THE SURVIVAL
OF THE PAGAN GODS

The Mythological Tradition and Its Place

in Renaissance Humanism and Art

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PART ONE: THE CONCEPTS

The Historical Tradition

ON THE APPEARANCE, early in the third century B.C., of the movement by Euhemerus which was destined to exert a lasting influence, the intellectual climate of the Graeco-Roman world was in a state exceptionally favorable to its reception. Philosophical speculation and ancient history alike had prepared the way for an understanding of the process by which, in times long past, the gods had been recruited from the ranks of mortal men.

Philosophy, from Aristotle onward, had recognized a divine element within the human soul; the nature of which was thus more specifically defined by the Stoics: "Do not mortal men mortem et lux ad inermem gloriam vae" ("For mortal to aid mortal—this is God, and this is the road to eternal glory"). A noble formula this, which Cicero develops in his Tusculan Disputationes. Those men have within them a supernatural element and are destined for eternal life who regard themselves as born into the world to help and guard and preserve their fellow men. Heraclitus passed away to join the gods; he would never have passed unless in the course of his mortal life he had built for himself the road he traveled.

At the same time, the superhuman career of Alexander, and above all his expedition to India—where he became the object of adoration similar to that which, according to the myth, had once graced Dionysus—are—had suddenly thrown light upon the origin of the gods. For the generations who subsequently witnessed the official deification of the Seleucids and Ptolemists

1 See P. Deschamps, La Critique des Historiens, p. 5, for an
2 Philo, op. cit., n. 5, 19; in all
3 Plutarch, De corona, 202, 372-373, ed. chap. v. 4, Euhemerus as of
5 Cicero, Deo, n. 20, see also chap. 25-26,
6 Interpretation Historica.
there could be no further doubt: the traditional deities were merely earthly rulers, whom the gratitude or adulation of their subjects had raised to a place in heaven. 2

The appearance of Euhemerus' work was well timed. Its success was immediate. It was one of the first books to be translated from Greek into Latin; Eminio's version, as is well known, gave it general currency in Rome where Pius, Janus, and Saturn promptly became princes who had once ruled over Latium. The euhemeristic thesis set at rest for a time the disquiet that the traditional mythology had always inspired in the minds of educated men, who, though unable to accord it their literal belief, had nevertheless hesitated to reject as a mass of outright falsehood the honored tales for which Homer himself stood guarantor. A few voices, however, denounced euhemerism as impious and absurd. Above all, its prosaic character made it disappointing to the ever increasing number of persons who had succeeded to the appeal of the supernatural and craved a more emotional type of religious belief. 3

But euhemerism was to enjoy an extraordinary revival at the beginning of the Christian era. First the apologists, then the Fathers, seized eagerly upon this weapon which paganism itself had offered them, and made use of it against its polytheistic source. It was only too easy for Clement of Alexandria, who quoted Euhemerus in his Contra assumptionem gentes (PG, viii, 152) to declare to the infidel: "Those to whom you were once men like yourselves." 4 Lastantius, again, to whom we owe the preservation of a few fragments of Euhemerus and of Etruscan translation, proclaims triumphantly in his De Gallia (manifestations that the gods, one and all, are nothing but mortal beings who have been raised from

2 Euhemerism is identified as a type of religious belief that attributes the gods of ancient Greek mythology to the deification of human beings. It was criticized by Plato in his work "Laws." Citations from various authors are included, such as Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Cicero.

3 The Fathers of the Church, such as Jerome, used euhemerism to explain the origin of Christian deities as human figures who later became divine.

4 Clement of Alexandria was an early Christian apologist who used euhemerism to explain the origin of the gods as human beings who were later deified.

5 This reference to the Fathers of the Church further highlights the influence of euhemerism on Christian thought.

The Historical Tradition

The euhemeristic tradition remains a fixed influence throughout the Middle Ages, although it underlies a total change of character. The human origin of the gods causes to be a weapon to be used against them, a source of rejection and contempt. Instead, it gives them a certain protection, even granting them a right to survive. In the end it fails, as it was, their patent of nobility.

