis*. The lion, in turn, is assimilated first and foremost to Romulus and his successor Augustus, while as the embodiment of his electoral ASC in Gemini, the lion takes on the dual natures of Romulus and Remus, the precursors of Peter and Paul, the apostolic founders of the Roman Catholic Church which Pope Sixtus v now rules as another Mercury from his home in the new Lupercal, the *città leonina*. The Sixtine lion is also imbued with lunar and solar qualities which serve to assimilate him to the Virgin and Christ, the Church and her vicar, and the Emperor and Pope. The rape of the pagan goddesses to whom Sixtus v is equated as a lunar entity is suggestive of the trials and tribulations of the Church before her final triumph on earth and translation to the Heavenly Jerusalem. As the *anima* of the *Treasure* makes clear, the Turks are in large part responsible for the "rape" and pillage of the Church, as the modern-day Gog and Magog, but the Protestants are by no means without blemish, as the *League* implicitly suggests. Significantly, the Virgin, who is uncovered by reading the *imprese* in terms of their lunar components, is her-

self given a double nature whereby in her leonine manifestation she is both male and female, like the Moon and Venus (Georgi, *Problemata*, 277r-280v). The assimilation of the lion to the male figures may accordingly stand for the Virgin and the Church as well, just as key components of the *corpi* (i.e., lion and tree of *Abundance*) may assume comparable meanings. The male component of the lion's nature unfolds by following the Neoplatonic assimilation of virtually the entire pantheon of gods to the Sun. In this way the "solar Leo" takes on the natures of each and every male luminary in the heavens. That some pagan gods are more significant than others is indicated by the verses composed to animate the allegorical images, namely Saturn, Mercury, and Hercules, that is, the lords of the natal and electoral charts, and a god who was not actually given a luminary, but who is imbued, nonetheless, with the characteristics of a great number of celestial bodies, especially the Sun. The assimilation of the lion to Mercury, the lord of the electoral chart and Sixtus v's "lucky planet," is shown, in the *League*, to extend to Hercules so that the Herculean components of the *Abundance* and *Extirpation* may be understood to signify Mercury's essential role in the life and pontificate of the pope. Indeed, when the pendant sets are read in relation to one another, as they are actually organized in the Salone dei Papi of the Lateran Palace, the Herculean lion of the *Extirpation* responds to the Gallic Hercules of the *League* with both understood first and foremost as Mercury and hence the lord of the electoral chart, just as the predominant Saturnine age of the *Abundance* responds to the riches of Saturn in the *Treasure* and hence glorifies the lord of the natal chart. But this is not all. The Gallic Hercules-Mercurius Pacificator was also traditionally understood as the embodiment of another peace-keeper and lawmaker, and the greatest of the pagan sages to whom knowledge of Christianity *avant la lettre* had been divulged, namely Hermes Trismegistos. The representation of *Hercules Aegyptius* at the Vatican Library underscores this Egyptian identity, as does that of Mercury, who is there represented with an obelisk as Theuth, the Egyptian name for the Greek Trismegistos (Fontana, *Della trasportatione*, 89v). Moreover, Sixtus v is explicitly equated to Hermes Trismegistos by means of a device which is present not only in the Lateran Palace, but also in an engraving featuring the columns and obelisk of Santa Maria del Popolo in Fontana's treatise (between 75-76). In tandem with the cavalier verse accompanying the *Abundance* in the Lateran Palace, which makes clear reference to Moses, it becomes evident that Sixtus v is at once the greatest Hebrew philosopher, priest, and king,

chosen by God to learn the secrets of the Cabala, and the greatest pagan philosopher, priest, and king of Egyptian antiquity, the thrice-great contemporary of the Hebrew leader. Even the locales of the *impresa*, that is, on land with the *Abundance* and *Extirpation*, and on sea with the *Treasure* and *League*, reinforce the Egyptian nature of Sixtus v's rulership, since the coronation rites of the Pharaoh invested him with just such rule over land and sea, while actually honouring the metamorphosis of Pan into Capricorn, and glorifying his accession as harkening a renewed Golden Age.<sup>13</sup>

The Egyptian component of Sixtine Rome, which has been well known since the raising, exorcising, and Christianization of the obelisk of San Pietro in 1586, may now be understood to emanate from the person of Sixtus v and to pervade the iconography of his pontificate. The taste for things Egyptian was not, therefore, reserved exclusively for the obelisks. There was a veritable Egyptomania during the pontificate of Sixtus v, but it was enjoyed by an élite group in the pope's close circle of friends and aides: his sister Camilla and her family, his architect, at least one antiquarian and professor at the Archiginnasio (Pompeo Ugonio) and, I suspect, some of the cardinals of his sacred college. Only such a chosen few would have been allowed access to the pope's most intimate secrets of his life, especially his nativity which made it clear to his parents and, later on, to the youthful "Crinitus" that he was destined in the stars to steer the bark of Peter. In this sense, the magical formulae which the pope chanted before the pagan obelisks and columns in order to expunge the devils from their comfortable hiding places must, I believe, be regarded not just as belonging exclusively to the Christian ritual of exorcism, but to the incantations of white magic, from which they were ultimately culled.<sup>14</sup> Standing before these monoliths and columns, Sixtus v was acting not only as another Moses, but as another Hermes Trismegistos, as he chanted the verses by which Satan and his minions of bad daemons would be expelled.

#### NOTES

\* I wish to thank Clifford Brown and W. Chandler Kirwin for reading a draft of this article and offering valuable advice and criticism. I presented the main argument of this paper at the American Association for Italian Studies Conference in Lowell, Mass. on 14 April 1989.

1 *Constitutio S.D.N.D. Sixti Papae V. Contra Exercentes Astrologiae ludiciariae Artem. Et alia quacunq[ue] divinationum genera, librosque de eis legentes, ac tenentes* (Rome, 1586). Reprinted in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio* . . . , ed. Francisco Gaude and Aloysio Bilio, 25 vols. (Naples, 1857-72), VIII, 646-50. Also consult Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of*

