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CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS

Transformations of an Ovidian Myth

By Irving Lavin

I

To Professor Walter Friedlaender
in honour of his eightieth birthday.

In the National Gallery in Washington are nine frescoes by the Milanese follower of Leonardo, Bernardino Luini (Pls. 35, 36). The paintings were executed for the town house in Milan of the important Rabia family, and formed part of an extensive decoration which covered the entire building inside and out with representations of Ovidian myths and other fables.¹ The works for the Casa Rabia can be dated with reasonable security in the years 1520/21.²

The enigma which the panels have always presented is indicated by the fact that they were once considered to be religious in subject matter, supposedly representing such personages as Saints Cyprian and Margaret of Antioch, St. Irene and her sisters Agape and Chionia.³ Modern scholarship, following the obvious lead of the scene of the woman whose breast is pierced by a spear, has rightly associated them with the classical myth of Cephalus and Procris. Nevertheless, the details have remained unexplained, as indeed they must on the basis of the ancient accounts alone.⁴ Like all pagan myths,

This study was first suggested by Professor Erwin Panofsky in a seminar at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in 1951. The extent of my debt to Dr. Panofsky will be evident upon reading these pages; I therefore take this opportunity to thank him especially for the warm personal inspiration of his unfailing kindness and generosity.

I am also grateful to the Department of Fine Arts of Harvard University for making possible the necessary additional research; particularly to Professor Charles L. Kuhn for his encouragement.

¹ Luca Beltrami, *Luini*, Milan, 1911, esp. p. 159 ff. The Rabia were one of the great and noble families of Milan. In 1448 Jacobus Rabia was one of the syndics of the city, representing the Porta Vercellina. One of his sons, Aloysius Rabia, figured in the elections of the Porta Tricinese in 1471.

The decorations are mentioned by Vasari in the life of Luini in the second edition:

Bernardino del Lupino, di cui si disse alcuna cosa poca di sopra, dipinse già in Milano vicino a San Sepolcro la casa del Signor Gianfrancesco Rabbia, cioè la facciata, le loggie, sale, e camere, facendovi trasformazioni d'Ovidio, ed altre favole, con belle e buone figure, e lavorate delicatamente.

(Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 519-520.)

² Beltrami (*op. cit.*, p. 161 ff.) has established that the Casa Rabia was built between 1516 and 1520, and the decorations were executed shortly thereafter. Girolamo Rabia was in control of the family property at the time the Casa was built, and it was probably he who commissioned the paintings. Vasari mentions Gianfrancesco because he was proprietor of the house later in the century, when Vasari must have visited it.

The decorations remained in the Casa Rabia until 1845, when the Europa scenes were taken to Germany (Kaiser Friedrich Museum), while the present group was set up in the Brera. Thereafter, they were kept in Milan for 30 years, and are next heard of successively in the Cernuschi and Rodolphe Kann collections in Paris. They then came into the possession of Duveen who, on Beltrami's advice (*ibid.*, p. 188, n. 2), had them transferred to canvas. They were finally acquired by Kress and given to the National Gallery, Washington, in 1944. Cf. A. M. Frankfurter, *Art News*, November 1, 1944, p. 21; T. Borenius, *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVI, pp. 55-56 (March 1945).

³ *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection*, Paris, 1907, II, p. 41 ff., Nos. 133-141.

⁴ Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1890-1897, II, s.v. "Kephalus," col. 1089 *et seq.* (Rapp).



a—Procris (Act II) (*pp.* 260, 273)



b—Cefalo and the Shepherd (Act II)
(*pp.* 260, 274)



c—Cefalo and the Shepherd (Act II)
(*pp.* 260, 274)



d—Death of Procris (Act IV) (*pp.* 260, 274)



a—Cefalo and the Nymphs
(Act IV) (*pp.* 260, 274, 278)



b—Cefalo and the Dogs
(Act II) (*pp.* 260, 275)



c—Cefalo and the Treasure (Act I)
(*pp.* 260, 275)



d—Procris and the Unicorn
(Act V) (*pp.* 260, 275)



e—The Temple of Diana
(Act V) (*pp.* 260, 277)

that of Cephalus and Procris had received a large halo of associations in the course of transmission through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. To understand Luini's pictures properly, as well as their real source, something must be said concerning the effect of this tradition upon the myth.

According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VII, 681-865), Cephalus had been married to the beautiful Procris only two months when Aurora, goddess of the dawn, aroused his suspicions and induced him to test his bride's constancy. In a disguise provided by Aurora, he offered Procris rich gifts and succeeded in causing her to hesitate. When he revealed his true identity, Procris fled to join the nymphs of Diana. Remorseful, Cephalus effected a reconciliation with his spouse, who thereupon gave him the two presents she had received from Diana: a wonderful hound, swifter than any other, and an unerring spear that automatically returned to its thrower. Cephalus and Procris were once again happy together, and each morning he would hunt with the spear she had given him. Fatigued from his labours, Cephalus would go to a cool place and invoke the breeze, "Aura," to come and refresh him. Someone overheard his words, and thinking he was calling to a nymph, reported to Procris that Cephalus was being unfaithful. To discover if the report were true, Procris followed Cephalus one morning and hid in a bush. Hearing the nearby leaves rustle, Cephalus feared it might be some wild animal and threw the javelin, killing his own beloved wife.

The elaborate form in which the Cephalus and Procris story appears in Ovid and Hyginus¹ was the main source from which the Middle Ages gleaned their knowledge of the myth. However, like all ancient mythology, it presented serious problems to the mediaeval mind which would encompass it. The tale involves one of the most sublime of human relationships, that of matrimony, and one of the basest of human emotions—jealousy. Some way must therefore be found of relating the pagan legend to Christian belief.

At first it was thought possible to eliminate the offensive elements, and yet retain the essential narrative.² Such puritanical editorialism obviously begs the question, however, and the early writers devised another means of dealing with the problem; they proceeded to interpret the myth in the light of Christian dogma. Ultimately a whole pattern or system of kinds of interpretation was evolved which in a quite organized fashion reduced the

¹ *Fabulae*, 189; ed. M. Schmidt, Jena, 1872.