First of all, euhemerism at a rather early date loses its polemic venom, to become instead an auxiliary to historical research. Certain men have become gods; as at what period, then, were they able to exist? It is possible to assign them a definite place in human history? 2

And sometimes for cosmological ends. In the Pantheon, Christian poisoning associated a pre-eminently symbolic or allegorical explanation of the deities, which had been reduced to a "normal" and human form. In every district, the idol shrines to Christianity were offered further increasing the distinction of spirits, true and counterfeit. In order to assign them to their proper place, E. Schaab, "Mitteleuropäische und altchristliche Götter," 1883, pp. 164-165. The figures and deities themselves in the paganism remain (e.g.), pp. 146-152.

While Schaab's work provides insight into the integration of paganism into Christian thought, further detailed explanations and discussions can be found in other scholarly works.
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This tendency is already apparent in Eusebius. He explains in his Ecclesiastical History that the Babylonian god Baal was in reality the first king of the Assyrians, and that he lived at the time of the war between the Giants and the Titans (PG, xix, 132–133). The coincidence in time is still only approximate, and it is clear, furthermore, that Eusebius' main concern is to show the religion of the chosen people as a degenerate pagan mythology. It was he, however, who bequeathed to the Middle Ages, through St. Jerome, the prototype of these crude historical synchronizations which grouped all the events and characters of human history, from the birth of Abraham down to the Christian era (including the gods themselves), into a few essential periods.

After Eusebius, Paulus Orosius does much the same thing. Although he is writing "adversus paganos" and under the inspiration of Augustin, his work is almost an attempt to unscramble the past, even the past of fabulous legend; this is all the more significant since it remained a manual of the highest authority throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, by

"The historical tradition was the result of, founders of cities, discoveries of arts and skills. The restoration of the arts and skills, and the repose of the ancient philosophy of the ancients. And the other hand, there was no reason for subordinating these to figures of Holy Writ—to the patriarchs, judges, and prophets; they could be ranked together, even if they were not of the same lineage. By gaining a foothold in history, the gods had acquired new prestige.

This is clearly to be seen, for example, in Ado of Vienna, whose Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World stems from the Eusebius. After symbolism of Moses and the Exodus, he refers to contemporary events in the pagan world: "As those days, it is said, lived Prometheus, who believed in fashioned men out of clay; his brother, Atlas, living at the same time, was regarded as a great astronomer; the grandson of Atlas, Hecrops, was a sage skilled in several arts. For this reason, the vain phrase of his contemporaries placed him after his death among the gods" (PL, xxiv, 38).

Aside from the expression "vain error," this passage has lost all account of contempt or hostility; instead, we observe a custom for fixing dates, for determining pedigrees and genealogies, with a view to making room for the heroes of Fable in the annals of humanity. Does this not constitute a conception of the virtues which, in times long past, had earned them their place in heaven? Parallel to the story of Scripture, this account of pagan history is no longer subordinate to it; the first neither influence nor overshadow the second. Herodotus has his own kind of greatness, as Moses has his. We have come a long way from Eusebius, who derived all pagan divinities from the Moses type, and for whom pagan wisdom was merely a reflection of the wisdom of Israel.

Ado of Vienna is only one among the innumerable continuators of Eusebius; in fact, there is hardly a chronicler or compiler of annals of history writing after the great encyclopedists who fails to include immortalized gods in his enumeration of ancient kings and heroes. We shall not present the endless list of these authors here, especially as it has already been compiled by others. Let us mention only the most important of them all—Peter Comestor.

See Alphonse, op. cit., and F. D. Graf, Classical Antiquity, a Chronicle, xii, 497, "The Historical Tradition of Mitanni".
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Around the year 1160, this Peter Comestor, dean of the church of Notre Dame at Troyes and later chancellor of Notre Dame at Paris, wrote under the title of Historia scholastica a history of God's people which penetrated to all parts of Europe in the translation by Gervais de Moulines (Histoire Historique [1294]). In this work, which enjoyed tremendous authority,1 we recognize in fixed and, as it were, codified form, the euhemeristic orientation that we first saw beginning to take shape in the writings of Isidore.

