

LUDOVICO IL MORO, DUKE OF MILAN, AND THE SFORZIADA BY GIOVANNI
SIMONETTA IN WARSAW

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I. PURPOSE OF SFORZIAD: SFORZA POLITICAL PROPAGANDA 1

The text of the book from which Leonardo da Vinci's portrait came is known as the *Sforziad* or *Commentaries on the Deeds of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan*. Its author, Giovanni Simonetta, served as secretary in the ducal chancery (1450 – 79), a position which allowed him access to state papers as a source for his biography. Written in humanist Latin from 1473 to 1476, at a time when Simonetta was trying to bring a Venetian printer to Milan, it “may have been the first work of history written for the press”. ² In light of the research, done by Gary Ianziti, it appears to have been meant as a further shoring up of the Sforza political position. ³ Given the unwillingness of the Holy Roman Emperor to legitimize his rule by granting a formal imperial investiture with the duchy, Francesco advanced his claim on the basis of his marriage to a Visconti heir, Bianca Maria, his election as duke by the people, and the recognition of his status by other powers. According to Ianziti's investigations this was not enough. It was deemed necessary to publicize his *virtus*, his capabilities as a strong military and political leader, to learned diplomats and humanist curial officials. Simonetta dedicated the first printing to Francesco's grandson, Gian Galeazzo Sforza.

Later editions commissioned by Ludovico Sforza had a similar purpose, that is to show Il Moro's superior capacity for rule according to a “like father, like son” theory of inherited natural abilities first formulated by Aristotle in the *Politics* (I, vi, 1255 b): “they distinguish...noble and humble birth...they think that as men and animals beget men and animals, so from good men a good man springs.” The idea took root and was developed further in the Middle Ages, and the Italian Renaissance. As expressed by Lorenzo de Medici in his satire of Sienese “uomini grossi”:

Avendo questo albero, di principio cattivo seme avuto, `e natural cosa che faccia frutti simili al suo seme... si dice quello `e buono figliuolo che bon patrizza, non volendo e figliuoli forse fare vergogna a' padri, s'ingegnano fare portamenti da non parere bastardi. ⁴

Moreover, it was held that the well – born tended to be inherently more capable in all things and more adept at learning than their social inferiors. Thus, Cristoforo Landino's preface to his Italian translation of the text speaks of “Ludovico spherza vero imitatore delle paterne virtu, gli eccellenti e Cesarei facti suoi.” By contrast with the young age and weakwilled character of the incumbent duke, his nephew Gian Galeazzo, Ludovico was best qualified to rule. This meant publicizing of comparative horoscopes. Monica Azzolini asserts that the stars were not with Gian Galeazzo, and probably never were. Ludovico, on the birth of his nephew's son and heir Francesco called Il Duchetto, had the infant's horoscope drawn up by the court astrologer Ambrogio da Rosate. Since good fortune foretold for the child

would have meant disaster for the real master of Milan, the chart revealed that he “shall be involved in an abyss of troubles and afflictions, even to the hazard of his life.”⁵ By contrast Ludovico’s horoscope indicated high office, and the greatest good fortune. In Lucas Gauricus’ *Tractatus Astrologicus* (Venice, 1552) Ludovico’s horoscope speaks of being “figlio del padre” and mentions Francesco Sforza, the father, as a point of reference. These points, superb parental traits and a favorable astrological chart fed Ludovico’s boasts about being the invincible darling of Fortuna, lucky in all he undertook.

In order to assure the dissemination of this self-serving propaganda, Ludovico assumed control of further publication. Aside from exiling the author for being the brother of Cicco Simonetti, all powerful minister of Ludovico’s main political antagonist Gian Galeazzo’s ambitious mother and co-regent Bona of Savoy, Il Moro, had the work revised, with a new dedication to him by the poet Giovanni del Pozzo. In ordering the printer Antonio Zarotto to make four hundred copies at his own expense, Ludovico gave him a six year privilege freeing him from competition until all the books were sold. ⁶ Then, in the late 1480’s, about the time of Gian Galeazzo’s marriage in Naples (December 1488) to Isabella d’Aragona, Ludovico commissioned an Italian translation from Cristoforo Landino, so as to reach a much wider audience. This new edition was also printed by Zarotto, in 1490.

II. USE OF FOUR PRESENTATION COPIES ON VELLUM

During the 1490’s, Ludovico, over time, commissioned four unique copies of the Italian *Sforziad*, deluxe presentation books on vellum, rather than paper, each one with border illuminations by Gian Pietro Birago on the first page of the Simonetta text. These four have been the object of several important studies: Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri on attribution; Bogdan Horodyski on the historical identification of persons; Mark Evans on style; and P.I. Mulas , and Elizabeth McGrath on iconography. ⁷ The last has been a major inspiration for the present study, which focuses especially on historical context as an iconographic determinant, the nuptial conventions observed in the Warsaw copy in connection with Leonardo’s portrait drawing of the bride, in addition to hypothetical models of provenance of the four vellum copies. The iconography of these spectacular decorations was personalized in each case for the destined recipient. There is a copy in Paris, one in London, fragmentary cuttings in Florence, and the last, in Warsaw. The four had a dynastic significance, as they were gifts to Sforza spouses on the birth of a potential heir to the duchy, though the fourth celebrated a marriage, in expectation of children. The Paris one was made for Isabella d’Aragona on the birth of her son with Duke Gian Galeazzo, Francesco “Il Duchetto”, in December 1490 or January 1491. (Dates conflict depending on the source.) The main miniature depicts Ludovico as the strong ruler of Milan for his pitiful nephew. The latter kneels before Il Moro for avuncular instruction. Behind Ludovico, a figure of Fortuna sails by on the water, a reference to his epithet “ Son of Fortune”. Behind Gian Galeazzo is a small boat, a ship of state with Ludovico Sforza at the helm. His nephew stands up in the prow praying to St Louis of Toulouse in the sky. His presence has to do with the precarious health of the newborn ducal heir. St. Louis was famous for his miraculous cures of ailing and dying

children. **8** Birago created a striking contrast between the visual strength of Ludovico and his companion Fortuna, and the tiny figure of Gian Galeazzo adrift at sea supplicating a distant figure in heaven.

The London *Sforziad* would have been a presentation for Ludovico's wife Beatrice d'Este on the birth of their son Maximilian (25 January 1493). This is indicated by the heraldic organization of the coat of arms at the bottom of the page, with the Este lilies *en abime* over the Sforza *blason*. Equally indicative is the medallion in the center of the original red velvet cover representing the twin lighthouses of Genoa's harbor. The motif recurs on Ludovico's chest in the Birago profile portrait inside. Ludovico ruled over Genoa from 1487 to 1499, and in 1493 was trying to obtain an investiture of the city from Charles VIII of France. The same towers recur in the iconography of Il Moro's wife and son. At a formal reception in Venice in June 1493, Beatrice wore a gold and silver gown embroidered with the lighthouses. Moreover, Fol. 29 of Maximilian's schoolbook depicts an attendant with a shield bearing the same pair. The remainder of Birago's imagery, that is, a putto holding a roundel with a bust of Ludovico and, hovering about it, a sheltering angel, wings outspread, was borrowed from the iconography of ancient Roman emperors. **9** This may have been inspired by Landino's comment about the "excellenti e Cesarei facti" of Francesco and his son Ludovico. It was an assertion of Ludovico's *imperium*, supreme power, and the immortality that would result therefrom as with Julius Caesar, Augustus and others.

The existing Birago *Sforziad* fragments in the Uffizi contain, in what was the right hand border, an image of a black and a white baby in the company of the three Theological Virtues; Faith, Hope and Charity. Just above is a roundel portrait of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, and underneath, of Ludovico Il Moro, both of them fathers within a week of one another in January 1493. The imagery, with no question, refers to their respective offspring, Bona and Maximilian (black skin to indicate a child of Ludovico Il Moro). The two mothers attended a mass of thanksgiving at S. M. delle Grazie for their safe recovery from childbirth, on 24 February following. This fact in conjunction with the centrality of the three theological virtues brings to mind 1 Timothy 2: 15: "Notwithstanding [the sin of Eve] she shall be saved in childbearing if they continue in faith and charity (dilectatione) and holiness with sobriety." The posture of suckling at the breast of Charity recalls 1 Corinthians 3: 1 – 2: "And I ... speak into you... as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat," as well as 1 Peter: 2, 2; "As new born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." Furthermore, theologians, e.g. Aquinas, held that the rite of baptism infused infants with divine grace, and the theological virtues. The same tenet was incorporated later in the baptismal liturgy of the Anglican prayer book: "... look upon this child; wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost; that he ... being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity... may come to the land of everlasting life." **10** The verb 'sugo' in one of the Uffizi inscriptions can connote the idea of imbibing with the mother's milk an abstract principle, as in Ciceronian Latin: "cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse," **11** The interpretation here being that the babies absorb *Caritas* via their mother's milk. The second inscription, "Faith, Hope and Charity, our unity never fails," is related to passages in Ephesians and Colossians which praise the uniform spirit, the perfect Christian resulting from the

combination of these three virtues in one person: Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one *hope* of your calling:

One Lord, one faith, one baptism, One GOD and Father of all. And above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. 12

Professor McGrath sees it differently. The fact that the scroll winds around the portrait of Gian Galeazzo suggests to her that he is “one of the pair [sic] in the union.” **13** How this might relate to the contested political situation in 1493 Milan remains unclear.