- Our Era*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923-58), vi, 145-47, 156-57; and Paola Zambelli, et al., *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento: Astrologia, magia e alchimia nel Rinascimento fiorentino ed europeo*, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza (Florence, 1980), 317; and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, in Zambelli, *Astrologia, magia e alchimia*, 368, n. 3.2.9, who discusses the vernacular copy by Alessandro Benacci.
- 2 Ioanne Paulo Gallucio, *Theatrum mundi et temporis. In quo non solum precipuae horum partes describentur, & ratio metiendi eas traditur, sed accomodatissimis figuris sub oculos legendum facile ponuntur . . .* (Venice, 1588). Discussed in Thorndike, *Magic*, vi, 158-59; and briefly in Germana Ernst in Zambelli, *Astrologia, magia e alchimia*, 377, n. 3.3.27. Gallucci accompanied each of his illustrations with a biblical passage, no doubt to engratiate himself further with the pope, and to underscore the unimpeachable precedent on which both his work and Sixtus v's bull were based. For the pope's ownership of this book, consult G. Cugnoli, "Documenti Chigiani concernenti Felice Peretti, Sisto v come privato e come pontefice," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, v (1882), 260.
  - 3 Thorndike, *Magic*, vi, 150-51. The Franciscans in question were Observants, as opposed to Sixtus v's Order of Conventuals.
  - 4 In *Bullarum Romanorum*, xiv, 211-14.
  - 5 D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 22 (1958; Notre Dame and London, 1975), 205-12; and George S. Lechner, "Tommaso Campanella and Andrea Sacchi's Fresco of *Divina Sapienza* in the Palazzo Barberini," *Art Bulletin*, LVIII, 2 (June 1976), 97-108.
  - 6 Marcello Fagiolo, "Die Psycho-Ikonologie," in *Das architektonische Urteil. Annäherungen und Interpretationen von Architektur und Kunst* (Basel, Boston, and Berlin, 1989), 154-56. Also consult Marcello Fagiolo, "La Roma di Sisto v, Le Matrici del polcentrismo," *Psicon*, III (1976), 32 and fig. 8. I wish to thank Professor Fagiolo for kindly having provided me with copies of these articles.
  - 7 The most important biography of Sixtus v was written by his secretary Antonio Maria Graziani and annotated by the pope himself. It is transcribed in Francesco Pistolesi, *La Prima Biografia Autentica di Papa Sisto Quinto Scritta dell'anonimo della Biblioteca Ferraioli di Roma* (Montalto, 1925), 69, 18, who provides extensive commentary on and quotations from the manuscript in question, including the assertion that Felice would rise to power, as indicated. See also a variant, a colophon of this manuscript which was deposited in the Secret Archives of the Vatican in 1659 on order of Alexander VII: "De Vita Sixti Quinti ipsius manu emendata," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 12141, 1v, 49v-52. Other biographies consulted include "Vita di Papa Sisto v Principiando dalla sua Nascita fino alla di lui Morte con tutti gl'accidenti segniti nel corso del suo Ponteficato," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 9721, 1v; "Memorie del Ponteficato di Papa Sisto v<sup>o</sup>," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 12142, 2; Petrus Galesinus, "Sanctissimo Patri Sixto Quinto . . . ac rectori commentarium hoc de vita, rebusque ab eo in singulos annos diesq. publice et pontificie actis gestiq. distribute, ac luculente . . .," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 5438, 4; although not a biography *per se*, Ioanne Pinadello, *Invicti Quinari Numeri Series Quae Summation a Superioribus Pontificibus et Maxime A Sisto Quinto . . .* (Rome, 1589), 27; and *Historia B. Platinae De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum . . .*, emended by Onophrio Panvinio and Antonio Ciccarelli (Cologne, 1600), 423. Although Ciccarelli's Life of Sixtus v was written after the pope's death, the information conveyed is useful as an indication of those aspects of the myth which were memorialized as fact. I also consulted Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro fino ai nostri giorni*, 109 vols. (Venice, 1840-79), LXVII, 89; and the excerpts from other biographies written during the pontificate of Sixtus v printed in Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes During the Last Four Centuries* (1874), trans. Mrs. Foster, revised G. R. Dennis, 3 vols. (London, 1908-13), III, 123-46; and Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. and ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus and Ralph Francis Kerr, 40 vols. (London, 1891-1954), XXI, 407-38, in particular 432, n. 41, with regard to the future foretold for the child. Many more biographies are extant. A final note is in order: sometimes Felice's mother is accredited to the dream, sometimes his father, and sometimes both. To simplify matters, I have opted for the latter. On this problem, consult von Pastor, *History*, XXI, 417.
  - 8 With regard to the time of the pope's birth, both the colophon of Graziani's "De Vita," Vat. Lat. 12141, 1v; and Galesinus, "de vita," Vat. Lat. 5438, 4, log in at "hora circiter decima sexta [italics mine]." However, Graziani, in Pistolesi, *Prima Biografia*, 69, states that "hora xvi editus in lucem est" (whether this time is truly accurate or not is irrelevant in terms of the Sixtine myth). Compare Moroni, *Dizionario*, LXVII, 77; and Baron von Hübner, *The Life and Times of Sixtus the Fifth*, trans. Herbert E. H. Jerminham, 2 vols. (London, 1872), I, 213, 241, note 1. Confusion as to the place of birth began as early as 1589 with Pinadello, *Invicti Quinari*, 27, who states that Sixtus v was born in Montalto. The inscription on the tomb of Sixtus v at S. Maria Maggiore clearly states that he was born in Grottamare and reared in Montalto. As Pistolesi, *Prima Biografia*, 8, explains, Graziani left a space for the pope to fill in his birthdate, place, and time, which agrees with that presented here.
  - 9 For the analogy to the Sun, see Graziani, in Pistolesi, *Prima Biografia*, 69, 8; "De Vita," Vat. Lat. 12141, 2v; "Vita," Vat. Lat. 9721, 1v; "Memorie," Vat. Lat. 12142, 2; and Galesinus, "de vita," Vat. Lat. 5438, 7. The reference to the seven children actually regards Felice's extended family; he had one sister, one brother, and four cousins. See the family tree in Gustavo Parisiani, *Sisto v e la sua Montalto*, Ricerche francescane (Padua, 1986), 260-61. The name Lucia, of course, means light.
  - 10 For the near calamities, see "De vita," Vat. Lat. 12141, 53; and Galesinus, "de Vita," Vat. Lat. 5438, 7v-9v. Also consult Tod Marder, "The Moses Fountain of Sixtus v," forthcoming in the proceedings of *VI Corso internazionale di alta cultura: Sisto V*. I wish to thank Tod for kindly sending me this article. For "Crinitus," see "De Vita," Vat. Lat. 12141, 47. Comets are stars with tails, or hairs of light (*comam*). Comets could be either good or bad portents, depending on the context. Consult Thorndike, *Magic*, IV, 413ff., esp. 428; and Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London and Edinburgh, 1965), 70-71. Also consult von Ranke, *Popes*, III, 134-35, and von Pastor, *History*, XXI, 431, n. 41.
  - 11 Galesinus, de vita," Vat. Lat. 5438, 22; noted in Moroni, *Dizionario*, LXVII, 92; and von Ranke, *Popes*, III, 145.
  - 12 In their zeal to prove the good graces which Mercury bestowed on Felice, some biographers actually state that he was born on a Wednesday, rather than a Friday. See, for example, "Vita," Vat. Lat. 9721, 63v, and Ciccarelli, *Platinae De Vitis*, 422.
  - 13 Nicola Pansonì, *Il Mercoledì di Sisto V e Gregorio XIII* (Cossignano, 1924). The first important promotion of Felice's that actually fell on a Wednesday was his attainment of the purple in 1570, at 49 years of age.
  - 14 Virgil, *Eclogue IV*, 17 in *Works*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (1916; Cambridge and London, 1935), I, 30-31.
  - 15 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, xciv, in *Suetonius*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge and London, 1964), I, 264-67.
  - 16 For Saint Francis as the Sun, consult, for example, Dante,