As an approach to his sacred history, Peter condenses the mythological material into a series of short chapters, or incidentia. The parallelism between the two narratives, sacred and profane, is presented with curious precision: clearly, the figures from the world of False, though of different lineage, have now achieved a basis of strict equality with the Biblical characters. In both groups, Peter recognizes men of superior stature, geniuses endowed with profound and mysterious wisdom. Zoroaster invented magic and inscribed the Seven Arts on four columns (Gen. xxxix); Isis taught the Egyptians the letters of the alphabet and showed them how to write (lxxv); Minerva taught several arts, in particular that of weaving (xxxvi); Prometheus, renowned for his wisdom, is reputed to have created men, either because he instructed the ignorant or perhaps because he fabricated automatons. All these mighty spirits are worthy of veneration, exactly as are the patriarchs, and for the same reasons: they have been the guides and teachers of humanity, and together stand as the common ancestors of civilization.

This tendency of the Middle Ages to establish parallels between pagan wisdom and the wisdom of the Bible has long been recognized. It came clearly to light when first undertaken of the representations in cathedral portals 2 "associating Sibyls and Prophets, and of the legend of Virgil, while the medieval imagination had transformed into a kind of assurance no image. The Sibyls and the author of the Fourth Edge (he is true, had had intuitions..."

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THE HISTORICAL TRADITION

Jauernig of Christian writers, and had forestalled its coming. Applied to the embellishment of paganism, this tendency has, as we shall see, surprising results. Not only does it "justify" the latter gods by recognizing in them essential real virtues, but it even goes so far as to promulgate them with at least a part of their supernatural character.3

If we now look back at the diatribes of Arnobius and Commodian, we shall see that this euhemerism was a weapon which cut both ways. What, in the Invention of the apologists, it should have demolished, is actually confirmed and exacted. If destruction, Tertullian had argued, furnished him by Isidore and his predecessors, Orosius and St. Jerome, into a series of short chapters, or incidentia. The parallelism between the two narratives, sacred and profane, is presented with curious precision: clearly, the figures from the world of False, though of different lineage, have now achieved a basis of strict equality with the Biblical characters. In both groups, Peter recognizes men of superior stature, geniuses endowed with profound and mysterious wisdom. Zoroaster invented magic and inscribed the Seven Arts on four columns (Gen. xxxix); Isis taught the Egyptians the letters of the alphabet and showed them how to write (lxxv); Minerva taught several arts, in particular that of weaving (xxxvi); Prometheus, renowned for his wisdom, is reputed to have created men, either because he instructed the ignorant or perhaps because he fabricated automatons. All these mighty spirits are worthy of veneration, exactly as are the patriarchs, and for the same reasons: they have been the guides and teachers of humanity, and together stand as the common ancestors of civilization.

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The Historical Tradition

This idea reappears insistently in the popular encyclopedias of the thirteenth century, and among the "chevaliers" and "clerus," whose religious tradition the French are so proud of continuing, appears a common strain at times called Alexander or Caesar, but at others Heracles or Jason, and great Iceniurs, now known as Ithomer or Aristëa, and again as Mercury or Prometheus.

As we have just seen, the French of the thirteenth century believed that the heritage of antiquity was theirs by special right: other peoples had only advanced it the same claim. In the fifth century, the Spanish, Paulinus, boasts of being a real Roman; later, a City of Tours, an almoner of Seville, were to see themselves as belonging to peoples especially privileged in comparison with "barbarian" stock. This pride of descent, which is hardly ever absent from the learned writings of the Middle Ages, brings in a curious consequence in order to justify his pretensions, the scholar turns to the lauded past of antiquity for supporting witnesses, for ancestors and begotten. Thus originate those "ethnogen" fables (as Gaten Paris called them) which name a hero or demigod as ancestor of a whole people. One such fable, which proved to be a particularly handy one, is found above all—that according to which the French were descendants of the Trojan 

French, as the Romans were of the Trojan Aeneas. This legend was an invention of Merovingian scholars, but it should not be dismissed as a mere fantasy of learned minds. It was taken seriously as a genealogy, and became a "veritable form of ethno-consciousness." Its plausibility was aided by the apocryphal stories of the siege of Troy by the "Etruscan" Diurus and the "Phrygian" Dareus, which had been popular ever since the Greek decadence.