We differ somewhat, also, regarding Ludovico Sforza’s deployment of a dark skinned African type among his imprese. Professor McGrath has documented the fact that Ludovico’s black hair, dark eyes and swarthy complexion lent itself to the nickname ‘Il Moro’ (Maurus, in Latin). She has also illustrated several miniatures in which he appears as a blackamoor. A problem arose, however, from the fact that the name and image per se could have been, and was misunderstood in unintended fashion as an un-baptised infidel. For instance, one writer in 1499, quoted by McGrath in a footnote, insisted “although Ludovico had himself named ‘Maurus’, it would have been better had he called himself ‘Christianus’.” **14** Furthermore, we find an apparent attempt to Christianize Ludovico’s moors by the addition of attributes relating to a third century military saint whose country of origin, Egypt, and whose name, Maurice, meant that he could, in certain circumstances be depicted as a black African. It probably originated from texts by Isidore of Seville: “It is proper that the Mauri are so called on account of their [skin] color. For the Greeks call black *mauron* (IX, ii, 122). And “Moors have bodies the color of night” (XIX, xxiii, 7).

The idea found its way into the life of St. Maurice in the *Golden Legend*: “Maurice, which in Latin is Mauritius...comes from *mauron*, which in Greek means ‘black’ according to Isidore,” whose etymologies of ethnic names, by his own admission, sometimes came from physical characteristics such as skin color. The author of the *Golden Legend*, Jacopo da Voragine explains St. Maurice’s black complexion by a cryptic, to wit, biblical reference to self sacrifice in battle: “fuit... niger per sui despectionem.” The Ryan, Ripperger English translation for Arno Press reads, a bit misleadingly, “he was black in his contempt of self.”**15** However, in ethical treatments of Humility, this virtue was divided in two parts, *inspection* (self examination) and *despectio* (disregard for self interest). In a sermon on the *Song of Songs*, Saint Bernard referenced the bride as a model of this dual virtue: “O humilitas... et despectio denique superbis, et sponsa Christi ! Nigra est, sed formosa...”

The Biblical text reads in English:

I am black, but comely, ... Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother’s children... made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept.

Bernard continues, “If the swarthy skin repels you, you must still admire the [heavenly] beauty; if you scorn what seems lowly you must look up with esteem to what is sublime.”¹⁶ A black skinned St. Maurice would have symbolized the ideal Christian warrior and his exemplary self-denial in the face of great adversity. Oddly enough, the manuscript of the *Golden Legend* (c.1480), now in the Polish National Library (BOZ 11, pp. 193-4), illustrated by the painter of the four *Sforziads* at issue here, Giovanni Pietro Birago, along with Antonio Mario Sforza, depicts the saint as a white man with long curly blond hair. The alternative image in works of art for Ludovico Sforza could well have been influenced by his own dark skin.

The Sforziad in London displays, along the upper border, an African head, tilted back eyes heavenward, like other late 15th century martyr icons, e.g. St. Sebastian (Perugino, Montegria, Pollaiuolo). Beside him Birago painted a pair of putti, hands joined in an attitude of prayer. Another work, the Sforza Cassone, pictures Ludovico on horseback; behind him on foot is a full length Moor holding a soldier’s shield and lance. ¹⁷ Both of these were also attributes of St. Maurice, as imaged by Giovanni Bellini in the Marcello biography he illustrated. The weapon is the Sacra Lancia, preserved in the imperial treasure in Vienna, with an inscription ordered by Emperor Henry IV confirming it was once owned by St. Maurice. ¹⁸

There is more to say on this subject. For one thing, the *Golden Legend* had a special connection with Milan. Its Dominican author was Provincial of Lombardy from 1267 – 86. Moreover, since he ended with a history of Lombardy, his book was in some cases entitled *Historia Lombardica*. ¹⁹ Rather more significant is that the Il Moro/St. Maurice link defined Ludovico as his father’s son. Elizabeth McGrath adduced a document stating that the boy got his nickname from his dad, Francesco. In turn, the latter had been one of the founding members of The French Chivalric Order of the Crescent, recreated in 1448 by his battle companion Rene d’Anjou. Their sacred patron was our Christian paladin, St. Maurice. ²⁰ As leader of the holy Theban legions, Maurice and his men were slaughtered for refusing imperial commands to bear arms against fellow Christians. The story must have had major resonance in Sforza Milan. Whereas, the war mongering Visconti dukes had engaged in a massive military offensive aimed at territorial expansion in north and central Italy, their successor Duke Francesco Sforza signed a non-aggression pact in 1454-5 with Florence, Naples, Venice and the Vatican, ending eleven years of warfare. The Peace of Lodi established fixed boundaries so to maintain a fragile balance of power. ²¹ This lasted until the French invasion of Italy in 1494. As a result, Francesco, and Ludovico, dedicated ducal resources to peacetime projects such as agricultural development, animal husbandry, the visual arts, and collecting. Such an irenic policy became the basis of Francesco’s posthumous reputation. After the assassination of his vicious and unpopular son Galeazzo Maria (whom one modern writer asserts must have inherited Visconti traits from his mother Bianca Maria), the court poet Antonio Cornazzano wrote in his *Art of Ruling*:

*Oh how many times the good Duke Francesco
Reproached a son who is no longer [alive]
For his crude and violent acts.*

Years later, Machiavelli echoed the thought; “... in Galeazzo [Maria] non era quella virtu che era in Francesco.”²² It was his father with whom Ludovico wanted people to associate him, not his cruel elder brother, by adding attributes of St Maurice to his moors. The *Uffizi Sforziad bas de page* completed this theme of military restraint. It shows Francesco Sforza among the great generals of ancient Rome, a probable allusion to the *Pax Romana* (27 B.C. – 180 A.D.) established by Augustus. The inscription reads “Ludovico Maria Sforza Visconti Duke of Bari Restorer and Imitator of his Father’s Glory.”²³

III. ICONOGRAPHY OF THE WARSAW SFORZIAD

As regards the title page of the Warsaw Sforziad, the right, left and lower borders all refer to the pageants and ceremonies typical of upper class Renaissance weddings. Any individual who ever attended, or read a description of one would have understood the common conventions. The right border alludes to masculine power and strength of character which qualify the bridegroom to deserve the hand of his loved one. The idea comes up in chivalric literature. In his *Art of Courtly Love*, Andreas Capellanus argues

if the lover is one who is fitted to be a warrior, he should see to it that his courage is apparent to everybody, for it detracts very much from the good character of a man if he is timid in a fight.

Later on he says

you cannot get what you are seeking unless you prove by a combat... that you enjoy the love of a more beautiful lady than any man at... court has. [You have to] overcome two mighty knights in double combat.

Thomas Malory in his *Launcelot and Guinevere*, has the queen saying to her champion

And I pray you for my sake to force yourself there [in the Great Tournament], that men may speke you worshyp.

This same theme occurs in Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra* (II, xiv-xv), as well as Sir Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella* (41):

Having this day my horse, my hand, my lance,

Guided so well, that I obtained the prize

Both in the judgement of the English eyes

And of some sent from that sweet enemy, France;

....[It was Stella] which made so fair my race.

As exhibited in actual wedding celebrations tournaments were preceded by woodwose (savage wildmen) pageants, given that such hairy creatures had a reputation for fierce combat. Various images depict them in battle with knights in armor, e.g. a fifteenth century miniature from *The Romance of Alexander* in the British Library, prints by Hans Burgkmaier and Lucas Cranach the Younger, over and above a nasty encounter with Brandimart narrated in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (I, xxiii, 4-18). Their role in nuptial feasts is illustrated in a variety of sources, such as the 1393 *Bal des Ardents* under King Charles VI of France, in which the costumes caught fire, depicted in several fifteenth century manuscripts of Froissart's *Chronicles*. See also a pair of French ivory mirrors c.1400 with tournaments before the Castle of Love showing a woodwose in the melee brandishing a raised club; an illustration from Renee of Anjou's treatise on tournaments where one of the knights has the head and arm of a woodwose as the crest of his helmet; Ms. of Pontus and Sidonia, German c.1475 with image of woodwoses at a wedding banquet; 3 woodwoses at wedding of Prince Arthur of England to Katherine of Spain 1501; 1491 wedding of Ludovico Sforza starring Galeazzo Sanseverino as woodwose and jousting, in costumes designed by Leonardo da Vinci. Accordingly, Birago adds a pair of woodwoses holding Galeazzo's coat of arms, with its biblical military allusion, Gideon's Fleece being wrung out. Gideon was the famed commander of the Israelite army chosen by God to go against the Midianites (Judges 6:37-38). In this capacity he entered chivalric literature and practice. He belongs on some lists of the so-called Nine Worthies, a compilation of the greatest knights ever, three from pagan antiquity, three from Jewish history, and three from the Christian era. For religious reasons, he also came to be associated with the emblem of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece. Wedding jousts and tournaments required the display of the shields of the contestants for purposes of identity, on tents, pavilions, along city streets, etc. Anyone without a recognizable armorial device could not enter the lists. So Birago paints the personal devices of the notable family warriors, the father of the groom, Roberto Sanseverino d'Aragona, his son the groom, and the father of the bride, Ludovico Sforza. In jousts and tournaments, a knight would select his opponent by touching his lance to the man's shield. The pipe and tambour played by a putto there would, in real life, accompany the procession into the jousting field (e.g. Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, II,xx, 12), and would also be employed during the fighting (the Swiss developed a signal corps armed with pipe and tambour to convey instructions in actual battle: stand, advance, retreat, etc. and they taught other countries like Italy the same method). See Clement Janequin song on victory of Francois Ier at Marignano: "Fifes, blow, beat, tabors, beat, tabors/ turn, veer, twirl, blow, play,/beat, tabors, fifes, play, turn, veer" and so on.