- Paradiso*, xi, 49-54, in *Dante Alighieri: The Divine Comedy*, trans. with commentary by Charles S. Singleton, 6 vols., Bollingen Series LXXX (1970-75; revised; Princeton, 1977), v: *Paradiso I: Italian Text and Translation*, 120-23. For the dream of Augustus's father, see Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, xciv.
- 17 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, xciv. The allusions to the Incarnation are too clear when read on this basis to be ignored.
- 18 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Scipio's Dream*, iv, 2, in Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans., introduction, and notes by William Harris Stahl (1952; New York and London, 1966), 73; and for Macrobius, *Commentary*, iii, 3, 194.
- 19 Noted in Galesinus, "de vita," Vat. Lat. 5438, 7. On the Sun, the middle, and number four in Neoplatonic philosophy consult Raymond B. Waddington, "The Sun at the Center: Structure as Meaning in Pico della Mirandola's *Heptaplus*," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, iii (1973), 69-86, esp. 77-80.
- 20 Virgil, *Aeneid*, ix, 638, in *Works*, 156-57. Compare the "intonsum Sminthea" in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xii, 585, trans. Frank Justus Miller, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (1916; Cambridge and London, 1958), ii, 222-23; and additional references to the "intonsum" cited in Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae*, iv, x (1551; 1567; New York and London, 1976), 114-15.
- 21 Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, 789-807. For Augustus's assimilation to Romulus, consult Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, vii. Significantly, the mythology of Sixtus v's life has much in common with that of his namesake, Sixtus iv, particularly with regard to dreams and pestilence. Consult von Pastor, *History*, iv, 204-209. I wish to thank Jonathan Riess and John Osborne for kindly having called my attention to the parallels between Sixtus iv and Sixtus v.
- 22 On Mercury as protector of Rome in his Christian embodiment as St. Michael, consult Francisco Panigarola, *In Festo Sancti Michaelis Archang. Homilia . . .* (Venice, 1604), cited and discussed in Frederick John McGuinness, "Rhetoric and Counter-Reformation Rome: Sacred Oratory and the Construction of the Catholic World View, 1563-1621" (diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982), 321, 343-44. Also consult Sergio Guarino, "Aspetti dell'iconografia di Michele Arcangelo tra xv e xvii secolo," and Marica Mercalli, "L'Angelo di Castello: la sua iconografia, il suo significato," in *L'Angelo e la Città*, exhibition catalogue, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, 29 September-29 November 1987 (Rome, 1987), 83ff., 95ff.
- 23 On Mercury as protector of the Hebrews, consult Daniel x:13, 21. All references to the Bible are from *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate*, Douay Version, OT 1609; NT 1582 (Rockford, 1971). On St. Francis as Mercury, see Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle du XVIIe siècle: Etude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1951), 491.
- 24 Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Immagini degli Dei* (1556; 1571; New York and London, 1976), 333-34.
- 25 For the magical component of the exorcisms, consult Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), 1-22; and Eric Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile: Obelisks of Rome, I* (Copenhagen, 1968), 38-39. On the *Agnus Dei*, consult Vincentio Bonardo, *Discorso Intorno all'Origine, Antichità, et Virtù de gli Agnus Dei Di Cera Benedetti* (Rome, 1586); and Thorndike, *Magic*, vi, 168-69. It is noteworthy that in the first few pages of the colophon of Graziani's "Vita," Vat. Lat. 12141, the word "Fortuna" is underlined and a cross placed in the margin every time it appears.
- 26 Pinadello, *Invicti Quinarii*, 39 (last page).
- 27 This is a fundamental tenet of astrology. For this and all other references to rulerships of signs, consult, for example, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, i, 17, in *Manetho*, trans. W. G. Waddell, and *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos*, ed. and trans. F. E. Robbins, Loeb Classical Library (1940; London and Cambridge, 1971), 78-79; Marsilio Ficino, *De Vita Triplici*, iii, 9, in *Marsilio Ficino: The Book of Life*, trans. Charles Boer (Irving, 1980), 111; and Gallucio, *Theatrum Mundi*, 108-109.
- 28 SICCA VELVT NILO STAGNANTE AEGYPTVS INVNDAT/DVM SOL SIDEREI SIGNA LEONIS HABET/SIC QVOQ. MAGNANIMO TERRAS MODERANTE LEONE/ARIDA FELICI ROMA REDVNDAT AQVA. This and the following verses from the Lateran Palace are listed in Domenico Fontana, *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco Vaticano et delle Fabriche di Nostro Signore Papa Sisto V. . .* (1590), ed. Adriano Carugo, intro. Paolo Portoghesi (Milan, 1978), 60v-61v.
- 29 There is some question whether the sculpted Moses actually held a rod. Consult Philipp P. Fehl, "Hermeticism and Art: Emblem and Allegory in the Work of Bernini," *Artibus et Historiae*, xiv (1986), 156-59. I wish to thank Professor Fehl for having told me about this article. See also Marder, "Moses Fountain," forthcoming.
- 30 CYNTHIVS VT SIXTVM VIDIT SICCAE PALVDDES/PALLENTI TALES MISIT AB ORE SONOS/SOL SVVS EST TERRIS QVID EGO MEA LVMINA FVNDAM/NAM MIHI NEC LICVIT QVOD TIBI SIXTE LICET.
- 31 This stairway has been largely unexplored and unstudied. It has recently merited mention in part in Steven F. Ostrow, "The Sistine Chapel at S. Maria Maggiore: Sixtus v and the Art of the Counter Reformation" diss., Princeton University, 1987), 140-41. I intend to treat its iconography in a future study.
- 32 For the Renaissance Sun-pope, see especially Elisabeth Schröter, "Der Vatican als Hügel Apollons und der Mäsen. Kunst und Panegyrik von Nikolaus v bis Julius ii," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, LXXV (1980), 208-40. Also consult Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, 1984), 178-227; and Claudia Rousseau, "Cosimo I de' Medici and Astrology: The Symbolism of Prophecy" (diss., Columbia University, 1983), 138-77, for Pope Leo x; Bernice F. Davidson, "Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's Logge: His *Imprese* in the Logge," *Art Bulletin*, LXI, 3 (September 1979), 398-401, for Pope Paul III; and Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, "La Roma di Pio IV: I.a 'Civitas Pia,' La 'Salus Medica,' La 'Custodia Angelica,'" *Arte Illustrata*, v, 51 (November 1972), 383-402, for Pope Pius IV.
- 33 Pompeii Ugonii, *Oratio De Laudibus Literarum. Habita in Templo Sancti Eustachii, in die festo Sancti Lucae, Anno 1587 . . .* (Rome, 1588), n.p.: "Ac veluti quae in caelo, quaeq; in terra sunt, ut ait Vergilius: *Per duodena regit mundi Sol aureus astra*. Circuiunque illum obliquum, quem signiferum vocant, annua conversione circumiens, splendidissima luce complet omnia, ita Sacri Consistorij Advocatorum ordinem, in hoc orbe literarum, tamquam in caelo Zodiacum eiusdem Pontificis providentia collocavit, ut per duodecim prudentissimos viros . . ." The quotation is taken from Virgil, *Georgics*, i, 232, in *Works*, ii, 96-97.
- 34 Andreae Argoli, *De Diebus Criticis et Aegrorum decubitu Libri Duo* (Padua, 1639), 23. The existence of this chart was first noted in Thorndike, *Magic*, vii, 123. Astro Computing Services from Neil F. Michelsen ran a sunset chart 12 December 1521, which results in a birth time of 8:16 a.m. (that is, 4:16 p.m. setting Sun + 16 hours). In this case, the chart is not optimal because the Sun is badly placed. Since Argoli's chart corresponds to a literary source which treats the natal chart, and, in addition, is extremely beneficial, I have seen fit to rely on it, notwithstanding the discrepancy in time.
- 35 Manilius, *Astronomica*, trans. G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge and London, 1977).