"In the tenth century, the French sought, that already present in their imaginary descent, the "eternal" strains of Ithomer or Aristëa, the "Alexander" of Caesar, but especially of the "Aeneas" genealogical strain, which was now coming into France."
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with their appearance of exact documentation they, as it were, secularized the marvels of antiquity and gave them the color of true history. "These prod-
cerebras of gods and heroes presented them in such a light that they seemed more convincingly historical than Charlemagne, Roland, or Oliver..." But even when thus humanized, and brought near enough to look like probable ancestors, these figures lost none of their mystical prestige; mortals who claimed relationship with them on historical grounds could boast of their su-
pernatural origin. Did not the Trojan Aeneas, "de Romanis genti senserit," leave a quasi-divine imprint upon the whole race of his descendants?

The exceptional popularity enjoyed by the legend of Troy in the Middle Ages was therefore not exclusively due to the interest of the romantic narra-
tive in itself; the Roman de Troie of Benvolent de Saint-Maure contained a sort of "mythical substratum" where the medieval listener or reader could more or less consciously detect "something of his moral genealogy.

This, then, is one of the offsets of esotericism in the Middle Ages; mytholog-
ical figures are no longer presented as common benefactors of humanity. They are the patrons of this or that people," the parent stem from which the race has issued and from which it derives its glory.

* * *

In this regard no break is discernible between the Middle Ages and the Ren-
Renaissance: the same considerations which have protected the gods continue to

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assert their survival. They are still given a place in history; not only do the
early chronicles, printed and many times reprinted, retain their full authority, but the fifteenth-century chronicles follow their lead, and never fail to de-
vote one or more chapters to the pagan divinities. This is true of the Rad-
mamentum notabilium (1475), the Pontificalia temporum (1475), and the Her-
des divinorum (1468); also of Amustus of Viterbo, the pseudo commentator on

Berenice, and Jacopo da Bergamo.

The last-named, for example, in his Supplementum Chronimaru, studies the origin and the pedigrees of the gods (ib. ii., f. 12). Jupiter is a king
who has been worshipped under that same benediction of his resemblance in
the planet Jupiter; other kings have borne the same name, notably the king of
Canda, a son of Saturn—who is, of course, historical, as are Ope, Cneus,
Uranus, Teseus, etc.; then Semiramis is dealt with, and Lot and Isaura; but a
little later (f. 15, r. and v.) the gods snap back—Cybele, Zelas, the Sea, Dione.

Next we pass to Jacob, Leah, and Rachel, and the name of Asia; and then come Ceres and Iris (f. 16, 17 r.); and after a paragraph devoted to
Joseph, we meet Apollo, Hercules, Vulcan, Ape, and Ceres. As in Peter Can-
trast, mythology alternates with sacred history. It is of interest to note also
that this compilation by Jacopo da Bergamo includes additional chapters on
the Sibyls and on the Trojan war, a geographical section containing a list of all
cities famed since the beginning of time, and, last of all, a contemporary histor-

The sixteenth century is a topic of this respect a repetition of the fifteenth: the

Antiquorum (1486). This work is of interest in that it contains a list of all cities
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100. Commentary on the Apocalypse, etc., by Euthymius Lomnics (1486).
Thus the existence of the gods continues to be sanctioned on historical grounds; furthermore, as in the Middle Ages, there is a disposition to regard them as the forerunners of civilization. This tenacity is already very evident in the works of ancient philosophers and statesmen. 

Even more typical, from the same point of view, is the De inventaribus of Polybius. In the preface, already present in the first (c. 159) edition, we find the first declaration of humanistic belief: “And whatsoever things may have been attributed by us to Saturn, Zeus, Neptune, Dionysus, Apollo, Asclepius, Ceres, Vulcan, and to such others as have the name of gods, we have thus attributed them to as to mental men, and not as to gods, even though we still call them by that name.” After this declaration, which he obviously thinks should protect him from any suspicion of the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, Polybius does not hesitate to subdue each god as an innovator: Hermes Trismegistus established time (Jupiter, i); from Bacchus, man learned how to make wine (Mars, 3); Venus taught the contrivance of their art (Mars, 2); Mercury, according to Diodorus and Giunius, taught the alphabet to the Egyptians (Jupiter, 5). Polybius, through his knowledge of the heavenly bodies in Jupiter Belus; Diodorus, to Mercury (Jupiter, 2).
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Finally, we have noted during the Middle Ages a strange phenomenon—a whole people claiming a mythological hero as ancestor, choosing him, as it were, for their progenitor and patron. This phenomenon persists into the Renaissance, even taking on new and striking forms.