² Thus, while Hyginus describes Cephalus' seduction of his wife as follows:

itaque commutat eum in hospitis figuram
atque dat munera speciosa quae Procri
dedit et cum ea concubuit,

Servius softens the essential phrase to "impetratoque coitu," and it emerges pure and innocent in the Mythographer I as "impetratoque re coniugali." (*Ad. Aen.* VI, 445, ed. H. A. Lion, Göttingen I, 826, p. 336; C. H. Bode, *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, Cellis, 1834, Mythographus I, 44, p. 16.)

Lactantius Placidus produced what amounts to an expurgated edition of the entire *Metamorphoses*. His account of the Cephalus and Procris myth (*Narrationes*, VII, xxvii) does for Ovid what Servius did for Hyginus, though, of course, Ovid is much less in need of it; the description of the crucial moment is as follows:

Plurimus itaque rebus ad usum feminarum comparatis quibus capi posset, fallacia meatem Procridis elicit.

Lactantius' text has been edited most recently by D. A. Slater, *Towards a text of the Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Oxford, 1927.

elements of the story to examples of Christian precepts.¹ This development is embodied mainly in the series of great scholastic compendia on the *Metamorphoses*,² culminating in the first half of the fourteenth century with the *Ovidius Moralizatus* of Pierre Bersuire,³ and its more popular contemporary counterpart written in the vernacular, the *Ovide Moralisé*.⁴ In the *Ovide Moralisé*, for example, the spear which never misses its mark and always returns to the thrower is the Divine word or the Holy Spirit that reaches the heart and every part of the body and soul (VII, vv. 3498/3510).⁵ The dog denotes the good preachers who destroy sinners and damn to perdition the

¹ For the history of these categories and their application in hermeneutics, cf. H. Caplan, "The four senses of scriptural interpretation and the medieval theory of Preaching," *Speculum*, IV, 1929, p. 282 ff.

² Moralizing interpretations of the *Metamorphoses* apparently occur in a running commentary as early as the eleventh century, cf. Meiser, "Über einen Commentar zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid," *Sitzungsberichte der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 1885, p. 47.

Thereafter a nearly consecutive development can be traced through the *Allegories* of Arnolph of Orleans in the last quarter of the twelfth century (Fausto Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orleans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII." *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche*, XXIV, 1932, p. 157 ff.); the *Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses* by John of Garland (written before 1241; published by Ghisalberti, *Giovanni di Garlandia, Integumenta Ovidii, poemetto inedito del secolo XIII*, Messina-Milan, 1933, who summarizes the grand comedy of errors which involved the confusion with Arnolph's *Allegories*, and an endless series of misattributions, partly to historical, partly to imaginary mediaeval authors; cf. also L. J. Paetow, "The Morale Sclarium of John of Garland," *Memoirs of the University of California*, IV, History, I, pt. 2, 1927, p. 118); and the allegories on the *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni del Virgilio, the friend of Dante (around 1322-3; cf. Ghisalberti, "Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle 'Metamorfose,'" *Giornale Dantesco*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 1 ff.; the relationship between Virgilio and Dante was studied by P. H. Wicksteed and E. G. Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*, Westminster, 1902).

³ The *Ovidius Moralizatus* formed the fifteenth book of Bersuire's monumental *Reductorium morale*, and was conceived as a partner to the sixteenth and final book, the *Moraliza-*

tiones Bibliae. The first fourteen books of the *Reductorium* were first published by Rembolt, Paris, 1521, while the fifteenth book was early separated from its context, and attributed to a certain Thomas Waleys (Walley, de Walleis), under whose name it appears in several manuscripts (e.g., Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 2, later 2. 3. 9.; cf. M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, Cambridge, 1899, No. 237, pp. 71-115), and in the printed editions (the earliest, that of Badius, Paris, 1509, was reprinted in 1511, 1515, 1522).

The best general study of Bersuire's work is that of F. Ghisalberti, "L'Ovidius moralizatus di Pierre Bersuire," *Studi Romanzi*, XXIII, 1933, p. 5 ff., especially part I, "I miti Ovidiani e le Dottrine della Chiesa." Bersuire's final redaction of the work dates from 1342-3, Ghisalberti, *Bersuire*, p. 66 ff., Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 13 (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg XVIII*).

⁴ The text was published by C. de Boer, "*Ovide moralisé* poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, Amsterdam, XV, XXI, XXXVI, XLIII (L-V), 1915-38. The latest study is that of J. Engels, *Études sur l'Ovide moralisé*, Diss., Groningen, 1945. De Boer, I, p. 9, originally dated the work before 1305, but Engels, p. 48, places it 1316-1328; it has been variously attributed to Philippe de Vitry, a certain Chrétien Legouais, *et al.*, but Mr. Engels, p. 62, concludes that it was written by an anonymous "frère mineur."

⁵ The moralizations illustrate quite clearly the method of transferring ideas from non-pagan areas of interpretation. The spear (jaculum) or arrow (sagitta)—they are virtually interchangeable—had long been a symbol of the Divine Word: Cassiodorus,

Sagittae tuae acutae potentissimae: populi sub te cadent in corde inimicorum Regis. Sagittae acutae sunt verba Domini Salvatoris,

gluttonous and rapacious wolf of evil (VII, vv. 3636/3644).¹ Procris is Israel, which had been faithful but then deceived its sovereign by mischief and "foul lechery" (VII, vv. 3513/3521).² And thus is the classical story of a marital mishap neatly transformed into a Christian lesson in conjugal fidelity.

hominum corda salutariter infigentia, quae ideo vulnerant ut sanent, ideo percutiunt ut liberent, ideo prosternunt ut erigant. Sed videamus hoc telum verbo Dei quae similitudine comparetur. (*Exp. in Ps. XLIV*, 6, Migne, *P.L. LXX*, col. 321.)

Hrabanus Maurus,

Sagitta est sermo Dei, ut in libro Regum: "Sagitta Jonathae reversa et retrorsum" (II Reg., I, 25) quod verbum Domini non revertetur ad eum vacuum, sed faciet quaecumque voluerit. (*Alleg. in Sac. Scr.*, Migne, CXII, col. 1044.)

Garnerus, *Gregorianus*,

Jaculorum nomine verba sanctorum designantur, sicut scriptum est. *In lumine jacula tua ibunt in splendore fulgoris armorum tuorum* (Habac. III, 4). Jacula enim Domini sunt verba sanctorum, quae corda peccantium feriunt. (Lib. VIII, cap. xiv, Migne, CXCIII, col. 320.)