The left border illustrates the power of womanly love over war and male domination, and ultimately, her legitimate pleasure in marital sex. It alludes to two famous love stories commonly part of wedding festivities, Venus and Mars, and Orpheus and Eurydice. The former is signified by the unused military gear and broken shield which mean peace on Roman trophies and coins, Pax Augusta; and also in two Alciati emblems, EX BELLO PAX with an empty helmet, and PAX with armor scattered all over the ground. The connection of these with love and marriage is spelled out at the beginning of Matteo Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, first edition 1483, a poem read and discussed at the Sforza court shortly after the wedding of Ludovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este.

*Do not, my lord, think it marvelous to hear tell of Orlando as a lover,
for whoso in the world is most haughty is by Love vanquished and entirely subdued.
Neither the strong arm nor the gallant courage, nor shield or mail or sharp sword
can ever make a defence which, in the end, will not be defeated and taken by Love*

Venus, goddess of love, is referenced by Birago by several pearls in the border, an association based on the fact both were born from the sea. Vasari in his Birth of Venus fresco includes sea horses which offer her huge shells loaded with pearls. In Roman antiquity and the Renaissance pictures of Venus show her with pearl earrings, even necklace and crown. She symbolizes peace after war, as *Victrix* on Roman coins (Plautilla Augusta coin showing Venus with a palm branch and the golden apple accompanied by Cupid), and also as the lover of Mars (see opening of Lucretius *De rerum natura*), plus goddess of spring. The idea is central to the meaning of imagery of the love of Mars and Venus, which display discarded arms and armor scattered about with Cupids playing with them, in both art and literature (Pompeian wall paintings; Trajanic altar from Ostia; Repossianus' *Concubitus Martis et Veneris*; Chaucer *Complaint of Mars*; Lorenzo de Medici *Amori di Venere e Marti*; Mars and Venus paintings by Botticelli, Piero di Cosimo and many others; in addition to the garden of the Medici villa at Olmo a Castello (see D R Wright PhD dissertation) that conveys the idea of the armed rebellion triggered by the 1537 election of young Cosimo I de Medici as head of the Florentine government, signified by a rushing torrent of floodwater which is calmed by Neptune, and then flows into the main garden behind the house governed by Venus/springtime). Finally, this pair of lovers enters wedding literature, orations and epithalamia read aloud at nuptial banquets. In such texts (Anthony d'Elia has found 336 of them for the 15thc. alone) Venus urges that it is morally acceptable for new brides to submit on the wedding night to the sexual desires of the husband, as she did with Mars (see Sappho wedding poem; Statius *Epithalamium* for Stella and Violentilla; the *Romaunt de la rose* canto 63 [because of the institution of marriage Venus deserved little blame when she enamoured Mars]; Giovanni Pontano 3 books of epithalamia [the bride is in Venus' debt]; and Veronese's four wedding pictures where the bride and groom are depicted as the legally united Mars and Venus crowned by Truth (see D Wright LRB 8 May 2014). This honeymoon theme was publicized in other ways. At the lavish 1565 wedding of Grand Duke Francesco de Medici and Giovanna d'Austria the parade float of Venus displayed a vignette of honest and dishonest Pleasure, the latter being crosseyed with deformed feet, the former having a gorgeous form adorned with a chastity belt (*ceston*, *cingulum*) around her waist, later to be removed on the wedding night. Their companion was the *Dea Virginense* invoked at Roman weddings to help free up the virginal zone for the husband. Moreover, during the traditional Renaissance bridal procession that took the girl to her groom's residence, her linen chests (*cassoni*), with paintings like those of Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo, were carried along for all to see. A *cassone* panel in the Walters Art Museum depicts a triumph of Venus, who hands off her chastity belt to a bride. Birago's image of a *lira da braccio* played by a putto was closely associated with Orpheus, perhaps influenced by Ovid's line at the end of his account of that god and his wife Eurydice: "...Deo dilectus ab illo/ Qui citharum nervis et nervis temperat

arcus." A number of Renaissance illustrations of the Metamorphoses depict Orpheus with a lira da braccio (woodcut in 1501 edition of Ovid; an engraving by Benedetto Montagna; images of the poet and his wife by Marcantonio Raimondi, and by Moderno). Petrarch included Orpheus in his Triumph of Love. In 15th century Florence, Marsilio Ficino sang his translations of the Orphic hymns as he played the lira da braccio. The couple's association with marriage is attested by classical references to Eurydice as Orpheus' wife (Virgil Georgics; Ovid Metamorphoses; Boethius Consolation of Philosophy). Boccaccio says that Orpheus so charmed Eurydice with his singing and playing that she agreed to marry him. Thus, they crop up in Renaissance wedding festivities, most notably for the Gonzaga-Este double wedding of 1480, for which Poliziano wrote his Orfeo, and in the wedding of Marie de Medici to Henri IV, for which Jacopo Peri composed his opera Euridice.

As regards the bluish circlet above the musical putti, consultations with Prof. Martin Kemp, as well as Prof. Stephanie Joy Trigg have revealed it is most probably a reference to the English Order of the Garter, an honor which Francesco Sforza received in about 1463. King Edward IV (1461-70 and 1471-83) was at the time seeking Italian allies in his war against France, especially among those princes and condottieri who supported the claim of Ferrante I of Aragon to the crown of Sicily and Naples, as opposed to the French Angevine pretension. These included Francesco Sforza, who sent troops south under his brother Alessandro and his nephew Roberto Sanseverino d'Aragona, father of Galeazzo. Pope Pius II provided an army under Giovanni Malavolta, and Federigo da Montefeltro went as commander of Ferrante's men. Edward used the Garter as a diplomatic tool, investing Ferrante and Sforza in 1463, then Montefeltro in 1474. Written rules required that the blue garter belt with the motto HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE in gold, as a formal device of a specific knight, be shown encircling the person's coat of arms. In the Birago image the absence of Francesco's blazon, the Visconti Viper quartered with the imperial eagle, has caused us some confusion. Why would a book illumination celebrating the marriage of Francesco's granddaughter to his great-nephew Galeazzo Sanseverino lack such an identifying mark? One possible answer is that the object is not really a direct reference to Francesco so much as to Galeazzo the bridegroom, specifically to his birth into a Milanese ruling family twice honored by a connection with the Garter. Through his grandmother Elisa Sforza Francesco's sister, he was related to Francesco and to Francesco's wife Bianca Maria Visconti. In 1368 Violante Visconti was married to Lionel of Antwerp, Earl of Ulster, Duke of Gloucester, third son of the Garter's founder Edward III, thereby a knight in his father's new order. His membership is attested by surviving lists (see Ashmole at # 28), in addition to a stained glass window showing him in armor alongside his Plantagenet escutcheon enclosed in the blue garter. Thus, Francesco was actually the second Milanese affiliated with the Garter. When Sanseverino got engaged to Bianca Sforza in 1489 he added the designation Visconti Sforza to his name. The above hypothesis would make the painted garter's presence in Birago's left border consistent with the clear-cut references to Galeazzo just above it, the helmet and shield both marked with the initials G.Z., as well as the Gideon's Fleece device further down. Consequently, the garter motif would be an integral element in the overall iconography: even a warrior with connections to the renowned military Order of the Garter can be conquered by the love of a woman.

The lower border refers to the religious ceremony of marriage as performed in a church, especially the reasons for such ordained in the Bible (Ephesians 5) and repeated in the nuptial liturgy: the procreation of children to be raised in the Christian faith, imitation of Christ by avoidance of the sin of fornication, and Christian redemption. The central feature is a marble altar, around which are gathered little people genuflecting, hands together in prayer, in recollection of the actual ecclesiastical rite. Its front bears an inscription derived from John 15:16 (Non vos me elegistis: sed ego elegi vos, et posui vos ut eatis, et fructum afferatis: et fructus vester maneat.): "[Eg]o delegi vos ut fructuarii sitis fructus vester maneat." In conjunction with the rabbits in the foreground, this reminds of the child bearing purpose of marriage. The dark figure of Ludovico II Moro standing up above, in place of the priest, points upward to a banderole summarizing several biblical texts on husband-wife relations in regard to the spiritual dimension of marriage, i.e. defusing the charge of amoral fornication. The motto combines I Peter 2:21 (Christus...vobis reliquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius) along with the essential text on this matter, Ephesians 5:1 ff. - with its lengthy disquisition on avoiding the sin of fornication, and an analogy of Christ as husband and purifier of the church with a loving man and his wife (Estote ergo imitatores Dei...). There is a possible allusion to certain medieval theological writings, like Alcuin, Letters, equating Christ with the bridegroom in the Song of Songs (Sponsus inclitus): "Exemplar inclytus imitamini." Over to the left, a pair of little people arm in arm, the female colored brown as the daughter of Ludovico the Moor, referring to the groom Galeazzo Sanseverino and his new bride Bianca Sforza. The speech scroll over the couple conflates two psalm texts on divine redemption, Psalm 119:94 (Tuus sum ego, salvum me fac.) and 30:6 (Redemisti me...Domine Deus Veritatis.) It reads, in the plural, "Redemisti nos memento quod sumus tui Domine."