- 36 *Ancient Astrology Theory and Practice: Matheseos Libri VIII by Firmicus Maternus*, trans. Jean Rhys Bram, Noyes Classical Studies (Park Ridge, 1975). Sixtus v owned some 36 books on astrology, for which see Cugnoni, "Documenti Chigiani," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 210ff.
- 37 Io. Antonii Peretti Tarentini, *Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. Creatio* . . . (Rome, n.d.), 37.
- 38 On the prorogative or apthetic places, consult Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, III, 10. Robbins points out that the Hyleg is the Arabic term in his commentary in Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 270, note 2. Also consult Firmicus, *Matheseos*, II, xxv, 1-10. Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 208, note 22, quotes the Ptolemaic passage; and Rousseau, "Cosimo and Astrology," 491, provides both the definition and the method for determining the Hyleg in simplified form.
- 39 For Octavianus Augustus and the Capricorn, see Manilius, *Astronomica*, II, 509; and Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, xciv; as well as Giovanni Pietro Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica*, x, viii (1536), trans. I. De Montlyart (1615; New York and London, 1976), 117; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 213-14; and Rousseau, "Cosimo and Astrology," 13, 42-57. Significantly, for the analysis which follows, Felice Peretti owned a copy of Valeriano's "*Hieroglyphica*" as well as his *In sphaeram*, in Cugnoni, "Documenti Chigiani," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 234, 252.
- 40 This is the result of the Christian adoption of the Saturnalia as Christ's birthdate. It was justified on an astrological basis during the Medieval and Renaissance eras. See, for example, the discussion of Christ's genethliacal chart cast by Hieronymus Cardanus in Wayne Shumaker, *Renaissance Curiosa*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 8 (Binghamton, 1982), 53-90. Also consult Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 213-14.
- 41 Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 172, note 46, explains that in the Renaissance, the ruler of the ascendant was generally thought to be the lord of the chart.
- 42 Macrobius, *Commentary*, XII. Also consult Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, LX, vi; LX, vii. For a list of the modern literature treating the translation of this Neoplatonic formulation into art, see Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 213-14.
- 43 For Jupiter and the Sun, see Firmicus, *Matheseos*, VI, xxiii, 3, who states, interestingly enough, that "from the day of birth all their [the natives'] parents' good fortune will be bestowed on them." Compare Ficino, *De Vita Triplici*, III, 4, who says that "All the astrologers attribute a universal benevolence to the Sun and Jove together." The "universal benevolence" which results from such an aspect then reinforces the effect of the Hyleg, especially since Jupiter guards the Sun.
- 44 Firmicus, *Matheseos*, VI, xxiv, 5. This conjunction also has negative connotations, indicating that he would "use [his] intelligence for all kinds of trickery."
- 45 The Emperor Rudolph II also used Capricorn as a symbol of his fated rule and it is likely that his claim to the sign contributed to Sixtus v's choice of another sign, namely the lion.
- 46 Francisci Georgi, *De Harmonia mundi totius Cantica tria* (Venice, 1525), c. 6r. The Sixtine method has much in common with that of the Franciscan hermeticist. Significantly, Sixtus v owned a copy of the *Problemata*, in Cugnoni, "Documenti Chigiani," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 229.
- 47 This explanation has been set forth with regard to the Emperor Augustus and the sign of Capricorn in Eugene J. Dwyer, "Augustus and the Capricorn," *Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung. Mitteilungen*, LXXX (1973), 60.
- 48 Pinadello, *Invicti Quinarii*, 5 (following the dedication to Sixtus v).
- 49 Lucas Guaricus, *Calendarium Ecclesiasticum*, 694, in E. H. Gombrich, "The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Te" (1950), in *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance II* (1972; Oxford and New York, 1978), 117 and note 28.
- 50 See Enea Bano, *Rime Sopra la Creazione del S.S.N. Sisto PP.V.* (Perugia, 1587), 22, 37-38; and Peretti, *Sixti Quinti*, 8. Iosephi Olivae, *In Sanctissimi D. Nostri Sixti V. Pont. Maximi Creationem Carmen* (Cremona, 1585), does not make specific astrological references, but his poem is suggestive of occult significance, since it contains allusions to the heavens in the context of the Sixtine stemma. Also consult Mutio Pansa, *Della Glorie di Sisto Quinto Rime* . . . (Rome, 1588), 67-69, 78-79. Ascanii Columnae, *Oratio Ad Sixtum V.P.M.* . . . (Rome, 1773), 27-29, compares the lion of Sixtus v's heraldry to the zodiacal sign of Libra. This may be a rhetorical conceit with no bearing on his natal and electoral charts, unless Scorpio is considered in the pre-Augustan sense in terms of the hind section as the scorpion and the frontal one as the "yoke," or "balance" (and hence Libra), in the manner of Macrobius, *The Saturnalia*, trans., introduction and notes by Percival Vaughan Davies, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, 79 (New York and London, 1969), I, xii, 11.
- 51 That one horoscope could be superimposed on another in Renaissance art is amply demonstrated in Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 204-20.
- 52 Pauli Alaleonis Sacrarum Caeremoniarum Magistri, "Diaria 1585-1590," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 12293, 127. Curiously, P. Domenico Sparacio, "Il Diario di Sisto v," in *Nel IV Centenario della nascita di Sisto V (1521-1921)*, *Rassegna italiana*, VI (13 aprile 1922), 80, states that, according to Alaleoni, Sixtus v was elected at "ore 21 italiano." Graziani, in Pistolesi, *Prima Biografia*, 78, states that he was elected with "incredibili Patrum consensu, VIII Kal. Maii, Mercurii die, circiter horam XIII [italics mine]." Von Hübner, *Life*, I, 204, also gives "13 hours (about 8 o'clock in the morning of our time)" as the election time. However, the colophon of Graziani's "Vita," B.A.V. MSS Vat. Lat. 12141, 88v, states that "hora ante meridiem altera Sixti ipse v nomen delegit," that is, at 11:00 a.m. Ciccarelli, *Platinae De Vitis*, 428, states: "Facta est haec electio die Mercurij, qui erat 24 Aprilis, anno M.D. Lxxxv hora decimaquinta"; and Moroni, *Dizionario*, 92, also gives "ore 15" as the time of the election, although he does not cite his source.
- 53 Astro Computing Services from Neil F. Michelsen erected a couple of electoral charts on my behalf using slightly different times. First, a chart was cast using an 8:00 a.m. election time, according to the time worked out in von Hübner. Secondly, a chart was cast for 7:49 a.m., to correspond precisely to the birth time worked out by Argoli. This chart maintains the sign locations on the cusps as well as the planetary positions manifested on the 8:00 a.m. chart.
- 54 Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star-Names: Their Lore and Meaning* (1899; New York, 1963), 225.
- 55 For this and all following references to guardianships, consult Manilius, *Astronomica*, II 433-52. The guardianships are unique to Manilius and are among the staples of sixteenth-century astrological lore.
- 56 The zodiacal Leo is located in the third house with Mars. Since Mars is located in Capricorn on the natal chart, and enjoys lordship over the MC in Scorpio, then Mars becomes another connecting link between Capricorn and Leo of the combined charts, and reinforces the *amantia*. Firmicus, *Matheseos*, II, xvi, 1-2, explains that the third house, called by the Greeks *Thea*, and by the Romans *Dea*, exerts favourable influences on the native.
- 57 Cecilia Sansolini, *Il pensiero teologico spirituale di Sisto V nei sermoni anteriori al pontificato* (Vatican City, 1989), fig. 1.
- 58 Both Polaris and the ASC were located at 22°46' at the time of Sixtus v's election. Neil Michelsen of Astro Computing Services kindly ran a fixed star chart for the election time of the pope on my behalf. Bonnie MacLachlan