The legend of the Trojan origin of the Franks was, as is well known, explored by Jean Le Maire de Belges, in his Illustration de Gaulle et singularités de Troie, which attained immense popularity. One reason for this success was that "nearly every nation could find itself, as it were in an archival setting, its most ancient title of nobility. Only the Germans and French could boast undisputed descent from Hector himself, but others—Brutons, Flemings, Scandinavians, Normans, and Spanish—also found ways of asserting their own relationship with him, to justify either their pride or their ambition." Now Le Maire distributed the names of the various Trojan heroes, like spells, among these claimants: the Brennus were said to be descendents of Brutus, first king of Britain; the Spanishiers of Hesperus, the Italians of Italy, the men of Brabant de Brabo, the Yielders of Tarascon, and the Burgundians of Hercules the Great of Libya.

Let us further note that Jean Le Maire greatly strengthened the divine element in the legend of Troy. The gods are given a preponderant role in his historically/mythological romance—something which we do not find in Dicytus, Dares, or even of Saint-Maure.

Rencourt's Frankland was less successful than the Illustration; the failure and neglect which were to be the lot of this archaeologically anticipated epic are well known. But the Frankland reveals a new tendency which is particularly appropriate to the Renaissance: it is inspired not just by "ethical consciousness" but by dynastic pride. Charles IX personally supervised the composition of the poem, in his effort to establish a direct connection between himself and the Trojan heroes.

[Note: The last paragraph contains a reference to additional material not visible in the image.]
serves admirably to illustrate the persistence of the medieval point of view."
Primarily pride found ample satisfaction in these claims of mythological
sponsorship and heredity. In addition to the dukes of Burgundy and the kings
of France, should we perhaps also cite the example of Pope Alexander VI,
who used the Burgias coat of arms as warrant for having the ceiling of
his Vatican apartments decorated with frescoes representing the story of Isis,
Osiris, and the monster Apep—unexpected antecedents, indeed, for a Chris-
tian pope?"

Other comparable instances might be found in the seventeenth century.
In 1600, the Jesuits of Avignon, charged with organizing the ceremonial
reception given by the city to Marie de Médicis, bestowed on her royal concub
the title of Gallic Hercules ("Hercule Gaulois"), justifying the extravagant
flattery on the following grounds: "L'illustré maison de Navarre a reçu sa
source de l'ancien Hercule, fils d'Oziris, lequel ayant battu et expulsé les
Gaulois, qui étaient les trois enfants de Geryon, tyran des Espagnols, et
ayant affranchi ce peuple de leur servitude, établi en cette monarchie son fils
Hispanus, les nouveaux dauphins succédèrent depuis à la couronne du royaume
de Navarre."*

Iconography, in turn, attests the continuity of the "emblematic" tradition,
and gives striking illustration to its varied aspects. We shall limit ourselves
to a few examples.

In the first place, for visual demonstration of the insertion of the gods
into history, let us glance at a Provencal chronicle (British Museum, Egerton
Ms. 1500) of the early fourteenth century (after 1313). This chronicle, in

* See Bouquet, op. cit., p. 191, "On Jace
and Gicle, son fils Glicerio de la Moline, dit le
Gifé, a Philippe de Beau pour gentil et valiant b
force en grant larmes et autres; et..."

44 See Tournefort, op. cit., p. 78; cited in the
fragmentary "Chronique de la France" in the
Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.
4046, vol. 1, fol. 43v; and Guillaume Plancher (Le Tonner
d' Avignon, 1740).