Since Leonardo was so active as a planner and designer of wedding feste it would make sense for him to have been an advisor for the decoration of the Warsaw Sforziad. Possible Leonardo references would be the woodwoses in conjunction with the arms of Galeazzo Sanseverino, in whose palace he designed the woodwose costumes for the 1491 wedding of their joint patron Ludovico Sforza; the empty military gear, given that Leonardo, owner of Valturio's *De re militari*, discusses the design of armor in his notebooks. He would have had to learn about armor for the Battle of Anghiari and the Francesco Sforza monument, and must have been acquainted with the Sforza/Sanseverino armorer Antonio Missaglia. There is also the Galeazzo coat of arms broken in two (top left), in that Leonardo in his 'Way to Represent a Battle' opts to include "all sorts of armour lying between the feet of the combatants, such as broken shields...". The lira da braccio, was an instrument which Leonardo played well, and taught to his protege Atalante Migliorotti, who was to enact the title role in a 1490 or 91 production of Poliziano's *Orfeo*. In addition, we might cite Leonardo's familiarity with one of the main themes of the Warsaw iconography, and wedding literature in general: "You will see fathers giving up their daughters to the sensuality of men, and rewarding them, and abandoning their former care-- When the girls are married."

The religious content of the lower border could well have been contributed by Birago himself, who was called in contemporary documents "cappellanus et pictore." Accordingly, at the bottom of the right hand border he signs his name with the rank of "presbyter", a synonym

for 'priest'. In addition, the object on which the signature is placed is clearly identifiable as a holy water stoup, or baptismal font. In the church hierarchy, a presbyter ranked just below a bishop.

The latter could administer all seven sacraments of the church, including Confirmation and Ordination, the two forbidden to priests, as explained by Isidore of Seville and Thomas Aquinas. However, they could preside over Baptism, and Holy Matrimony. There are very early records of a presbyter performing a nuptial rite. In the Penitential of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (c. 668-90) it says "In a first marriage the presbyter out to perform mass and bless them both." Birago's holy water stoup may be a reminder both bride and groom have to be baptized, as well as the priestly blessing of the couple by sprinkling them with holy water, or aspersion. This was understood to promote fertility, as illustrated most famously in Act IV, scene 1 of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Prospero gives his daughter's hand to Ferdinand with the warning not to have sex before the nuptials are administered, because without "sweet aspersion" the marriage will be barren and only weeds will grow in the bed.

IV. ISSUES OF PROVENANCE

The further history of the four deluxe *Sforziads* was determined by the French invasion of Milan in 1499-1500, and the consequent looting and confiscation of books and other valuables. The first three (Paris, London, Florence) were taken from the Visconti – Sforza library at Pavia to Louis XII's Chateau at Blois, where Ludovico's confiscated books were seen by a visitor in 1517. The latest (Warsaw) was held by a military occupier in Milan, until its original owner sued for recovery of his possessions and won in a French royal venue (1518). It too went to Blois. The reuse of these books by the French Crown as diplomatic tools has to be seen in the light of the condescending victor's ridicule of Luovico Il Moro's vain bragging about being a superhero like his father and a leader 'Favored by Fortune'.

Louis XII's conquest of Milan was motivated by a claim based on the 1387 marriage to Louis de Valois duc d'Orleans to Valentina Visconti, daughter of the first imperially invested duke, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1395). Valentina was, thus, King Louis XII's grandmother. **33** This historical fact trumped the presumption of Francesco Sforza and heirs, whose title they based on his 1441 union with the daughter of the fourth Visconti duke, Filippo Maria. This in concert with his popular election a duke by the Milanese. As previously stated Francesco never obtained an imperial title, which was only granted in the wake of a huge bribe paid in 1494 by Ludovico Il Moro.

The contents of the Visconti - Sforza library from Pavia are represented by about one hundred volumes in the Bibl. Nat. in Paris. The earliest vellum *Sforziad*, inscribed "de Pavye au roy Loys XII," remained in the royal collection for centuries. Francis I moved his books from Blois to Fontainebleau in 1522 and appointed Guillaume Bude royal librarian. In the

modern era the library was shifted from location to location in Paris until it found a permanent home in the Bibl. Nat., the earliest vellum *Sforziad* becoming: Imp., Velins, 724. **34**

Under Louis XII and his successor Francis I other copies served as a thank-you presents to court grandees who had assisted in ousting Ludovico Il Moro and Sanseverino from Milan.

The copy in the British library was donated as part of the precious collection of Sir Thomas Grenville (1755–1846). From him it can be traced back by means of auction catalogues (Evans) to Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise, last of the Rohan family male heirs in 1787. Charles was a lineal descendant of Pierre de Rohan-Gie (1451–1513), Marechal de France under Charles VIII, and Chef de Conseil du Roi, under Louis XII. He accompanied Louis XII on the 1499 conquest of Milan. Like the King, he had a stake in Milan as a Visconti descendant, being the grandson of the imperial vicar of Milan, Bernabo Visconti (1385–1469), whose daughter Bona had married Guillaume de Rohan de Montauban on 22 August 1411. Bona was, thus, Pierre's maternal grandmother. As a long time widower Pierre remarried in 1503, to Marguerite d'Armagnac, also a Visconti descendant. In 1410, Beatrice d'Armagnac had espoused Charles duc d'Orleans, the son of Valentina Visconti. Pierre de Rohan-Gie's coat of arms displays the Visconti viper, *en abime*. When Louis XII became king, he made the Marechal Gie tutor to the heir apparent Francis of Angouleme, later King Francis I. The son of the marechal, Charles de Rohan (1475-1528), was a French combatant under Francis I at the 1515 victory over the short lived, and highly unpopular duke, Maximilian Sforza (1512 -15). As a reward for his services Francis I rewarded Charles de Rohan with all the "biens italiens de son pere," including, we may presume, London, British Library, G. 7251. **35**

The facts relative to the *Sforziad* in Florence are few, but the main point is physical condition. What remains of the original is but a pile of cuttings of its border illuminations with portraits and allegorical icons. This mutilated state suggests the possibility that the cuttings have to do with the Napoleonic invasion of Italy in 1796, and the fate, at the hands of French soldiers of books and manuscripts looted from the Sistine Chapel and the Vatican library. A great many of these treasures were acquired by a Venetian abbot turned art dealer named Luigi Celotti. In the interests of transporting the miniatures and borders without the extra weight of entire volumes, he excised them, and sold over two hundred in London, in ninety seven lots, at Christies in May 1825. That catalogue exists to this day. This was about the first time ever that precious tomes had been systematically sliced up for gain. Celotti started a vogue for cuttings of Renaissance miniatures, which owners gathered in albums. Later he lived in exile in Florence from 1831-42, and is known to have sold art-works (two Memlings) to the Uffizi, including, possibly, the *Sforziad* fragments. **36**

A goodly number of cuttings in the world's museums came from liturgical books that had once belonged to the Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII. **37** This suggests one possible theory, that the Uffizi *Sforziad* had been a wedding gift from King Francis I to Lorenzo de Medici Duke of Urbino, in thanks for his loyalty, and support of the French reconquest of Milan in 1515. The king's gratitude included an invitation to join the *feste* of the French court

in Pavia and Milan, plus a fief in the south of France, and the hand of a royal cousin, Madeline de la Tour d’Auvergne. Lorenzo’s uncle, Pope Leo X de Medici, was at first inimical to the French, who had taken him prisoner at the Battle of Ravenna, April 1512. Upon Leo’s election in March 1513, Alberti Pio Carpi imperial ambassador to Rome wrote “amicus GALLORUM non erit.”, (he will be no friend of the FRENCH). The new pope supported Maximilian Sforza’s claim to Milan, but at the same time played both sides of the fence. When Louis XII died in January 1515, and the next king, Francis I, announced his intention of repossessing Milan, Leo publicly negotiated with him, while secretly adhering to an anti-French league. Lorenzo, the papal nephew, had his own foreign policy, and accordingly, offered his loyalty and service to Francis. The pope ordered Lorenzo to take an army to Lombardy nominally to assist the anti-French league. **38** As it turned out, Lorenzo hung back, doing nothing to prevent the French victory over the defenders of Maximilian Sforza at Marignano, September 1515. In the event, Leo X accepted the French victory, first, in an agreement reached at Vigevano in October, then in a face to face encounter with Francis I at Bologna, December, 1515.