- and Pierre Brind d'Amour generously helped to translate the Latin inscriptions.
- 59 Fagiolo, "La Roma di Sisto v," *Psicon*, 32-34, esp. fig. 9; and Fagiolo, "Die Psycho-Ikonologie," *Das architektonische Urteil*, 156ff., esp. fig. 19b.
- 60 Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicum*, II, 30, in *C. Iulii Hygini Augusti Liberti Fabularum Liber, . . . eiusdem poeticon astronomicum . . .* (1535; New York and London, 1976), 80. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 469, in *Ovid in Six Volumes. V Fasti*, trans. Sir James George Frazer, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge and London, 1976), v, 90-91, describes Venus as "holding her child on her lap," a clear analogue to the Madonna and Child, in his explanation of the catasterism of Venus and Cupid as Pisces. It is possible that the life-long devotion which Felice held for the Virgin could have been perceived as having been preordained in the stars.
- Since Venus is assimilated to the Moon and Cupid to the Sun, then by association Pisces is assimilated to the Sun and Moon. For Venus and Cupid respectively, consult Cartari, *Imagini*, 551, 496. It must be noted that Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, xxi, 27, equates every zodiacal sign to the Sun based on inherent qualities save Pisces, which he equates to the Sun due to the Sun's rays which are so powerful that they penetrate the waters' depths. Of course, to the Christian exegete, Pisces-Christus would have an inherently solar nature. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, III, viii, 3, equates Venus to the Moon and states that she is both masculine and feminine.
- 61 Allen, *Star Names*, 341, cites the rabbinic tradition as documented in the fifteenth century by Abrabanel.
- 62 The connection between Gemini and Pisces may also be made on a mythological basis, owing to Mercury's rulership of Gemini, and Cupid, the son he shares with Venus. See Cicero, *De natura deorum*, III, 59-60, cited in Charles Dempsey, "Mercurius Ver: The Sources of Botticelli's *Primavera*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxI (1968), 253 and note 14. In Christian translation this connection is strengthened because Gemini becomes Peter and Paul, and Pisces, the Church and Christ.
- 63 On the many goddesses associated with the Moon, consult Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, XIII, xxxix; xxxix, III; LIX, xxxv; and Cartari, *Imagini*, 486; as well as Frances Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, x (1947), 27-82, reprinted in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (1975; London, Boston, Melbourne, and Henley, 1985), 29-33; and Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 219-20.
- 64 Bano, *Rime*, 38, finds the Sun in Taurus to be very propitious. It is interesting to note in this respect that Jupiter chose the Sun and the Pleiades of Taurus to manifest his power, noted in Allen, *Star Names*, 410-12. Further, Mercury was the son of Maia, leader of the Pleiades, and Taurus was assimilated to the *Logos*, otherwise known as Mercury. For Taurus as the *Logos*, consult Fred Gettings, *The Secret Zodiac: The Hidden Art in Mediaeval Astrology* (London and New York, 1987), 89-91.
- 65 As a restorer of salubrity, an appropriate vocation for a renewed Golden Age setting, Mercury's attribute is a ram or, in hermetic terms, the zodiacal sign for Aries, in Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, x, xxxiv. Compare the lamb held by Mercury as a guardian of shepherds and flocks in Cartari, *Imagini*, 335-37. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, intro. Kenneth Clark (1974; New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, and London, 1979), 207, states that Mercury holds a ram in this latter capacity.
- 66 I am preparing for publication a detailed hermetic analysis of the allegories with regard to their relationship to the overall scheme of the Salone dei Papi. For the present, see my "Golden Age and the Good Works of Sixtus v: Classical and Christian Typology in the Art

- of a Counter-Reformation Pope," *Storia dell'arte*, I.XII (January-April 1988), 29-52.
- 67 I believe that all cardinal angles as well as the seven luminaries in their sign locations of both natal and electoral charts, including their rulers and guardians, are contained within each of the *impreses* created for, or perhaps by, Sixtus v. The present study is made *pace* Graham Smith, "Review of Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosmos*, Princeton, 1984," *Art Bulletin*, LXIX, 2 (June 1987), 306.
- 68 Compare the treatment of the month of December in the Sala dei Venti of the Palazzo del Te, in Gombrich, "Sala dei Venti," *Symbolic Images*, 117 and note 29; and in Dante, *Paradiso*, xxvii, 142-48. Also compare Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, LIII, xiii, for the olive trees of abundance.
- 69 TEMPORIBVS SIXTI REDEVNT SATVRNIA REGNA, ET PLENO CORNVCOPIA FVNDIT OPES. This and the following verses from the Library are printed in Fontana, *Della trasportazione*, 83v-85, 91v-94.
- 70 Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 235-44. It will, I hope, become clear as the analysis progresses that this and other passages from the discourse on the Roman calendar are essential to the decipherment of the Good Works. The verses accompanying the allegorical Good Works in the three secular monuments are among Bianco's most inventive, probably owing to the centrality of the allegorical Good Works in these monuments, although there are still examples which are only indirectly inspired by Ovid, since actually drawing on other *anime*, and accordingly less evocative.
- 71 Mercury not only holds a cornucopia, but he sometimes even accompanies the personification of Abundance (Ceres), in Cartari, *Imagini*, 316. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, xvii, 1-6, equates Mercury to the Sun, and the Renaissance mythographers concur. It is probably not coincidental that in this passage Macrobius states that "there is a power of the sun which has charge over the fruits of the orchard and an activity too with charge over the fruits of the field."
- 72 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, III, xv, for Taurus as abundance. It should also be noted at this point that Pinadello must also have realized the connection between Capricorn and Taurus as "fruit-bearing" months, the one, derived from Egyptian lore, as I have shown above, and the other, derived from the Roman association of April with Venus and the return of Spring.
- 73 For Taurus as Europa's bull, see Gallucio, *Theatrum Mundi*, 324; and Allen, *Star Names*, 379; and for the myth, consult Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 833-75.
- 74 For Pan as the zodiacal Capricorn, consult Hyginus, *Fabularum Liber*, cxcvi; and Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicum*, 83. For the battle of the Olympians against the Titans, consult Nigidius Figulus in *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, ed. Theodor Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionum Ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis Collectos* Edidit Carolus Clemen Fasciculi II Pars I (Bonn, 1922), 83-86; Galluccio, *Theatrum Mundi*, 349; and Dwyer, "Augustus," *Deutschen Archaeologischen*, 66-67, who also discusses the myth and its application to the Capricorn of Augustus. Also consult Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 175-76; and Rousseau, "Cosimo and Astrology," 124-27.
- 75 QVANTVM ANNONA VRBIS DECREVIT PRINCIPE SIXTO; PRINCIPIS HOC TANTVM NOMINE CREVIT HONOS. This and the following verses from the villa are printed in Vittorio Massimo, *Notizie storiche della Villa Massimo alle Terme diocleziane, con un'appendice di documenti* (Rome, 1836), 130-31.
- 76 For Ceres, see Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, xvi, 44; I, xviii, 23. Also consult Yates, *Astraea*, 32-33; and Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 123-24, 135-57. With regard to Flora, Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 361-69, states: "There yet remained the lights, the reason whereof escaped me; when the goddess [Flora]