Garnerus was canon of Saint Victor of Paris in 1166.

¹ The tradition for associating the dog with preachers, both for their loyalty and their heresy-crushing oratory, was also an old one; for example, Gregory the Great,

Vel qui alii hujus gregis canes vocantur, nisi doctores sancti, qui eorundem fidelium custodes extiterunt? Qui dum pro Domino suo diurnis nocturnisque vigiliis intenti clamaverunt, magnos, ut ita dixerim, latratus praedicationes dederunt. (*Lib. Mor.*, XX, 6, Migne, LXXXVI, col. 145)

and Hrabanus Maurus,

Per canes, praedicatores boni, ut in Evangelio: "Canes lingebant ulcera Lacari" quod sancti praedicatores sanabant peccata gentilis populi (*Alleg. in Sac. Script.*, Migne, CXII, col. 145).

(Also Garnerus, Migne, CXCIII, col. 102.)

From this identification the dog became a symbol of Dialectic, one of the Seven Liberal Arts; Dialectic is thus represented with the head of a dog in Herrade of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum* (Straub and Keller, Strassburg, 1879-99, pl. XI). Cf. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, Freiburg, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 433 ff.

It is interesting to note that the description of Apollo in the *Ovide moralisé* depends upon a tradition of Muses represented in medallions,

of which this same illustration in Herrade is an early example, cf. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 4.

² It has been claimed (P.-G.-C. Campbell, *Épître d'Othéa, Étude sur les sources de Christine de Pisan*, Diss., Paris, 1924, pp. 137-141), and reiterated (Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 38), that the *Metamorphoses* commentary in French prose published by Colard Mansion in Bruges, 1484 (later by Verard, *et al.*, under the title *La Bible des Poètes*) is not a translation of Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*, as had long been believed, but almost a transcription of a prose version of the *Ovide moralisé* which is preserved in two manuscripts (Paris, B.N. fr. 137; London, B.M. 17 E IV). I regret to aggravate the already terribly confused situation regarding the relationships between these texts, but it should be pointed out that the interpretation of the Cephalus and Procris myth in the *Bible des Poètes* (I quote from the Petit-Le Noir edition, Paris, ca. 1525) is indeed an abbreviation of Bersuire's remarks (quoted below, note 2, p. 266) and bears no resemblance whatsoever to the interpretations of the story in the *Ovide moralisé*.

A ceste fable de cephalus & de procris se peuvent amener plusieurs entendementz Premierement se doit garder sur toutes choses le saige mary destre ialoux de sa femme e ne doit d'elle enquerir la chose quil ne voudroit trouuer: car selle est bonne & elle sappercoit quil doubt de sa chastete ce luy est ung aguillon de mal faire & sil en aymera moins. Selle est pute. et il a trouue elle doublera sa honte et si mettra en ses debvoirs de luy priuer de la vie pour donner lieu a son amy. Semblablement la bonne femme se doit sur tout garder que nenquiere trop les faitz et les voyes de son seigneur: Car grans inconueniens en sont aduenus. Ou disons quil nest si chaste femme que par prieres et dons on ne feist de son honneur varier. Nous pouuons aussi entendre le dart de Cephalus estre la langue des detracteurs & rapporteurs de mauuaises nouvelles: lesquelz par icelle engendrent souuent la mort. (*Bible des Poètes*, fol. lxxviii^v, lxxx^r.)

Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult directly the Paris and London MSS. cited by Campbell, but some further light will be

By the end of the fourteenth century the illuminators had developed more or less standard types of illustrations for the myth, just as the authors had done for their interpretations. Thus, in the manuscripts of the *Épître d'Othéa à Hector* by the famous fourteenth-century suffragette Christine de Pisan (written around 1400) we find, generally speaking, two sorts of miniatures illustrating the Cephalus and Procris story.¹ The scene of Procris' death may be shown alone, with Cephalus approaching the thicket in which she is hidden; this is the case in a manuscript of the *Épître* in the British Museum (Pl. 37a), and a closely related manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pl. 37d).² In these examples, Procris is shown already wounded, but others depict Cephalus in the act of throwing the spear (Pl. 37b, c).³ The second type of illustration is that in which two scenes are represented; Procris' death remains fairly constant, but the choice of the accompanying scene is subject to variations. In the case of the Brussels manuscript with miniatures attributed to Loyset Liedet, the disguised Cephalus appears on the right in the process of wooing Procris (Pl. 37c).⁴ However, the right half of a miniature in a manuscript at Erlangen shows Procris lying dead on the ground, her breast pierced by the spear, and Cephalus standing frantically nearby (Pl. 38a).⁵

thrown on the problem in the appendix, n. 3.

¹ The dating of the *Épître d'Othéa* is discussed by Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 24 ff. In spite of the large number of studies devoted to the work and its various early translations, there is as yet no modern edition of the text. Editions, beginning with that of Pigouchet, *ca.* 1490, under the title of *Les cent histoires de Troie*, were frequent through the first half of the sixteenth century. The MSS. and editions are listed by Campbell, p. 10 ff.

The manuscript illustrations of the works of Christine de Pisan are treated by Lucie Schaefer, "Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pisan," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, X, 1937, p. 119 ff., with many illustrations.

² Harley 4431, fol. 129^v; MS. fr. 606, fol. 38^v. The relation between these two manuscripts is not certain. Campbell, *op. cit.*, list of MSS. Nos. 2 and 31, p. 19 ff., considers the Paris miniatures to be copied from the London MS. Stechow, "Apollo und Daphne," *Studien der Bibl. Warburg*, XIII, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, p. 14, says that the London MS. is a free variant after that in Paris. Schaefer, on the other hand, dates the Paris MS. *ca.* 1405 and that in London *ca.* 1412 (*op. cit.*, p. 122, p. 172 ff.). In the case of the Cephalus and Procris miniatures the only important difference is that in the London example Cephalus is carrying the spear, while he is empty-handed in the Paris illumination. Cephalus' pose seems more meaningful and articulate with the spear,

and this would therefore support Mr. Campbell's view. In any case, both are among the earliest MSS. of the *Épître* and, as Mr. Campbell suggests, probably one of them was executed under Christine's own supervision.