The Franco-Papal alliance was then cemented in May 1518 by Lorenzo’s marriage to Madeline de la Tour d’Auvergne. The King’s gifts included the horse he had ridden at Marignano, which Lowinsky sees as a living reminder, to both Lorenzo and Pope Leo, of French military supremacy in Italy. The same goes for Francis’ present of the famed Medici Codex of 1518, dedicated to Loranzo, Duke of Urbino (in an acrostic of the Index vol.1). It is a collection of motets by various composers honoring the bride and groom, but also one celebrating Marignano, by Jean Mouton:

Exalt Queen of France! Raise a shout of joy, Mother of Amboise. For thy glorious Francis leads as victor the triumphal procession. He shatters the {Sforza} enemy, puts the troops to flight. No hazards trouble the King. Resplendent with shining radiance he is the first to face all dangers.

This was addressed to Francis’ mother, Louise of Savoy, who governed the country from Amboise during his absence in Italy. Her joy over the victory she expressed in her journal: “c’est mon fils, glorieux et triumpant Cesar, subjugateur des Helevetiens.” **39** We may conclude, therefore, that the gift to Lorenzo of a deluxe copy of the *Sforziad* (Uffizi fragments), once dedicated to Gian Galeazzo Sforza and his uncle Ludovico, would have had the same political caveat, to Lorenzo, whom Francis suspected of coveting both Ferrara, and also “my state in Italy [Milan]...if he had any brains he would content himself with Urbino. I don’t know how he intends to hold even that, and he should remember that he is but a merchant.” And yet, Lorenzo had his uses, as royal intermediary with Leo X, particularly regarding Vatican backing for the king’s ambition to become Holy Roman Emperor, in light of the sixty year old Maximilian’s ongoing search for a successor. When Lorenzo died on 4 May 1519, just a week after his wife, the Medici Codex 1518 passed to his closest friend, and brother-in-law, Filippo Strozzi, who had attended the wedding. **40** The original of the Uffizi *Sforziad* might have gone to the next logical heir, Lorenzo’s uncle Pope Leo X, as a reminder that Milan was off the table in the international *jeu de cartes*.

The researches of Elisabeth Pellegrin have demonstrated that the Warsaw, fourth, copy did not come from the Pavia library. Polish and other scholars have reasoned, from its present location, plus the presence of book stamps of the prominent noble family of Zamoyski, and an inscription in an eighteenth century hand indicating ownership by the great sixteenth century statesman Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), founder of the city of Zamosc, that the book once belonged to him. He did serve as secretary to King Sigismund II Augustus from 1566, and this has suggested the hypothesis that the king received it from his mother, Queen Bona Sforza, said to have brought it from Italy in 1518 when she married King Sigismund I Jagiellon. **41** There are several problems with this reconstruction of provenance. For one thing, the Sforziad did not belong to Bona, but rather to its original dedicatee Galeazzo Sanseverino. At the time of her wedding she had been living in Bari, Italy with her exiled mother, Isabella of Aragon, while Sanseverino had given up his Sforza allegiance and entered the service of the French invaders of Milan. In the year 1518, he lived at the Chateau of Blois as Grand Equerry to King Francis I, **42** who in 1515 had dethroned the ill-fated Sforza ruler of Milan, Maximilian, re-establishing French domination. As the two had differing political sympathies, it makes little sense to suppose Galeazzo, out of mere generosity, would have offered his personal treasure to a hostile party. Second, Queen Bona had a deeply dysfunctional relationship with her son, especially after he became king in 1548. The story, in a nutshell, had to do with differing attitudes to the inroads of Protestantism in Catholic Poland. King Sigismund I, supported by his Italian wife, did what they could to prevent the spread of Protestant worship, to include beheadings and exile of heretics. *Ex contra*, their son Sigismund II, although nominally Catholic throughout his reign, had strong ties of sympathy with Lithuanian Calvinists such as the Radziwill family, e.g. the Black Prince Nikolai, whom he appointed Grand Chancellor of Lithuania in 1550, and Black's cousin Barbara Radziwill, with whom Sigismund had an affair during his first marriage, then wed secretly in 1547 (she died of cancer in 1551). This union with a woman who was not only Lithuanian, but worse, a Calvinist provoked a rift between Bona and Sigismund II. When he became king, his mother moved from Krakow to Masovia, then for her last year of life, Bari Italy, a fief disputed with the son, as well as Spain. Owing to the royal ambivalence, a conservative Romanist bishop, Stanislaus Hosius, in publishing the *Christian Confession of the Catholic Faith* as determined at the 1551 Synod of Petrikow commissioned a woodcut portrait of Sigismund II Augustus for the book, with an inscription warning him to follow the religious policies of his parents or risk a religious civil war that might cost him the throne. The top border of the portrait displays the heraldic rider of Lithuania, the eagle of Poland, and the Sforza – Visconti viper, **43** the latter common in the works for Bona (e.g. *Hours of Bona Sforza*, Bodleian library, MS. Douce 40, coin of Bona dated 1546). Sigismund II, at least in all cases of portraits, tapestries and coins I have been able to find, avoided the introduction of the Sforza – Visconti blazon into his heraldry, limiting himself to the usual Jagiellonian devices. Such indifference leads to the speculation that his mother's *Sforziad* would have held little interest for him.

By contrast, his sister, Anna Jagiellon had a life long devotion to her mother and the Sforza heritage. For instance, she lived at home with Bona as a dutiful daughter for thirty three years. After she became queen in 1575, Anna evinced an enduring loyalty by the continued use of

the Sforza – Visconti viper. It appeared *en abime*, the place for the arms of the sitter's mother, on her blason in a portrait by Marcin Kober. In 1589, she granted a city charter to Pruzhany, once belonging to her mother, along with a coat of arms consisting of a blue Visconti viper. For the hundredth anniversary of her mother's birth, Anna commissioned an elaborate tomb, placed in S. Nicola di Bari. In another instance, the tomb she ordered for her late husband, the elected King Stefan Batory, displayed the Batory emblem, three dragon's teeth, across the base. At the very top she insisted on her queenly arms, the Lithianian rider, the Polish eagle, and the Milanese viper. **44** Also, it is noteworthy that Jan Zamoyski was extremely close to Stefan Batory, who appointed him to major government posts, supported Jan's new city of Zamosc in every way possible, and accepted him into the royal family with the hand of his niece Gryzelda Batorowna, in 1583. **45** An ideal occasion, this, for the passage of the Polish *Sforziad* into Zamoyski possession.

A somewhat different, but still hypothetical, provenance can be constructed based on the following facts.

1) The three earliest illuminated *Sforziads* were stolen during the French invasion of Milan (1499–1500), along with the Visconti – Sforza library at Pavia, and transported to the Royal chateau of Louis XII at Blois, under the direction of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, commander of the enemy army.

2) Trivulzio was a mortal enemy of Galeazzo Sanseverino, who had replaced him in the favor of Ludovico Sforza as military commander, and courtier. Jealousy made Trivulzio a turncoat, and ultimately general of the French occupying forces in the city. Ludovico Sforza, along with Sanseverino were taken prisoners of the French. **46** As a reward Louis XII gave Sanseverino's possessions to Trivulzio: Castelmuvovo di Tortona, and Vigevano, with its newly fortified Palazzo Sanseverino.

3) In the event, Sanseverino gained release through the intervention of friends and, after several years, entered the service of the French crown, while his former patron, Ludovico Sforza languished in a French prison, and died there in 1508. By 1518, Trivulzio, had sunk into disgrace because of mismanagement of Milanese affairs, and upon his return to France, in 1518, seeking the mercy of the king, was successfully sued by Sanseverino for the recovery of his Italian possessions. **47**

4) In the two decades after 1500, the symbolic political significance of the *Sforziad* text and iconography had reversed itself dramatically. The idea that Ludovico Sforza was invincible and favored by fortune had become an international joke, given the French seizure of the duchy, his ignominious end, and his son's fall from power. He and his preposterous claims to superiority were satirized mercilessly. The poet Jean d'Auton called him "le pauvre Seigneur, captif de main hostile et inimique." As Fausto Adrelino said it: "Ille ego sum Maurus, franco qui captus ab hoste, Exemplum instabilis non levo sortis eo j." **48** The most devastating was a series of woodcuts, French and German political cartoons in effect, which show all the European powers, including Pope Leo X, Louis XII, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, playing a game of cards, from which Ludovico II Moro is excluded. He kneels alone on the floor playing solitaire in the lower right, sporting the family viper on his back. His assigned motto reads:

Le duc de Milan le more

*Les Faulces cartes ie ramasse
Et en ung monceau les entasse
Car se ce n'est faulcete
Toujours je serais excepte
Du bon ieu sans y avoir place.*

The French version appends a moral about how GOD leaves worldly affairs in the hands of fortune and how deceit and betrayal cause some to lose the game (ex contra, the King of France has a straight flush). **49** Given this, books such as the Sforzaid became a reminder of the French victory in Lombardy. Antonio de Beatis, visiting the library at Blois in 1517 and having spotted volumes with signs of Il Moro's ownership, remarks, they "formerly belonged...to Duke Ludovico Sforza...[but were] won during the invasion of the Duchy of Milan." **50**