- thus removed my doubts: 'Lights are thought to befit my days either because the fields do glow with purple flowers; or because neither flowers nor flames are of a dull colour . . . ; or because nocturnal licence befits my revels. The third reason comes nearest the truth' (italics mine).
- 77 Venus hortorum is discussed in Dempsey, "Mercurius Ver," *Journal of Warburg*, 257-64. Venus as goddess of the Hesperides is discussed in Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty*, 150-51.
- 78 The connection between Cupid and the lion is straightforward: as a type for the Christ child, and hence the newly-born Felice, Cupid takes on a solar nature. Saturn is, of course, the lord of the natal chart, and ruler of Sol-Cupid.
- 79 Hercules is also associated with the Sun, in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1, xx, 6, not to mention a type of Christ. Pisces was also identified as Venus and Adonis, in Allen, *Star Names*, 339. For Adonis as the Sun, see Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1, xxi, 1-4; and Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, ix, xx. These alternate readings, of course, would refer to the mature Pope Sixtus v *vis-à-vis* the youthful, cupid-like Felice Peretti of the natal chart.
- 80 The Golden Fleece was suspended from a tree in the Grove of Mars and guarded by a dragon. See Galluccio, *Theatrum Mundi*, 320; and Allen, *Star Names*, 75-76.
- 81 VESANA HEBRAEAE COMPRESSIT MVRMVRA HENTIS/SVPPEDITANS PLENA DVX ALIMENTA MANV,/SIC OVERVLAE PLEBI SIXTVS FRVMENTA MINISTRANS/COMPRESSIT MOSES MVRMVRA PRISSA NOVVS.
- 82 PASCITE SECVRARE PECVDES IN MONTIBVS ALTIS/DVM LEO GRASSANTES IMPETIT VNGVE LVPOS.
- 83 For Iustitia (or Dike) as the Moon, consult Yates, *Astraea*, 32.
- 84 Apollo also traditionally holds a thunderbolt. See Cartari, *Imagini*, 56.
- 85 DVM SIBI COMMISSVM SIXTVS TVTATVR OVILE/PRAEDONES MIRA PERCVLIT ARTE LVPOS,/PAXQ. PVDORQ. VIGENT VNA: NAM TEMPORE EODEM/PERCVLIT ILLE LVPOS, PERCVLIT ILLE LVPAS.
- 86 ALCIDES PARTEM ITALIAE PRAEDONE REDEMIT,/SED TOTAM SIXTVS, DIC MIHI MAIOR VTER?
- 87 See note 74 above.
- 88 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphiques*, lix, xvi, for Mercury as Jupiter's envoy of justice, and a comparison of Mercury and Prometheus. St. Michael wields a thunderbolt particularly in representations of the Last Judgment.
- 89 Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 747-48, when the Sun is in Aquarius. Also called the Palilia, this festival was actually celebrated on 21 April, in accord with the day traditionally given to the foundation of Rome. Its date was open to question by the mid-sixteenth century, however, and could reasonably have been pushed forward.
- 90 Ursa Major and Ursa Minor were also traditionally associated with Jupiter's two Cretan nurses, in Galluccio, *Theatrum Mundi*, 272. It is interesting to note that according to the Arabs, Ursa Minor was known as "Al Jadi," "the Young He Goat," in Allen, *Star Names*, 457.
- 91 The difficulty inherent in deciphering the second pair of *impresae* may well have contributed to the decision to include the *Abundance* and *Extirpation* in all of the secular ensembles, and to reserve the *Treasure* and *League* for the private edification of the pope and his successors at the Vatican Library and Lateran Palace.
- 92 QVAE FVIT PARCO CONGESTA PECVNIA SEXTO,/TVRCAE ERIT EXITIIVM, PRAESIDIVMQ. PETRI.
- 93 Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London, 1964), 284-86.
- 94 The Temple of Juno Moneta was founded in January, when the Sun was still in Capricorn, in Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 637-38. Saturn was also the inventor of coin-minting, in Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn*, 285. Significantly for what follows, Janus is also recognized as the inventor of coin-minting, in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1, vii, 22. It is probably significant that Pluto (Dis), another god of riches, also owns a key. In his case, the key opens the door to the underworld. On this latter, consult Cartari, *Imagini*, 278.
- 95 For a comparison between Hebe and Ganymede, consult Cartari, *Imagini*, 58-59. For Ganymede crowning Jupiter, see Comes, *Mythologiae*, II, v. On Iris and Mercury, consult Cartari, *Imagini*, 179, 310, respectively.
- 96 Anchises's final words to Aeneas in Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, 756-853, may be significant in this context: "remember thou, o Roman, to rule the natives with thy sway . . . to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud [italics mine]."
- 97 Consult Barbara C. Bowen, "Mercury at the Crossroads in Renaissance Emblems," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVIII (1985), 225.
- 98 AVRVM I.EGE SVA PLATO QVONDAM EIECIT AB VRBE/LEGE SVA ID SIXTVS CONDIT IN ARCE PATER,/SCILICET AVRVM ESSE EXCIDIVM PLATO CENSVIT VRBIS,/VRBIS PRAESIDIVM SIXTVS ID ESSE PROBAT.
- 99 Like Terminus, Sixtus v is "bribed by no gold" so that he may vigilantly oversee "the lands entrusted to [him] . . . in loyal good faith."
- 100 Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 65-68, 117-20. For Noah as Janus, consult Georgi, *Harmonia*, c. 2r. For the assimilation of Janus and Mercury, both as gods of boundaries and gods of peace, consult Bernard Combet-Farnoux, *Mercurus Romanus. Le culte public de Mercure et la fonction mercantile à Rome de la République Archaique à l'époque Augustéenne*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 138 (Rome, 1980), 279-81.
- 101 The Temple of Solomon also had a treasury and a weapons room in *I Kings* vii:51; xiv:25-26; xv:18; *II Kings* xi:10; and xii:4. It is also interesting to note that Ursa Major was known as the Ark in the Ptolemaic era, in Allen, *Star Names*, 435.
- 102 Particularly useful is the description in Philo of Alexandria, *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, trans. Ralph Marcus, 52ff.; Philo of Alexandria, *Life of Moses*, II, xxvff., in Philo, trans. F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, 10 vols. and 2 supp. vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1961-62), Supplement II, 99ff.; and VI, 484, 485ff. Also consult Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, III, 102ff., in Josephus, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1961), IV, 364, 365ff.
- 103 In particular, I would suggest that the twin lions at right foreground correspond to Moses and Aaron; the unicorn at left foreground to the Merarites; the dove (?) at left, in line with the unicorn, to the Gershonites; and the eagle at right, in line with the lions, to the Caathites. Since each of the four Levitical sects was also assigned one of the four elements, then the lions of Moses and Aaron would naturally signify fire; the Merarite unicorn, water (owing to the power of his horn to purify water); the Gershonite dove, earth (as the herald of dry land after the Deluge); and the Caathite eagle, air (his proper domain). This analysis draws on the discussion of the Temple as macrocosm and microcosm in René Taylor, "Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the Idea of the Escorial," *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London, 1967), 91-93.
- 104 MVTVV DISVNCII COEVNT IN FOEDERA REGES, ET SIXTI AVSPICIIS PAX STABILITA VIGET.
- 105 The chain-link would then likely correspond to the poles which uphold the Ark of the Covenant, in Philo, *Questions*, 57-58.
- 106 Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn*, 333.
- 107 For a representation of the eloquent Mercury, consult

Sonja Brink, *Mercurius Mediceus: Studien zur panegyrischen Verwendung der Merkurgestalt in Florenz des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft, herausgegeben von Ferdinand Werner (Worms, 1987), fig. 4.