³ Hague, Kon. Bibl. 74 G 27, fol. 71^v; Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures . . . à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, p. 63 ff., who describes it as French, toward 1460.

⁴ Bibl. Roy. 9392, fol. 79^v, *ca.* 1461; J. van den Gheyn, *Christine de Pisan, Épître d'Othéa, reproduction des 100 miniatures du manuscrit 9392 de Jean Miélot*, Brussels-Paris, 1913, pl. 76; the text was executed by Jean Miélot at the request of Philip the Good. F. Winckler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 75.

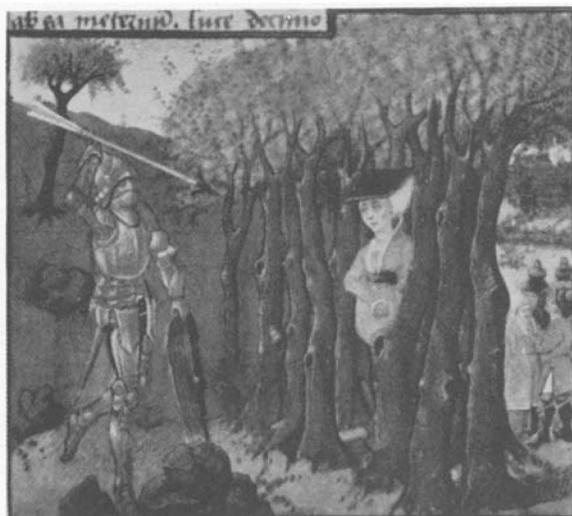
⁵ Universitätsbibl. MS. 2361, fol. 97^v, *ca.* 1460. Grisaille miniatures by Willem Vreland (fl. Bruges 1454-1481/2); Eberhard Lutze, *Die Bilderschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, Erlangen, 1936, VI, p. 235 ff.; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

This is the first example of a type which will become quite important in later illustrations of the Cephalus and Procris myth. Compare, for example, the scene in the Farnesina discussed below, p. 282 ff., Pl. 39e; there, however, the figure of Cephalus has undoubtedly been influenced by the lamenting figures on Meleager sarcophagi, which otherwise played such an important role in the development of Renaissance lamentation scenes (cf. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., p. 24).

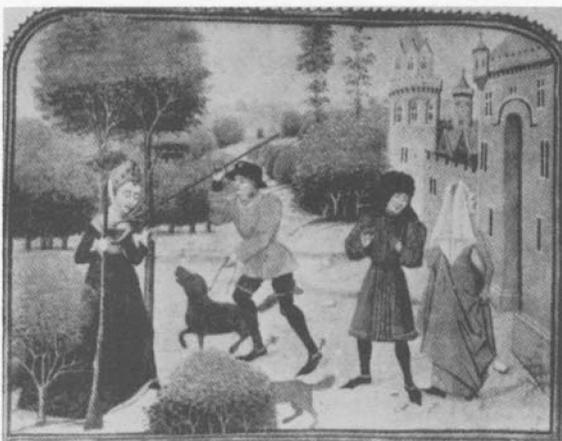
The Cephalus and Procris miniature in an



a



b



c



d

Cephalus and Procris, Illustrations to Christine de Pisan's *Épître d'Othéa*; (a) Brit. Mus. MS. Harley 4431, f. 129^v (*p.* 264); (b) The Hague, Kon. Bibl. MS. 74 B 27, f. 71^v (*p.* 264); (c) Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS. 9392, f. 79^v (*p.* 264); (d) Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 606, f. 38^v (*p.* 264)



a—Death of Procris, Christine de Pisan, *Épître d'Othéa*, Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. MS. 2361, f. 97^v (pp. 264, 271)



c—'Cephalus and Procris,' Florentine Painting, 15th cent.; Musée, Lille (p. 271)



b—Death of Procris, Christine de Pisan, *Épître d'Othéa*, Oxford, Bodley MS. 421, f. 53^v (p. 265)



d—'Death of Procris,' Piero di Cosimo, National Gallery, London (p. 271)

By Courtesy of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London

In Italy the awakening of humanism in the early fourteenth century was bringing important changes in the attitude towards the ancient mythology. Not long after Bersuire produced his *Ovidius Moralizatus*, Boccaccio compiled the great *Genealogia Deorum*.¹ These two works, though nearly contemporary, are very different as regards their treatment of the material. Bersuire, as we have seen, crowned with success the attempt of the entire Middle Ages to reconcile the pagan myths with Christianity, an achievement he owed to the christianizing interpretations of his predecessors. Boccaccio, on the other hand, tends to eliminate such interpretations, and in recounting the myths follows the ancient sources with utmost scholarly acumen.²

Such, however, is not the case in all of Boccaccio's work. The vast ideological framework which had been constructed around classical mythology was not to be discarded so easily and quickly, even though the initial step had been taken. In the more popular literary works of Boccaccio, the continuity of the mediaeval moralizing tradition is preserved. One of the most widely read and influential of his productions in this vein was the *De claribus mulieribus*, in which the sad fate of Procris is considered in some detail (cap. XXVI). His remarks show that he was familiar with the interpretations of the past, some of which were favourable to Procris, while some were against her. Boccaccio was quite aware of this conflict of opinions, and even observes that in so far as Procris was odious to women for her avarice, she was pleasing to men as revealing the vices of the ladies :

uti avaricia sua pudicis matronis exosa est, sic et viris accepta, quoniam per eam ceteram mulierum vicium adapertum sit.

Boccaccio himself tends to blame Procris for having succumbed both to avarice and to jealousy. He cannot decide which of these is the most powerful

Oxford manuscript of the *Épître* is interesting in showing that sometimes at least, an artist read the text he was illustrating (Pl. 38b, Bodl. 421, fol. 53^v, ca. 1460. Kathleen Chesney, "Two manuscripts of Christine de Pisan," *Medium Aevum*, I, 1932, p. 35 ff.; W. Stechow, *op. cit.*, p. 15). At the right of the very freely executed picture is the usual scene of Cephalus killing Procris, but at the left the artist has illustrated the story of Lot's wife, mentioned by Christine as a warning against unrestrained curiosity. In the left background are the burning and toppling buildings of Sodom and Gomorrah, before which the unfortunate lady is being turned to salt, in the presence of an angel (Genesis xviii. 1-26). This unusual scene is repeated in the woodcut illustration of the Pigouchet edition, ca. 1490.