As we have seen previously, several vellum copies of the Italian *Sforziad* went to men directly involved in the French conquest. In one case, another of those on the winning side, Geoffroy Carles, took the step of defacing Ludovico Sforza's copy of *On Kingship* by Thomas Aquinas, in the interest of a *damnatio memoriae*. The principal page showed a vertical row of bust portraits, the top two of Visconti dukes of Milan, the bottom two originally depicted Ludovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este. Carles had the latter over-painted with the faces of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. **51**

Given the much altered political climate and the denigration of Ludovico Il Moro's pro-Sforza propaganda, an alternative theory concerning the early provenance of the Warsaw Sforziad would have to take into account the French crown's hegemony in Northern Italy from 1500 till 1524, as well as Franco-Polish diplomacy circa 1518. This involves the hypothesis that from 1500 to 1518, the book belonged to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, commander of the French army of occupation, and just briefly ruler of Milan. Resident there, he set about the restoration of the war-damaged family palazzo in via Rugabella (torn down in the 1920's) and became an art patron, of such noted pieces as the Trivulzio tapestries of the Twelve Months (woven at Vigevano). **52** He also commenced collecting for the Biblioteca Trivulziana, the core volumes of which came from the libraries of Trivulzio relatives, agents of the Sforza dukes, and rectors of the nearby Ospedale Maggoire: Gaspare, Carlo and Ranieri Trivulzio. After Carlo's death in 1496, his books were inventoried on 8 April 1497, and contained the following:

Item: *Sforziados latino*

Item: *Sforziados Vulgare* [a Simonetta compendium in Italian made c.1479 for Ludovico =Trivulziano, Cod. 1375]

Omissis.

Item: *Sforziados*

This also included other purely personal possessions such as Maximilian Sforza's school book (Triv, Cod. 2167) and his *Libro del Jesus* (Triv, Cod. 2163). The inventory of Gian Giacomo's brother Ranieri (d. 1498) listed yet another: *Sforziade*. **53**

Recovered at law in 1518, Sanseverino's *Sforziad* would in the present theory of events, has become diplomatic bait for the Polish royals. At this time, King Francis I strongly desired from Sigismund I a strong Franco-Polish alliance against the Turks in accord with the 1517 resolutions of the Fifth Lateran Council (which among other things had brought France into a rapprochement with the Vatican, estranged since the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438). Even more, he was seeking the support of Sigismund in the upcoming election of the Holy Roman Emperor, given that the aged Maximilian I was bribing electors, with borrowed Fugger funds, to favor his grandson, don Carlos (Charles V). A present of the Warsaw *Sforziad* would have helped remind Bona of French control over the Duchy of Milan. Not only did she favor a French alliance, but later got her wish for a dynastic restoration, at least for a few brief years, 1521-24 (then again 1529-35). King Francis passed over the already deposed Maximilian Sforza (whose conduct all disdained as "si petite et si miserable que rien plus"), in favor of Ludovico's second son Francesco II, a man of "a very different nature from his brother being, indeed, a nobleman of high cultivation, very prudent and of firm character, " according to Antonio De Beatis. **54**

One potential indicator of Polish royal ownership of the said *Sforziad* from approximately 1518 onward is the parallelism of political rhetoric with that of the *De Sigismundi Regis Temporibus* (1521) by Jodocus Ludovicus Decius (Jost Ludwig Dietz). An employee of the Kracow branch of the Fugger bank, Sigismund's economic advisor and royal secretary, Decius was involved in the planning of Bona's wedding, and the negotiations in Italy regarding her dowry. He also penned a description of the 1518 royal nuptials. His history of Sigismund's early reign is the first Polish account of contemporary events, and, this may have been modeled on Simonetta's *Sforziad*. A woodcut portrait of Queen Bona at the beginning brings up an idea all important in the content of Landino's introduction to the *Sforziads* dedicated to Ludovico il Moro, to wit, Aristotle's 'Like father, like son' cliché: nobles produce nobles, slaves produce slaves. Cristoforo Landino addressed Il Moro thus: "tanto figliuolo da tanto padre nato" and "Lodovico Sphorza vero imitatore delle paterne virtu." Decius' poetic flattery observed the same of Bona: "[Here see Queen Bona] whose paternal seed from the Sforza genealogical tree / Has grown up [as] maternal in royals of Italian origin," and "a plant sown in good (*bono*) soil grows up fortune's darling (*felix*)." The poet goes on to claim that the Sforza gene of greatness and honor had now passed on to the infant crown prince of Poland, indulging in a play on the name of the youngster. 'Augustus' in Latin means 'worthy of respect'. Decius deploys the word for the boy's name, and as an adjective with regard to his mother:

...august mother giving birth to Augustus, born of August seed, after an august augury. **55**

A similar instance of influence, both in terms of content and visual iconography is a Polish coin of 1546, issued in the name of the Queen. **56** Briefly, it parallels Bona's achievements

with those of her grandfather Francesco Sforza, namely the establishment of peace after a period of unceasing warfare. One key is the date, which is nearly a century after the death of the last Visconti ruler of Milan, opening the way for the rise of Francesco Sforza. Whereas the Visconti engaged in constant wars of aggression in North and Central Italy, Francesco brought a reign of peace, initiated by the treaty of Lodi (1454), a non-aggression pact with Florence and Naples. Bona came to be celebrated for her introduction of an essentially peaceable activity, farming. She was responsible for the importation of previously unknown farm vegetables from Italy, the enriching of the royal coffers via the purchase of great estates in Lithuania, where she introduced the three field system with crop rotation, thereby greatly increasing agricultural productivity. This stood in contrast to the ancient inhabitants of the realm, the barbaric, warlike Sarmatians. Isidore of Seville gives this etymology (IX, ii, 93): “It is held that they are called ‘Sarmatae’ because of their study of offensive weapons (*arma*).” In a poem of 1557, Bona’s son Sigismond II Augustus is warned not to bring wars of religion into the now peaceful “Sarmatian realm”, lest he lose his throne. **57** The Francesco/Bona Sforza identity is intimated by the inscription on the coin’s obverse, in the Italian tongue where the title “Regina Polonese” rhymes with ‘Duca Milanese’. That same inscription starts with the phrase ”iustissima eta’ 1546 Bona Sfortia...,” a reference to Virgil’s second *Georgic* (II, 458 ff.), where he praises

*the farmers, happy beyond measure, could they just know their
blessings. For them, far from the clash of arms, iustissima Earth,
unbidden, pours forth from her soil an easy subsistence....as she
departed from the earth iustitia left [among them] the last imprint of her
feet. 58*

It is well known to historians that both Francesco Sforza and his son Ludovico had actively promoted agricultural production, along with cattle and horse breeding.

The reverse of Bona’s coin, with a pair of nude woodwoses framing the Sfoza-Visconti viper while supporting the Polish royal crown, not only mimics the heraldic employment of hairy wild-men by Birago in the Warsaw *Sforziad* border with the Sanseverino blason, but also furthers the notion of farming as a peaceable, virtuous life style. In previous lore, woodwoses were presented as brutal, antisocial belligerents. As a result of their capabilities in armed conflict, they came to be associated with knightly combat, in tournaments and actual warfare. They appeared in the form of costumed participants in tournaments pageants, such as the Bal des Ardents of the French king Charles VI in 1393, or the similar entertainment staged by Leonardo de Vinci in the residence of Galeazzo Sanseverino in 1491. **59** Still more common was the use of *uomini selvaggi* as attendants of noble coats of arms. But by the sixteenth century, their militant nature and bestial appearance had altered significantly. They came to signify the idea of the Noble Savage, living an uncorrupted life removed from the vice of cities and aristocratic courts. They also shed their animal fur, in favor of a classicizing nude aspect. Documents representative of the change include Hans Sachs (1494-1576) *The Lament of the Wild Man of the Forest over the Perfidious World* (1530), and Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), *Monstrorum Historia* (various seventeenth century editions). The

latter reported that wild women sometime gave birth to white, hairless babies so woodwoses needed not be exclusively hirsute. It was even held that because of their natural innocence and virtue they made better knights than mere humans. **60**

In tapestries, miniatures and other sixteenth century art, wild people appeared as paragons of chivalry, defending and honoring the weak and innocent, wives and children, and feeding the hungry by hunting, and plowing the fields. The pair on the 1546 coin support the Polish crown, a metaphor for another leitmotif of Bona's Sforziad: Sforza scions were entitled to *imperium*, owing to inherited princely virtues: in Bona's case, her embrace of justice, and promotion of peacetime pursuits like farming. This idea is completed by the inscription, derived from a type of document known as a '*confirmatio*', by which a supreme authority, the holy Roman emperor or pope, officially ratified a person's assumption of a dignity or of land, to make it legal. The opening and closing formulae of several Carolingian imperial *confirmationes* (preserved in the Chartulary of Saint-Marcelles-Chalon) recur, abbreviated, around the rim of the coin. I quote in the following, with the wording of 1546 in capital letters:

in nomini Domini Dei eterni et
SALVATORIS NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI
NAME (substituted by SFORZA ARMS)...IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (Royal Crown of
Poland).....
YEAR (1546) ANNO VERO regni DOMINI imperatoris 61

It appears possible that the issuance of this coin had to do with approval of the Wallach agrarian reforms (1547) Bona first introduced on the family estate of Liubava.