45 See forthcoming volume of Tournefort by E.
Nae, to be published by the Warburg Insti-
tute, London.

46 La tournerie de l'Hercule Gaulois

* The Historical Tradition

The form of a rotulus, illustrated by rubles which are both genealogical and
elaborate, and which show on the head of each person named. The first two

2. Biblical and pagan figures

beads naturally represent Adam and Eve (f. 3, 7); from then follow their descend-
ants, Noah, Shem, etc. (f. 3, 7) next appear the patriarchal dynasty. Here we
are, arranged in parallel, vertical rows (f. 4, 7, 16), the return of the various
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The most typical example of the tradition of the heroes and sages that places profane and sacred history on the same plane, is afforded by the famous series of drawings attributed to Maso Finiguerra, preserved in the British Museum under the title of Florentine Piscius Chronicle.6 Sir Sidney Colvin, who studied the drawings extensively and dated them between 1465 and 1467, related them to a Somnus, or divine historia universale, in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (Cat. xxiv, 368). These drawings, in fact, present another illustrated world chronicle; they show us, after Adam and Eve, the patriarchs, Noah, Abraham, and their successors, along with "contemporary" pagan figures—Jupiter, Ceres, Cudrus, Saturn, Jupiter, etc. What is particularly notable is the parallelism established between all these great figures of the past, historical or legendary, Jew or Gentile—Prophet and Sibyl, judge, warrior, poet, and lawyer. Especially significant is the panegyric given to heroes (Jason,
The parallelism between sacred and profane history is further set forth in one of the most exquisite works of the Renaissance, the façade of the Collegiate Chapel in Bergamo, where alternating bas-reliefs represent events from the Old Testament and from mythology, punishment of Adam and the Labors of Hercules. At approximately the same date, Lombard sculptors ornamented the cavea at the base of the façade of the Certosa of Pavia with medallions which show Prophets side by side with emperors and gods—a strange series of spereophyl portraits in which the infant Hercules wrangles with a Mercury cap, and which recalls the numinous features of the "promagoglyphs."  

Of the personages of Fable viewed expressly as inventors of arts and skills we possess some celebrated images in the lowest zone of bas-reliefs in the Campanile in Florence. Not far from the first horseman and the first navigator, we recognize Daedalus, first constructor of the air near the mathematicians.  

"The sects tried are the Chiusini of Arezzo, the Gherardeschi of Florence, the Farnese of Pisa, and the Orsini of Rome. The scenes in the interior of the church, Cimabue, with the addition to the outside on one side and left, of a famous knight's death, and of the Holy Family, is to be prevented by the Warburg Institute, London."

"See supra, p. 11. Second of the Certosa which, notwithstanding, are inspired by some of the best authors. "Truth, Intemperance, and Death, Song Noted on a Reliquary of the Certosa of Pavia," Journal of the Warburg Institute, 3 (1930), pp. 398-399."

"The second figure of a woman depicted in the Medic."

"This becomes the last of the chemical terms in the Warburg Institute, London."

"Pompea et al. (All these have been written under the name of the author, P. Bocchini, as several names of life, preceded against and translated under whose ruling influence we have gradually passed on from the indiscernible landmarks in the first part of the work."

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The Survival of the Pagan Gods

We have further seen that the Legend of Troy, as enlarged upon by pseudo historians, had played a part in the "laicising" of certain mythological heroes; visual imagery makes this doubly clear. In the Fine Arts drawings Jason and Theseus are shown, and near them Paris and Troilus. Even earlier, however, in the frescoes representing the Trojan war, painted about 1380 in the Steii at Palermo (1), the ship Argo was to be seen, with Jason, Hercules, Cantor, and Pallux. The painter of these scenes, as Erle Levi has shown, was merely following the text of Guido delle Colonne (Historia destructionis Trojanae [1279-1307]), which, in turn, is an adaptation of the Roman de Troie of Bemouf de Saint-Maime. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a swarm of illustrated manuscripts of this romance or its derivatives present us with images of the demigods.