¹ The *Genealogia* was still in Boccaccio's hands in 1373; cf. A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere Latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, p. 58, n. 1.

² Boccaccio does quote mediaeval authors

in the *Genealogia*, but not for their moralizations. An interesting example is his citation of Anselm as authority for making Cephalus and Aurora the parents of Hesperus :

Hesperus, alter a superiori, filius fuit Cephalii et Aure seu Aurora, ut dicit Anselmus ubi De Ymagine mundi. De quo, nomine excepto, nil aliud reperitur. (Bk. XIII, cap. lxvi, ed. V. Romano, Bari, 1951, II.)

As Dr. Panofsky suggests, Boccaccio is probably here referring to a treatise actually by Honorius of Autun, *De imagine mundi*; this work contains the following passage :

Tertius planeta est Venus, Aurorae et Zephali filius, qui et hesperus, lucifer et vesper, retundus, igneus, contra mundum nitens, ut Mercurius signiferum percurrit trecentis quadraginta octo diebus. (Lib. I, Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXII, col. 139.)

Cf. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1931, p. 371 ff.

force in the world, but finds it in any case foolish and useless to seek after that which one does not wish to find.

Ignoro quid dixerim potius, au nil esset potentius auro in terris aut stollidis quarere quod comperisse non vellis.¹

Here Boccaccio is acting for all the world like a mediaeval commentator, taking the idea directly from Bersuire, who made Cephalus guilty of the same useless and harmful curiosity.²

There is thus a certain contradiction in Boccaccio's attitude toward antiquity. On the one hand, in the *Genealogia* his account is for the most part antiquarian and scholarly, while in other works he treats the story in a manner that reveals the long interpretative tradition which lay behind him. Boccaccio's influence was felt throughout Europe almost immediately, and along with it this symptomatic dichotomy was preserved.³

Once Boccaccio had separated antique from Christian again, the artist could vary and manipulate the classical material as he pleased, apparently free of mediaeval encumbrances. In terms of the Cephalus and Procris myth, the process of developing these new potentialities culminates in the fifteenth century with a play on the subject by Niccolo da Correggio.

¹ Compare the regret expressed by the dying Procris in *L'Amorosa Visione*, XXII, 82, 83, ed. V. Branca, Bari, 1939, p. 187 (*Scrittori d'Italia* 169). This interpretation, as we shall see, becomes standard in later commentaries on the myth.

² Istd applica cōtra supiciosos maritos q sunt zelotype & incipiūt de vxore qre: & sic qnq, ml'ta iueniūt q nō sūt vtilia scire. Iō dr Eccli. iii. Nō ē tibi necessariū ea q absōdita sūt vider ocl'is tius & ī supuacius reb'noli scrutari. Vel dic q nō est aliqua mulier ita casta qn pcibus & muneribus vacillare cogat . . . Potes istud applicare cōtra mulieres suspiciosos q nitutur suos explorare maritos; qd cū faciūt īevitabili telo. i. ienarrabili zelo ledūtur. Vel dic cōtra relatores verbor q odia & suspitiones suscitāt & tandē picula & mortē parāt vel pariūt . . . Igit amor est telū ineuitabile: qa p certo nullus est qui posset euitare qn ab aliquo diligatur. . . . Vel dic q tale telū est verbū detractoriū. Istud em irreuovabiliter interficit in qtū fama quam aufert vix nunq poterit restitui vel reuocari. (Quoted from the 1509 edition of the *Ovidius Morali-zatus*; italics mine.)

The artists who illustrated Boccaccio's text also follow the late mediaeval tradition, as in a manuscript of the *De claris mulieribus* in the Morgan Library (MS. 381, French, Picard dialect, second half XV c.).

³ When speaking of Procris in *Il Filocolo*,

Boccaccio emphasizes the torment which jealousy brings into the lives of those who succumb to it:

Oimè, quanto è acerba vita quella dell' amante, il quale dubitando vive geloso. Infino a tanto che Procris non dubitò di Cefalo, fu la sua vita senza noia, ma poi che ella udì all male rapportante servidore ricordare Aurora, cui ella non conosceva, fu ella piena d'angosciose sollecitudine, infino che alla non pensata morte pervenne. (Book III, ed. Salv. Battaglia, Bari, 1938, p. 167, *Scrittori d'Italia* 137; cf. also Bk. II, p. 144.)

This idea is already reflected in a charming but little-known middle Netherlandish poem *Der Minnen Loop* (The Course of Love) by Dirc Potter (ca. 1368-1428). Potter recounts the story of Cephalus and Procris among the classes of Lawful Love (*der gheerlofter Minne*), and comments regarding Procris:

Hadsi int wachten niet ghesneeft
Si hadden lange mit vruedchen gheleeft.
(IV, 2191/2, ed. P. Leendertz, Leiden, 1846, 2 vols., *Werken uitgegeven door de Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Oude Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, p. 129.)

Potter, who served as secretary to Philip of Burgundy, was in Italy twice, and it was during one of these visits, in 1409, that *Der Minnen Loop* was written. Cf. F. von Hellwald and L. Schneider, *Geschichte der niederländischen Literatur*, Leipzig, (*Geschichte der Weltliteratur in Einzeldarstellungen*, Band XI), p. 150 ff.

Correggio, all but forgotten to-day, was one of the most famous poets of his time.¹ He was born in Ferrara in 1450 and was distantly related to the d'Este family. He was attached to the d'Este court for most of his life, and died in Ferrara in 1508. Correggio's work includes satires, laudatory sonnets, sacred and profane plays, and his manner *all' antico* was famous throughout Italy. The play, called *Cefalo*, has the distinction of being the second play with an antique subject written during the Renaissance, following only Poliziano's *Orfeo* (Milan, 1471).