- 108 DISIVNCTAS SIXTVS DVMN IVNGIT FOEDERE GENTES, ET DICTIS MVLCECT PECTORA DVRA PIIS, IVSSA DEI AVT PERFERT, ANIMAS AVT EVOCAT ORCO, MERCVRIVS VERVS DICIER ANNE POTESI?
- 109 Precisely how the connection is made to the pope's astrological chart(s) is somewhat problematic, owing to the fact that the majority of the animals could signify more than one mythological deity and accordingly more than one astrological aspect, be it zodiacal or planetary. Given the method employed by the Sixtine iconographer, moreover, it is likely that each animal was to have been intentionally susceptible to more than one hermetic reading. It may be for this reason that some of the animals are represented in different ways in the Vatican and Lateran *corpi*. If the animals correspond to the first through sixth houses of the natal chart, including the ASC and DFSC, as the capricorn would suggest, then there should be seven parts to the chain-link, rather than eight. That the seventh house is not indicated is revealed by the links which bind the capricorn and white eagle, as they intersect the nave and stern of the boat, rather than circumscribing them. The seven house-divisions of the northern half of the chart may be turned into eight if one casts the chart according to the Ptolemaic system of equal houses. Taking the ASC in 4°4' Capricorn as the basis for the chart, the IC must be drawn in at 0°22' Taurus, since it is not properly indicated by the 4°4' now assigned to Taurus. The result is eight divisions, rather than seven. If the MC at 0°21' Scorpio is used, conversely, nine house divisions result. Since Capricorn is actually represented in the water in the Vatican version of the *impresa*, rather than on the land

which he dominates according to the astrological triplicities, then this could suggest the cusp of Capricorn in the first house of the natal chart, but it more likely indicates capricorn's rulership of both land and sea.

- 110 Both Cosimo (who may be identified by both the capricorn and the ducal crown) and Stephen had died by 1588. Their positions on the horizon may well have been intended to signify purgatory and/or, in a more exalted sense, the gates of the Sun. The *League*, in addition, may well have been intended to function as a commemoration of the modern-day Battle of Action, i.e., the Battle of Lepanto waged and won under the aegis of Sixtus v's mentor, Pius v. In this context, the presence of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici makes sense, since he had died long before Felice Peretti became Sixtus v. It will, by now, be clear that the Medici were not only instrumental in Sixtus v's rise to power and attainment of the See of Peter, but also highly influential in terms of the works of art commissioned by Sixtus v. In the programmes commissioned by both the Medici and Sixtus v astrology plays a central role.
- 111 The comparison of the boat to the cradle is particularly suggestive in terms of the *Treasure*: when the *corpo* is read as a Nativity, it relates as much to Christ and his *praesepio* as to the newly-born Felice Peretti and his.
- 112 On the "Twin Venuses," consult Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939; New York, 1967), 129ff.
- 113 Discussed in J. Rufus Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (Rome, 1977), 208-10. Also consult Rousseau, "Cosimo and Astrology," 124-27.
- 114 See my "Simbolismo ermetico negli obelischi e colonne della Roma Sistina," forthcoming in the proceedings of *VI Corso internazionale di alta cultura: Sisto V*, for an alchemical reading.





FIGURE 11. “Solar Leo” Device in Ioanne Pinadello, *Invicti Quinarii Numeri Series Quae Summation a Superioribus Pontificabus et Maxime A Sisto Quinto . . .*, Rome, 1589, 39 (Photo: BAV Rossiano 3672).



FIGURE 12. *Acqua Felice*, Salone dei Papi, Lateran Palace (Photo: AFV xxxiii-6-19).



FIGURE 13. *Port of Terracina and Pontine Marsh*, Salone dei Papi, Lateran Palace (Photo: AFV xxxiii-6-25).



FIGURE 14. Armillary sphere with "Peretti Leo," detail of north lunette of western loggia, *piano nobile*, Lateran Palace (Photo: AFV xxxiii-16-37).

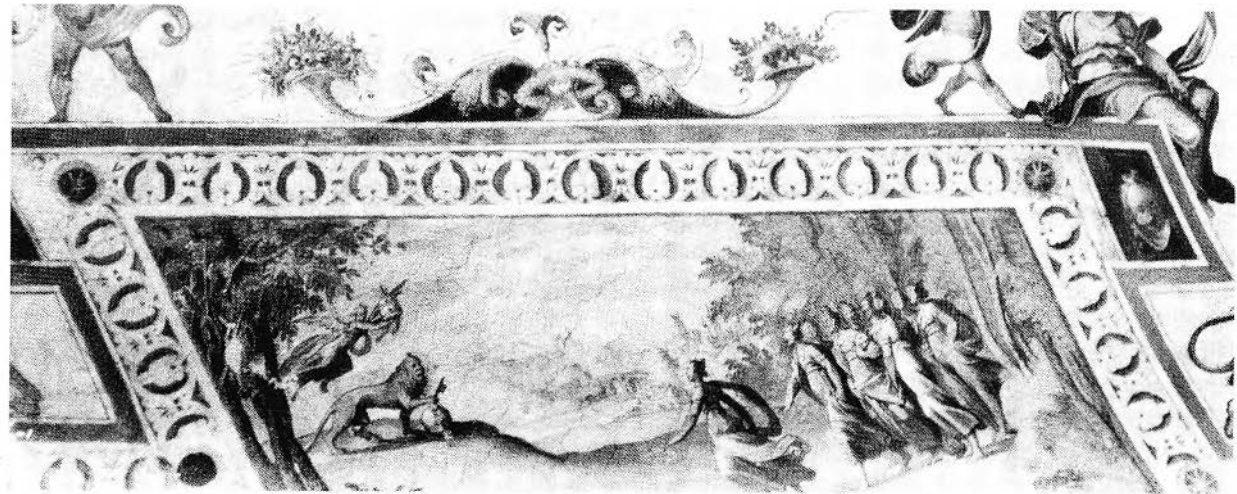


FIGURE 15. *Sixtus v-Apollo and the Muses*, detail, stairway at the Vatican Palace (Photo: Author).

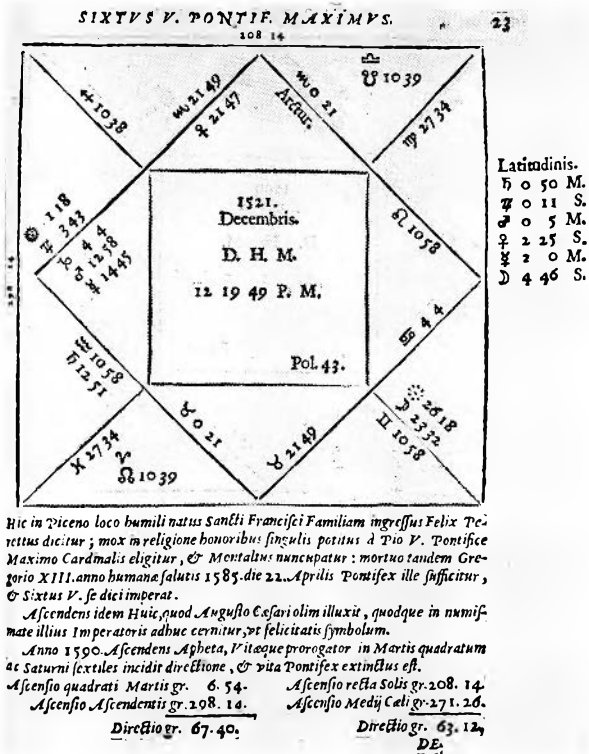


FIGURE 16. Natal chart of Felice Peretti in Andrea Argoli, *De Diebus Criticis et Aegrorum decubitu Libri Duo*, Padua, 1639, 23 (Photo: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto).