Finally, the mythological ancestry on which the Renaissance princes so pride themselves was of course celebrated in works of art. We need mention here only the tapestries of the cathedral of Beauvais, where we see, among other figures, Francis greeting the daughter of the king of the Gauls whom he is to marry, and Jupiter, accompanied by her creditors, bringing the alphabet of civilization to Gaul. These tapestries have their sources, as Emile Mâle has proved, in the Illustrations of Jean Le Maire, Le Maire sets himself up as the final arbiter of Trojan iconography: "L'histoire véritable de la maison troyenne, be written, "ne sera plus désormais peinte, figurée ou peint-ciselée, pour l'ornement des salles et chambres royales, sinon après la naissance and cod. 5999; Historia universale (Lug., 168); In the 16th and 17th centuries, Venetian, Spanish, and French writers, as well as English and Dutch, added much detail and extravagance.

In the same way, seeking a source for the story of the Argonauts, a medieval crude map showing a group of gods whom the text calls "la nation", the world of Wallerant and Planchard (1485) in the Great Chronicle of Norwich are of interest in the same connection.

In See É. Lévy and É. Carrière, Le Souci de Pârisc (1880), 3, 23, we find:

(1) "En 539 B.C., the final battle had ended and the Greek fleet had reached its goal. There is no more room for Jason's, Phoebus the bold and equipped from the walls of Tyre clothed with gold, and his ships filled with treasures. The Argo was at the end of the Anatolian war, and the campaign of Cilicia, and the treasures of the east were to be sent to the King of Cyprus, and the treasures of the west to the King of Argos."

"La ville majeure de la fin du monde, lim. 345-346.

In The Historical Tradition

7. Rape of Tantalus

Later, under Henri II, the French court was to go even further lengths, acting out literally and in all seriousness the comedy of Olympus. Art and poetry joined forces to attend the divinity of the sovereign, the court, its favorite, and their entourage.

In the château of Tanlay, the sixteenth-century residence of the Coligny-Châtillon family, a fresco "by a pupil of Primaticcio groups a number of contemporaneous persons in the guise of gods and goddesses (fig. 10)." There is no doubt as to the interpretation, which has been furnished by Bernard

"He, 3, so, p. 3-4: t. 4, p. 140. "The variable history of the house of Troy will illustrate in another point, painted or engraving, for the representation of royal arts and ceremonies in accordance with the present arrangement."

"See E. Beranger, Les Monnaies prises et le

8. Rape of Proserpina

"In the Château, "La danse de la terre de la Lune" at Château de Tanlay." Rues de France, 1, 10, 12 (1932), pp. 113-114 and 1. E. Beranger, "La danse de la terre de la Lune," in Recueil des Monnaies de France, 1, 10, 12 (1932), pp. 113-114.
himself in a hymn celebrating the virtues of the Coligny house." The artist must have taken his inspiration from this poem. Jupiter is the king, Henri II;

In the same year that Rambaud composed these verses, "L'Amour Lincolin"

Thus, at the end of this evolution which has brought us down to the Renaissance, we find the sublime spirit as much alive as ever, still taking the

"See Rambaud, p. 17-18. The same place is described and reproduced in the Rev. spec. 1800, p. 306. The system represented, instead of being completely centred on Paris, was shown wearing planned aspect.

1. The reader will recall the celebrated hymn reprinted in the Rev. spec. 1800, p. 306.
The Physical Tradition

The heavenly bodies are gods. "We must assign the same divinity to the stars." This opinion, at the time of its formulation by Cicero, was on the way to becoming general. For a Roman or Alexandrian of that age, the stars were not as they are for us, "bodies infinitely remote in space, which move according to the inelastic laws of mechanics, and whose motion is chemically determinable." They were "divinities." 2

Every mind which perceives a governing intelligence behind the movement of the spheres instinctively places this divine power in heaven. From this it is but a step to considering the sun, moon, and stars as in themselves divine. Among other determining factors, it was the mythological names given to the stars—in obedience to the same instinct—which above all else encouraged the Greeks, and after them the Romans, to take this step. Names—names—the same alone was enough to lend divine personality to each luminous body moving in the heavens, but complete identification was achieved when that name was Hercules or Mars, that is, the name of a god whose appearance and history were already well known. And the mythological imagination of the Greeks, which had created gods on earth, could readily picture them in the skies as well.

However, this identification of the gods with astral bodies, which had been fully accomplished by the end of the pagan era, was the end product of

1 "Deorum et siderum... divinitate." (De natura rerum, III, 51).