Cefalo was produced on January 21, 1487, at the court of Ferrara, on the occasion of the marriage of two young members of the aristocracy, the Cavaliere Giulio Tassoni and Ippolita, a daughter of Niccolo Contrari.² The presentation is described in two Ferrarese chronicles, and both agree as to the sumptuousness of the production and magnificence of the occasion.³ The performance, between nine o'clock and midnight, took place in the court of the ducal palace, which was fitted with a wooden tribune painted in the form of a castle.⁴ Decorations were of rich velvet brocaded in gold, and music was played between the acts on diverse instruments.⁵

¹ Isabella d'Este referred to him as a "cavaliere attilato e di rime e cortesie erudito." Two studies have been devoted to Correggio: A. Arata, *Niccolo da Correggio nella vita letteraria e politica del tempo suo*, Bologna, 1934; Luzio-Renier, "Niccolo da Correggio," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXI, 1893, p. 205, XXII, p. 65 ff. Cf. also F. Malaguzzi, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, Milan, 1913 ff., *passim*, esp. IV, 1923, p. 164/5.

² Concerning the play, cf. Arata, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.; Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, XXII, p. 86 ff. Also, d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Turin, 1891, II, p. 5 and note; E. de Renoche, "Le favole mitologiche della fine del sec. XV," *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, III, 1902, p. 161 ff.; W. Creizenach, *Geschichte der neuern Dramas*, Halle, 1901, II, 1, p. 206-7; J. L. Klein, *Das italienische Drama*, Leipzig, 1867, II, p. 42 ff. (*Geschichte des Dramas*, Bd. V). Also E. Wind, *The Feast of the Gods*, Cambridge, 1949, p. 16, n. 32, and p. 50.

³ G. Pardi, *Diario ferrarese dell'anno 1409 sino al 1502 di autori incerti*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli storici italiani* (L. A. Muratori), Tome XXIV, pt. VII, Bologna, 1928; G. Pardi, *Bernardino Zambotti, Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, appendice al *Dario ferrarese di autori incerti*, 1934-1937.

⁴ The Venetian editions, probably following the old Venetian calendar style, give 1486 as the year of the performance. The mistake is followed by some modern authors: d'Ancona, *loc. cit.*; Zaira Montanari-Gioja, *Il dramma pastorale in Italia nel XV e XVI secoli*,

Florence, 1900, p. 9. Cf. Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 261.

⁵ Pardi, *Autori incerti*, p. 122:

MCCCCLXXXVII, a di XXI de Zenaro, il duca Hercole fece fare una festa in lo cortile con uno tribunale, che pareo una castella, che tenea da uno muro al'altro, et fu una facetia di Plauto (!) chiamata Cefalo, la qualle fu bella et de grande spexa.

Pardi, Bernardino Zambotti, p. 178:

A di 21, la dominica. Lo excellentissimo duca nostro fece representare la fabula de Cephalo in lo cortile novo de la Corte, da hore 21 insino ad hore 24, suxo uno tribunale de legno e d'asse depinto cum caxe in fogia de castello e citade posto de verso li officii; e da l'altro lado, suxo uno tribunale con schalini adornati de razi e brochati d'oro, ge hera lo illustrissimo duca nostro, il marchexe de Mantoa, Fracasso fiolo del signore Roberto Sanseverino e dui ambascatori del duca de'Milano e molti altri cavaleri e zintilhomini forastieri, e anche cittadini e doctores e scholari. Dal lato de sopra, a le fe(ne)ste de le camere e suzo il pozolo novo, ge hera la illustrissima madona nostra e zintildonne con soi fioli e fiole, e madona Biancha da la Mirandola. E tal festa fu facta con soni de diversi instrumenti intermedii a li acti, perchè fu facta in modo de sciena o tragedia . . . Tal spectacolo fu facto per letitia de le noze del magnifico cavaleto messer Julio Tassone, il quale ha questo di ad tuore spoxa la nobilissima zovene madona Hippolita,

The play is in five acts; the action generally follows the *Metamorphoses*, although Niccolo varies the details considerably.

Act I. Aurora declares her love to Cefalo, and upon his rejection of her advances she persuades him to test the fidelity of his wife Procris. His suspicions aroused, Cefalo disguises himself as a merchant, and offers his wife fabulous gifts, the apples of Atalanta, the oil of Tiresias, and the shield of Athena, in return for her favours. Procris now recognizes her would-be seducer and flees; Cefalo, regretting his foolish trick, follows in search of her. II. Procris prays to Diana to accept her among her chaste nymphs. Diana kindly consents and clothes Procris as a virgin huntress, giving her the unerring spear and the swift hound Laelaps. Procris does not heed an old shepherd who entreats her to return. III. Ultimately the couple is reconciled, and Procris gives Cefalo the dog and spear as a sign of their renewed love. Cefalo wishes to try out his new equipment, and while he is gone a mischievous faun, who has fallen in love with Procris, tells her that Cefalo is calling to his beloved "Aurora." IV. Returning homeward from the chase, Cefalo cools himself in the fresh breeze (Aura), and Procris, who has followed and hidden in a bush, makes a noise. Cefalo throws his spear at what he thinks is a wild animal. Mortally wounded, Procris' last wish is that he remain true to her. V. Artemis restores Procris to life and Galatea returns her to the overjoyed Cefalo. Diana in conclusion warns Procris never to be jealous again and Cefalo not to love other women. The play ends with a dance of the chorus of nymphs.¹

The classical purity of *Cefalo* is greater than in any previous account of the myth, excepting perhaps that in Boccaccio's *Genealogia*. The author is intimately acquainted with the original sources, and numerous passages are simply direct translations from the *Metamorphoses*.² However, this does not prevent Correggio from making many emendations to suit his literary purposes. Several new characters are added, such as the "fameglio" who is Cefalo's companion during the first act. Procris now has a maid, with whom the disguised Cefalo must deal (very amusingly) before being admitted to speak with his wife. There is an old shepherd whom Cefalo sends to beg Procris to return. There is the faun who in his love for Procris, tells her the lie about Cefalo in order to set her against him. Finally, there are a host of other classical characters, including choruses of satyrs, nymphs, fauns, and miscellaneous divinities, such as Callisto and Galatea. All these are added to enhance the ancient and pagan atmosphere of the narrative.³

Upon further analysis of the play, however, certain familiar ideas and

fiola che fu del magnifico messer Nicolò di Contrarii e de madona Beatrice de Rangoni.

¹ *Cefalo* has never been given a modern edition; quotations are from that of Zoppino, Venice, 1521.