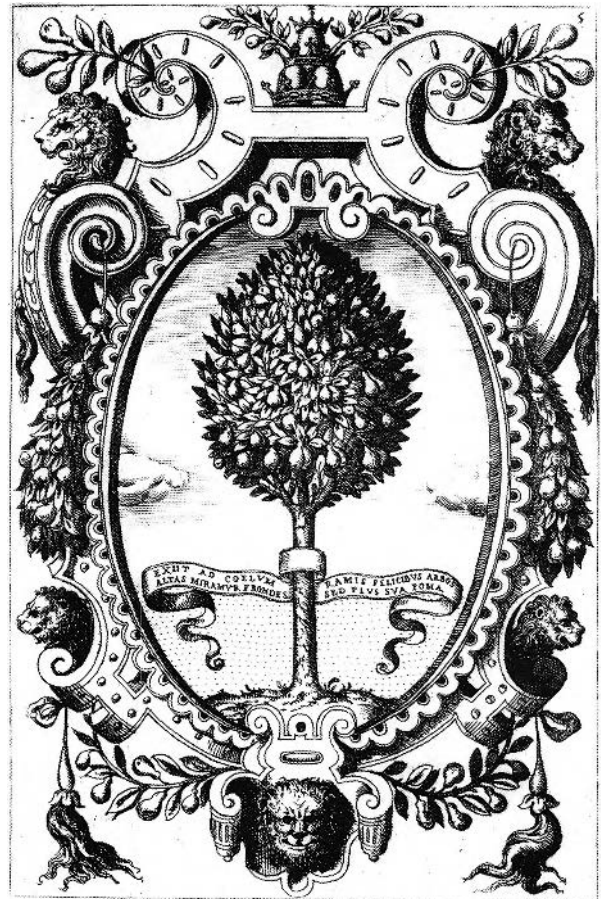


FIGURE 17. "Pear Tree" Device in Ioanne Pinadello, *Invicti Quinarij Numeri Series*, 5 (Photo: BAV Rossiano 3672).

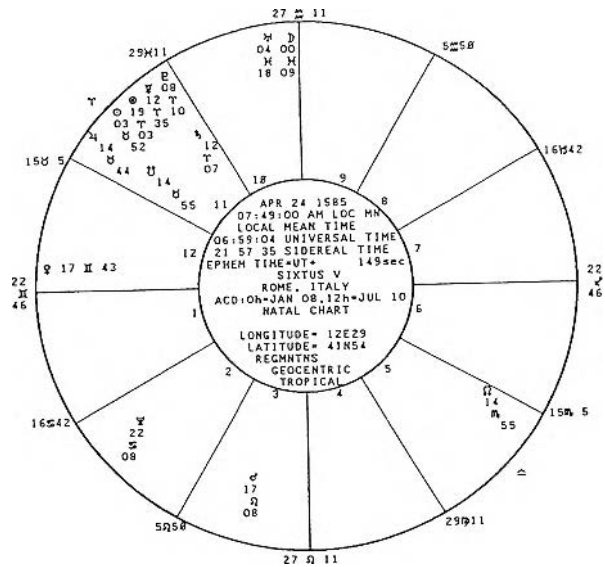


FIGURE 18. Electoral Chart of Sixtus v, Astro Computing Services from Neil F. Michelson.



FIGURE 19. *Abundance* Created by Sixtus V, *gran salone*, Palazzo delle Terme, ex-Villa Montalto (Photo: Ludovico Morelli).



FIGURE 20. *Extirpation of the Bandits*, *gran salone*, Palazzo delle Terme, ex-Villa Montalto (Photo: Ludovico Morelli).



FIGURE 22. *Treasure at Castel Sant'Angelo, Libreria Segreta, Vatican Library (Photo: AFV II-17-18).*

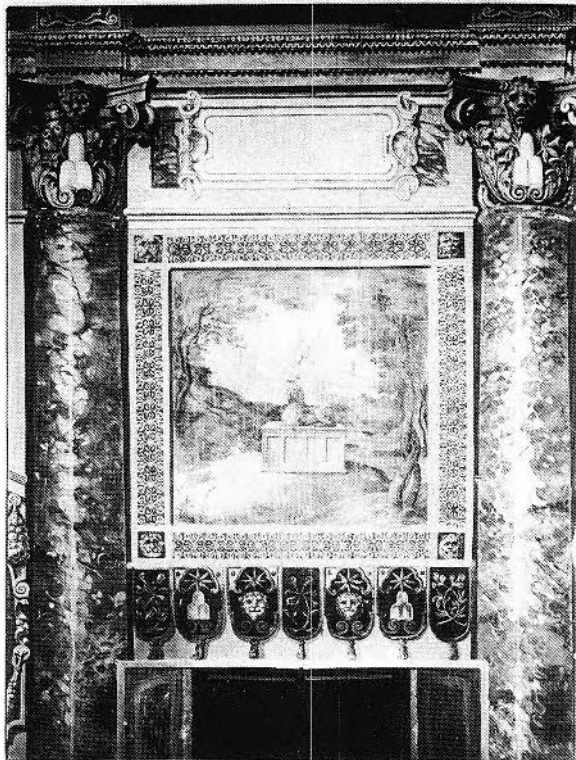


FIGURE 21. *Treasure at Castel Sant'Angelo, Salone dei Papi, Lateran Palace (Photo: AFV xxxIII-6-22).*

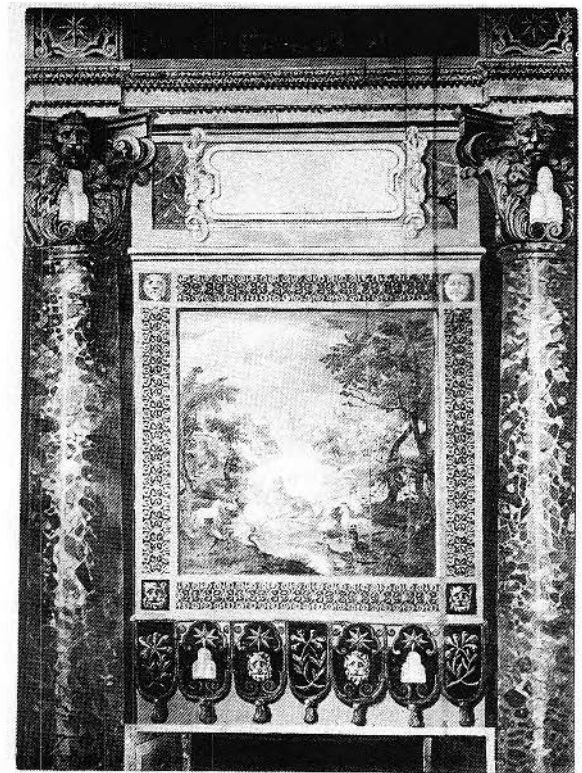


FIGURE 23. *League of Christian Princes, Salone dei Papi, Lateran Palace (Photo: AFV xxxIII-6-16).*