As Queen of Poland, Bona Sforza had risen to a position of power that allowed her to ignore the earlier French ridicule of her family, and instead, to capitalize on the propaganda developed in her copy of the Simonetta biography of her great grandfather. On her death (November 1557), in the present model of provenance, this precious tome would have passed on to the loyal child whose pride in her Italian heritage continued to be expressed publicly in the language of heraldry, Anna Jagiellon. In this case, the next relevant date would be 1583 on the occasion of Jan Zamoyski's marriage into the Polish royal family, thus perpetuating the original purpose of this particular *Sforziad*, as a wedding gift to a new male in-law.

APPENDIX: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

a) the VISCONTI FAMILY ruled Milan almost continuously from 1329 to 1447. In 1395, Gian Galeazzo was formally invested with the duchy of Milan by the Emperor, Wenceslaus of Luxembourg. The last of the Visconti dukes Filippo Maria died in August 1447, with no male heir.

b) for three years, Milan was ruled as a Republic by a council of twenty four captains and defenders of liberty. Finally, after a period of famine and rioting, the Milanese accepted Francesco Sforza as their duke. (8 March 1450)

c) Francesco Sforza was a popular military leader employed on and off by Filippo Maria Visconti, whose daughter Bianca Maria, he married at Cromona in October 1441. In 1450, he took Milan by military force, and was acclaimed duke by popular consensus. Although other states recognized his new title, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III of Hapsburg refused, to his dying day (19 August 1493), to legally invest the Sforza with the Duchy of Milan.

d) Francesco was succeeded on his death, in March 1466, by his first son Galeazzo Maria, a cruel blood thirsty man, later assassinated in 1476. The latter's son and heir with wife Bona of Savoy, Gian Galeazzo (1469-94) was a sickly weakling who left public affairs in the hands of regents, first his mother Bona, then his paternal uncle Lodovico. With his wife Isabella of Aragon, Gian Galeazzo produced three children, Francesco (known as Il Duchetto), Bona, and Ippolita. Bona eventually married the King of Poland.

e) Ludovico Sforza, known as Il Moro owing to his dark complexion, was the fourth son of Francesco Sforza. On the death of his elder brother Galeazzo Maria in 1476, Ludovico engaged in a power struggle with his sister-in-law Bona of Savoy over the regency for his nephew, Gian Galeazzo, only seven years old. Victorious in 1480, he ruled Milan as a regent for fourteen years, then with the advent of a new emperor he received the investiture of the duchy in 1494. He and his wife Beatrice d'Este two had children, Maximilian and Francesco Maria. He also had an illegitimate daughter Bianca, whom he married to his favorite, Galeazzo Sanseverino, captain general of his army, in 1496. Bianca died several months after her wedding. She is the subject of Leonardo da Vinci's portrait.

f) In 1499, the French king, Louis XII invaded and took Milan, Ludovico and Sanseverino were arrested, and the former died in a French prison in 1508. Sanseverino, on the other hand, released after a few months, entered the service of the French crown as a military commander, and finally as royal equerry to King Francis I at the Chateau of Blois. He joined the French contingent to Henry VIII's Field of the Cloth of Gold, and died at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.

FOOT NOTES

My sincere thanks to Martin Kemp for accepting this modest contribution in support of his scholarship. Thanks also for Pascal Cotte and Kasia Wozniak for a very fruitful exchange of ideas and information. I appreciate the many suggestions of Elizabeth McGrath, and the assistance of Barbara Dzierzanowska of the Polish National Library.

- 1) Essential historical background to this present discussion can be found in the Appendix.
- 2) RICHARDSON, Brian. *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 64.

3) IANZITI, Gary. "A Humanist Historian and His Documents: Giovanni Simonetta, Secretary to the Sforzas," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4, Winter, 1981, pp 491-516.

4) Lorenzo de MEDICI, *Tutte le opere, I , scritti giocosi* , Rizzoli, Milan, 1958, p. 165 (Novella di Giacompo).

5) AZZOLINI, Monica. "Reading Health in the Stars: Politics and Medical Astrology in Renaissance Milan," in Guenther Oestmann, H. Darrel Rutlein, Kocku von Stuckrad eds., *Horoscopes and Public Spheres*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2005, p. 199. ANDREWS, Marian. (a.k.a. Christopher Hare), *Isabella of Milan, Princess D'Aragona and Wife of Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza*, Charles Scribner's Sons(University of Michigan Libraries reprint, n.d.) pp. 62-3 and 67. Gian Galeazzo hired his own astrologer, Konrad Trust of Zurich to do another horoscope but never paid for it. (Madrid, Bibl. Nat.Aa 175).

6) RICHARDSON, op. cit. n.2 above, p.64

Del Pozzo's dedication to Ludovico contains the phrase "...questi commentarii sobto [sic] e tuoi auspicii et auctorita venissino in luce e furono publicati."

7) MALAGUZZI VALERI , Francesco, *LaCorte di Ludovico Il Moro, gli artisti Lombardi*, U. Hoepli, Milan, 1917,pp. 157-73.

HORODYSKI, Bogdan, "Birago, miniaturist des Sforza," *Scriptorium, International review of manuscript studies*, x.2, 1956, triage a part.

EVANS, Mark L., "New Light on the Sforziada Frontispieces of Giovan Pietro Birago," *British Library Journal*, XIII, 1987, pp. 232-47.

MULAS,P.I., "Auctore Mauro filio, Il programma iconografico dei frontispizi miniati dei Commentarii di Giovanni Simonetta," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, I, 1996, pp. 9-34.

McGRATH, Elizabeth, "Ludivico Il Moro and his Moors," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 65 (2002), pp 67-94, with black and white illustrations. Available on the internet.

See also *More Precious than Gold. Treasures of the Polish National Library*, ed.

Halina Tchorzewska-Kabata with Maciej Dabrowski , Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2000, #23. Online version, 2003.

8) GUILLAUME de SAINT-PATHUS, *Les Miracles de St. Louis*, Percival Bradshaw, ed. E-book 2010, *passim*.

9) As to Beatrice d'Este's gown with an embroidery of the twin lighthouses at the entrance to the harbour of Genoa, see M. ANDREWS, op. cit. n.5 above, pp.133 and 298. See also J. J. G. ALEXANDER, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*, George Braziller, New York, 1977, p. 103. The Roman triumphal motif of a victory/angel holding up a roundel bust portrait head occurs on the fragment of a small arch of Galerius in Salonika, a statuette of Victory in Augst, and a tomb painting from Palmyra. The motif was adopted in Early Christian art for busts of Christ, e.g. mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna. The protecting angel occurs on a coin of Valentinian I

and Valens in Rome. See Ranuccio BIANCHI BANDINEILLI, *Rome, The Late Empire: Roman Art A.D. 200-400*, Braziller, New York, pp. 305, 386 and 33.

10) See, for example, AQUINAS, *Summa Theologica*, 3q. 69, a.6, contra: “novitas vitae est per gratiam et virtutes [fides et caritas]. Ergo pueri consequuntur in baptismo gratiam et virtutes.” Also, *The Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, m.d., “The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants: that N. may be received into the ark of Christ’s Church: and being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity” and have everlasting life, pp. 323-4.

11) CICERO, *Tusculan disputations*, III, I, 2.

12) Ephesians, 4:3 and Colossians 3:14-15.

13) McGRATH, Elizabeth, private communications.

14) See McGRATH, op.cit, n. 7 above, passim and n. 16.

15) JACOPO da VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend*, G. Ryan, and H. Ripperger, Arno Press, New York, 1969, p. 566. Latin text from *Legenda aurea* in Polish National Library BOZ 11, p. 193, kindly communicated to me by Barbara Dzierzanowska, acting head of the manuscript department.

16) *Song of Songs*, 1: 5-6, Latin quote from St. Bernard’s sermons on the *Song of Songs* (#27:14) in Henri De Lubac *Theology in History*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1996, p. 210, n.19. English version of all these sermons are available on line.

17) McGRATH, op. cit. n. 7 above, p. 76, fig. 7: and p. 70, fig. 76.

18) Giovanni Bellini illustration in J.J.G. ALEXANDER, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*, George Braziller, New York, 1977, p.103. A discussion and image of Sacra Lancia available on line at Wikipedia.

19) Jacopo da VORAGINE, ed. cit. n. 13 above pp. v and 746-69.

20) BOULTON d’ARCY, Jonathan Dacre, *The Knights of the Crown: the monarchical orders of knighthood in late medieval Europe, 1325- 1520*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, St. Martin’s Press Inc., New York, 1987, p. 611, Appendix V, 8: “The Order of the Crescent: Anjou-Lorraine—Provence, 1448,” See also: Margaret L. KING, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1994, pp. 122-3.

21) BARON, Hans, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1966, pp. 399 – 400.