² Parallel passages are quoted in Arata, *op. cit.*, p. 171 ff., and in de Renoche, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff. The classical sources are analysed by Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, XXII, p. 93 ff.

³ Correggio even takes over a classical

comment on the story. When Procris comes to her for help, Diana says,

Gran manchamento e de chi presto crede.

(E. verso)

The idea comes from the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid (III, 685/6), and was also used by Petrarch in a reference to Procris in the letter of December 28, 1352 to Ugolino de' Rossi, Bishop of Parma (*Epistolae de familiarum rerum*, IX, 5, 47, 390 ff., ed. V. Rossi, Florence, 1934).

expressions appear, which lead one to suspect the strictness of its classical character. In the first act, as Cefalo begins to regret bitterly having put his wife to the test, he complains:

Che bisogni aua a me paccio cercare
 Nel gionco il nodo o nela harena el grano
 Trouato io ho qual chio non voleua trouare
 Hoime come fui mai cotanto insano
 Che voleuo io di questo proua far.

(D. viii. *verso*)

This is the same idea, almost the same words, as Boccaccio, basing himself on Bersuire, used in drawing his moral from the story of Procris (quoted above, p. 266). Moreover, Hyginus was quite unequivocal in his views concerning the state of Procris' virginity after she fled to Diana; the goddess replies:

Mecum virgines venantur, tu virgo non es.

It had generally been the policy of mediaeval commentators to treat the lady with more Christian leniency. Correggio also looks upon the question in direct and pointed opposition to Hyginus. Correggio's Diana quite willingly accepts Procris among her virgin followers, saying:

Vientene meco in questo ombroso speco
 Che de virgine veste io vo vestirte
 Che sempre possi de mie nymphe dirte.

(E. *verso*)

Such moralizing implications, when one has become conscious of them, are legion throughout the play; thus perhaps quite unexpectedly, it becomes evident that beneath Correggio's vaunted classicism, there lies a whole substructure which is intimately related to the mediaeval Christianizing interpretations of ancient mythology. Indeed, a basically Christian meaning underlies the most important liberty that Correggio takes with the classical story. At the end of the play, Procris is brought back to life by the benevolent Diana to live blissfully reunited with Cefalo. Here is certainly an application to the pagan tragedy of the Christian principles of Sin and Salvation, Death and Resurrection. Procris and Cefalo have repented and paid for their sins; they are therefore forgiven by divine grace and rewarded with her resurrection and return to happy existence. Correggio himself allows no mistakes on this point, for he makes the significance of the event entirely clear in the play's prologue:

. . . ven la sacrata corte
 E contra el fatto accerbo obtien uittoria
 Mutando in riso la plorata sorte
 Fece vendetta e poi soccorse al fine
 Che tarda non fur mai gratie divine.¹

(D. iiiii. *verso*)

¹ It was not uncommon during the Renaissance to give happy Christian endings to tragical classical stories, e.g., the last act of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, in which Apollo takes

Orfeo up to heaven, where he will admire again the beautiful countenance of Euridice,

. . . nel Sole e nelle Stelle
 Vegheggerai le sue sembianze belle,

The fundamental importance of the story's ethical value is evident from the fact that the entire play was meant to convey just such a moral message. *Cefalo* was written for and presented at a wedding. The subject was therefore chosen as a warning to the newly-married pair of the dire consequences to be expected if they should permit jealousy to enter their hearts. The moral, again from Bersuire and Boccaccio, is drawn by Calliope in her speech over the dead body of Procris in the fourth act:

Pietoso fin de doi miseri amanti
 Veduto hauete exempio ogni amatore
 . . . ma fu furore
 Così a vui donne vna doctrina sia
 Che riposo no sta cum gielosia.

(F. v. *recto*)

Furthermore, the play was understood by those present to have this implication, since the diarist Zambotti expressly calls attention to it:

E la concluxione per exemplo de le donne che non siano ziloxe de li loro maridi, che fu bel vedere e oldire.¹

Correggio's *Cefalo* illustrates a peculiar aspect of the Renaissance revival of antiquity. It often happened that the Christian mediaeval tradition continued to affect the basic meanings which were attached to the fiercely sought-after classical themes. Perhaps the old moralizing interpretations had become so much a part of the classical legacy that it was not always possible to distinguish clearly between them, even though Boccaccio had shown the way. The combination seems incongruous indeed in a play like *Cefalo*. But certainly Correggio felt no such contradiction, or at least it did not greatly disturb him. For although he will not place his play in a specific dramatic category,

Non vido questa per comedia
 Che in tutto non se obserua il modo loro
 Ne voglio la crediate tragedia
 Se ben de nymphe gli vedreti il choro
 Fabula or historia quale elle se sia
 Io ue le dono . . .

he is very proud to call it

. . . una greca historia.

(D. iiiii. *verso*, D. v. *recto*)

As far as the fate of the Cephalus and Procris myth is concerned, Niccolo da Correggio's *Cefalo*, regardless of what its literary merit might be, is of first importance.² Simply by making it the theme of a play, plays based on to which Orfeo replies,

Ben di cotanto Padre
 Sarei non degno figlio
 Se non seguisci il tuo fedel consiglio.

the first half of the 16th century, 1507, 1509, 1510, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1518, 1521, 1553; cf. Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, XXII, p. 86, note 5, and Max Sander, *Le Livre à figures italien*, New York, 1941, No. 2212 ff.

¹ Above, note 5, p. 267.

² There were at least nine editions through

classical subjects still being quite novel in the fifteenth century, Correggio raised the myth to a position of independence. Further, by drawing a moral from the story, and presenting it at a marriage celebration, the myth acquired singular significance as a kind of nuptial admonition.

It is in this context and upon Correggio's precedent that the myth first appears as the subject of an important Renaissance painting—the famous panel by Piero di Cosimo in the National Gallery in London (Pl. 38d). Procris lies prone, slightly on her side, with the pathetic figure of the faun kneeling mournfully beside her. Cephalus is only suggested by his dog Laelaps, who seems also to be deeply lamenting.