22) Cornazzano quoted in Francesco SIMONETTA, *The Montefeltro Conspiracy: a Renaissance Mystery Decoded*, Doubleday, New York, London, Ontario, Sydney, Auckland, 2008, p. 9. See also Niccolò MACHIAVELLI, *Istorie Fiorentine*, (VII, xii) , Feltrinelli Editore, Milan, 1962, p. 471.

23) On the *Pax Romana*, see Edward GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, I, The Modern Library: N.Y. , n.d., pp. 38 and 50 – 51.

I am grateful to Elizabeth McGrath for her transcription and translation on the Latin phrase in the lower right corner of the Uffizi *Sforziad* illumination: “LOD [OVICUS] MA[RIA] SF[ORTIA] VIC [ECOMES] DUX BARRHI PATERNE LAUDIS RESTAURATOR ET IMITATOR.”

24) ESTEP STEPHENSON, Katherine, “Weddings in Renaissance Italy,” in *Tournaments Illustrated*, Autumn 2000, Issue 136 ASXXXV. Available online with useful bibliography.

25) AQUINAS, Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. Q.42, 2c for both quotes. For text of nuptial mass see *The Liber Usualis*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes, Desclee Company, Tournai and New York, 1959, pp. 1288 and 1291.

26) See Catherine Kovesi KILLERBY, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200 – 1500*, N.Y., Oxford, Oxford U. P. 2002. Ettore VERGA, “Le leggi sumtuarie milanesi,” *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. 5, XVI (1895) , p. 210.

Diane Owen HUGHES, “Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy,” in Paula Findlen ed., *The Italian Renaissance: The Essential Readings*, Malden Mass., Blackwell, 2002, especially pp. 130, 136, 144-5.

27) On greyhounds in large game hunting see EDWARD, SECOND DUKE OF YORK, *The Master of the Game*, William A. and F. Baillie-Grohman eds, Duffield and Company, New York, 1909, pp. 113-15 and 216-218. See also John CUMMINS, *The Hound and the Hawk, The Art of Medieval Hunting*, Phoenix Press, London, 2001, p.13 and *passim*.

28) D’ELIA, Anthony F., *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., London, 2004, pp. 65 and 72.

29) VARNER, Gary R., *Creatures in the Mist: Wildmen and Spirit Beings around the World...*Algora Publishing, Riverside, New York, Chapter 7, *passim*. See also Leonardo da VINCI, *Notebooks*, ed. Edward MacCurdy, George Braziller, New York, 1954, p. 1126.

30) On Gideon’s Fleece, see Judges 6: 37-8.

31) GNIGNERA, Elisabetta, *I Soperchi Ornamenti: Copricapi e acconciature femminili nell’ Italia dell Quattrocento*, Protagon editori, Siena, 2010, pp. 168 – 179.

32) LANDINO, Cristoforo, *Sforziad* preface, quoted from Polish National Library ms. Inc. F. 1378. For opposition *paragone* comments see LEONARDO da VINCI, *The Notebooks*, I, J.P.Richter ed., Dover Inc., New York, 1970, pp. 327-8.

33) MAYER, C.- A. and D. BENTLEY-CRANCH, *Florimond Robertet (? – 1527) Homme d'Etat Francais*, Honore Champion Editeur, Paris, 1994, p. 180 and n. 16.

34) PELLEGRIN, Elisabeth, *La Bibliotheque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XVe siecle*, CNRS edition, 1955, pp. 64 and 70, and Inventory, pp. 396 –7.

Arthur TILLEY, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge, 1918, p. 148.

35) PELLEGRIN, op. cit n. 34 above, pp.65 and 365. Information on Pierre de Rohan-Gie available online from Wikipedia.

36) Biographical detail on Luigi Celotti available online.

37) The entry in the British Library Catalogue Add. 60630, cuttings from a missal of Leo X, gives a list of other museums owning similar Medici papal fragments. The catalogue of the Morgan Library for the exhibition *Pages of Gold: Medieval Miniatures from the Morgan, 19 June to 13 Sept. 2009* illustrates a number of cuttings from the 1825 Celotti sale.

38) Alberto PIO CARPI quote in *Lettres du roy Louis XII depuis 1504 jusques et compris 1514*, Vol IV, Chez Francois Foppens, Brussels, 1712, p. 79 (anastatic reprint). On the double-dealing of the Medici pope Leo X, his nephew Lorenzo's pro-French stance, and later role in Francis I's victory over the Swiss troops defending Maximilian Sforza, see John M. NAJEMY's distinguished *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, Blackwell, 2008, pp. 430-33.

39) On the benefits to Lorenzo Duke of Urbino for his support of Francis I, see Edward E. LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex of 1518, A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino: Historical Introduction and Commentary*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, pp. 29 and 72 and pl. I

40) LOWINSKY, op. cit. n. 39 above, pp. 33 and 20-21.

41) The inscription, in a definite eighteenth century hand, reads, Illu. imi Joannis in Zamosce ([Book] of the most illustrious Jan [Zamoyski] in Zamosc)

The idea that the Warsaw copy was brought to Poland by Bona Sforza was presented as a certainty by HORODYSKI in 1956. However, the catalogue of the *More Precious than Gold* exhibition (2000) at the Polish National Library notes that this has never been documented. See note 7 above for both references.

42) DE BEATIS, Antonio, *The Travel Journal...1517-1518*, J. R. Hale and J.M.A. Lindon trs., The Hakluyt Society, London, 1979, p. 135. n. 3.

43) HOSIUS, Stanislaus, *The Christian Confession of the Catholic Faith...*, Mainz, 1557: poem is below woodcut portrait of Sigismund. Available online. Google 'Sigismund II Augustus Portraits'.

44) On Anna Jagiellon see Wikipedia article online. For Pruzhany, Google 'Pruzhany'. Google: 'Tomb of Stefan Batory' and click on 'A Morbid Fascination: Tomb of Stefan Batory, King of Poland', Wawel Cathedral, Krakow.

45) Information on Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605) available on line in Wikipedia biography.

46) The Trivulzio were old Milanese nobility with a sworn fidelity to the Sforza dukes. Their family church was the nearby San Nazaro Maggiore. The clan also shared responsibilities in the administration of the neighboring Ospedale Maggiore. Gian Giacomo's disaffection stemmed from Ludovico Il Moro's preference for Sanseverino as leader of the Milanese armed forces, in the mid 1480's, which led the older man to seek employment in Naples, then Rome, and ultimately under Louis XII of France.

47) See William E. SUIDA, "Documents relating to the Trivulzio Tapestries, in *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, vol. 27, nos. 1-2, 1943, pp. 3-5.

48) CARTWRIGHT, Julia. *Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan 1475-1497*, J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London and E.P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1910, pp. 369-70.

49) These Broadsides can be found online by going to Google, and entering 'Pope Leo X eyeglasses tarot'.

50) DE BEATIS, Antonio, op.cit.n 42 above, p. 133.

51) On Geoffroy Carles and Ludovico Sforza's *De regno*, see L. DELISLE Notice Historique sur la bibliotheque du Cardinal D'Amboise," *Bulletin de la Societe' de l'histoire de France*; ser. 2, III, 1861-62, pp. 107-8. See also Elisabeth PELLEGRIN, "Les manuscrits de Geoffroy Carles President du Parlement de Dauphine' et du senat de Milan," in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in honore di Tammaro de Marinis*, Vol. III, 1964, pp. 309-327.

52) SUIDA, loc. cit., n. 28 above.

53) MOTTA, Emilio, *Libri di casa Trivulzio nel secolo XV con notizie di altre librerie Milanesi del Trecento e del Quattrocento*, C. Granchi di A. Vismara, Como, 1890, pp. 10,12,13,14,15.

54) *Lettres du roy Loys XII*, vol IV, note 38, above, p. 21. Cf. DE BEATIS, op. cit. n. 42 above, p. 60.

55) DECIUS, Jodocus Ludovicus, *De Sigismundi Regis temporibus*, Krakow, 1901, p. 9.

56) Coin available online. Google 'Queen Bona Sforza 1546 coin' and click on Bona Maria Sforza (kleio, org).

57) For the poem of 1557 about Sigismund II Augustus, see HOSIUS, loc. cit., n. 24 above.

58) VIRGIL, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid*, H. R. Fairclough tr., revised by G.P. Goold (Loeb Classical Library, vol. I), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, p. 169.

59) On Charles VI Bal des Ardents of 1393, Google 'Bal des Ardents'. It was so called because the wild men costumes caught fire. As to Leonardo's woodwose costumes see LEONARDO DA VINCI, *The Notebooks*, E. MacCurdy tr., George Braziller, 1954, p. 1126. Compare also Edmund SPENSER, *The Fairie Queen*, IV, iv, 35.

60) The sixteenth century re-interpretation of woodwoses is discussed in Fredrick Taylor NASH, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Chap. 3. "The Romantic Wilderness," Yale University Press (reprint), New Haven, 1973, pp. 47-8. See also the online thesis of Ryan FRITSCH, *Taming the Beast Within: Society, Philosophy and the Evolving Image of the Wild Man in the Northern Renaissance*; University of Victoria, 2000.

61) Saint-Marcel-les-Chalons, *Chartulary* (online), #2, pp. 20 and 21. #4, pp. 26 and 27.