In considering Piero's picture it is well to recall that fifteenth-century Italy had no tradition for representing the Cephalus and Procris myth; it is not illustrated, for example, in the important 1497 edition of the *Metamorphoses* by Zoane Rosso at Venice.¹ Perhaps this lack of precedent, by throwing Piero back entirely on his own imaginative resources, contributed to his producing such a new and unusual design.²

Another element which undoubtedly contributed to the picture's originality is the fact that it illustrates Correggio's play.³ This is proved by the presence of the faun, who had appeared in *Cefalo* as the bearer of the untruth concerning Cefalo's activities during his rests from the chase.⁴ The actual scene depicted by Piero, the faun mourning over the dead body of Procris, does not occur specifically in the action of the play. However, the faun was himself in love with Procris; yet his machinations were the indirect cause of her death. Thus, Piero represents not a particular event, but much more the spirit of the story's tragedy. Indeed, the beautiful yet melancholy atmosphere which is the great charm of the picture goes far beyond Niccolo's rather mediocre dramatic achievement. Moreover, it serves to emphasize the central moral message of the play—a warning against jealousy between husband and

¹ This was the first time the *Metamorphoses* was illustrated in the Renaissance classical revival style, cf. M. D. Henkel, "Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI., und XVII. Jahrhundert," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1926-1927, p. 65 ff.; E. Krause, *Die Mythen-darstellungen in der venezianischen Ovidausgabe von 1497, Beiträge zur Ikonographie mythologischer Gestalten im Quattrocento*, Diss., Würzburg, Tilsit, 1926.

The Cephalus and Procris story had been illustrated once by a 15th-century Italian, in a painting in the Musée de Lille (Pl. 38c, reproduced here presumably for the first time; Jules Langlert, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée de Lille*, 1893, No. 929, p. 320). The picture was noted by Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, No. 405, who never saw it. The artist follows the manuscript tradition closely, adding Laelaps muzzled at the right, and the ominous figure, probably of Aurora, waiting patiently till the deed is done. The absence of any relationship with Piero is

evident.

² The only precedents for Procris lying on the ground, dead, are late Gothic miniatures of the type illustrated in Pl. 38a, from the Christine de Pisan manuscript in Erlangen. In view of Piero's frequent northern inclinations it is entirely possible that he was acquainted with such an example.

³ The connexion between *Cefalo* and Piero's panel was first noted by Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 52 f.

⁴ Correggio's faun is, to my knowledge, unique among early versions of the myth. Piero must certainly have heard of the play which, as the numerous editions show, was quite famous in humanistic circles. He probably also knew the play directly from one of the early editions. Knapp, *Piero di Cosimo*, Halle, 1899, p. 82, dates the picture around 1510; there were Venice editions of the play in 1507 and 1509 (above, n. 2, p. 270).

wife. That Piero's painting was meant to carry the same message is shown by the fact that it was very probably a cassone panel and, like Correggio's play, particularly directed toward newly-weds.¹ Thus, Piero preserves the same combination of classical antiquity with Christian didacticism which was so evident in *Cefalo*.²

When Bernardino Luini some years later used Correggio's play as the basis for his illustrations to the Cephalus and Procris story in the Casa Rabia, his choice was probably quite independent of Piero di Cosimo. Yet, perhaps just because of their independence, Luini's pictures are particularly interesting from the point of view of illustration.³ For they show very clearly two basic methods used by Renaissance artists in interpreting a written text visually. On the one hand, the painter may follow the text literally depicting specific events that it describes, or, in the case of a play, which actually take place in it. On the other hand, he may create a kind of "metaphor" in which, struck by some phrase or implied idea, he elaborates upon it and makes it into something quite distinct. We shall consider first Luini's "literal" illustrations to *Cefalo*.

It will be remembered that at the end of the first act Procris, horrified at discovering that her own husband was attempting to seduce her, flees to join the nymphs of Diana. The second act opens with Procris praying to Diana for acceptance among the goddess' followers; Diana responds affirmatively:

Qui segue il secondo acto di questa fabula
nel qual Procri si vede vscir de un bosco la qual
le scontrata se in Diana a lei fa oratione come
segue qui dicendo cosi per ordine silentio.

Diana hoime che vn vergognoso caso
Hoggi me occorso contra la tua lege
Cephal mutato se hauia persuaso
Trarmi per premio dela honesta grege
Pur l'honor mio nel suo loco e rimaso
Ma tanta offesa mal per me si rege

¹ Langton Douglas, *Piero di Cosimo*, Chicago, 1946, p. 59 ff., violently opposed the idea that the panel was a cassone frontal for two reasons:

1. The subject, a story of a jealous wife, would not have been appropriate for a bride.
2. The panel is unusually shaped for a cassone, being over 180 cm. long.

It need only be mentioned in the first place that Correggio's play was itself presented at a wedding, as were numerous others on the same subject (see below). On the contrary, there is abundant evidence that the subject must have been considered singularly appropriate for brides.

In the second place, there are more than 56 cassone panels listed in Schubring alone

which are longer than 180 cm., many of them still preserved intact; I quote at random from Schubring: cat. Nos. 1, 5, 6, 158, 269, 359, 456, 459, 499, 557, 640, 673, 697, 715, 727, 749, 786, 795, 840, 886, etc., etc.

² In the recent catalogue of the earlier Italian schools in the National Gallery (1951, p. 327 ff.), Martin Davis questions the identification of Piero's picture because of the omission of Cephalus, even suggesting that the panel might represent a subject otherwise unknown. Nevertheless, the present interpretation does account for all the important elements in the picture.

³ The connexion between the Luini panels and Correggio's *Cefalo* was the core of Professor Panofsky's suggestion for this study.

Conobil presto e in sdegno sum fugita
 Tu che ami honesta porgime aita
 Tutto me ha fatto per lo anticho amore
 Che ala sua Aurora questo iniquo porta

Come Calisto mai non feci errore
 Ne de atto tristo in me mai te sei accorta
 Lasciami andar per le tue limpide acque
 Che tal vita al mio gusto sempre piacque

Diana

Procri mia chara quella antiqua fede
 Che gia seruasti per le silue meco
 Che al bisogno ti lassi non concede
 Ne Cephal merito de hauerte seco
 Gran manchamento e de chi presto crede
 Vientene meco in questo ombroso speco
 Che virgine veste io vo vestirte
 Che sempre possi de mie nymphe dirte.

(E. *recto*, *verso*)

In the panel illustrating this scene, Procris is seen emerging from the forest in the background, and in the foreground she kneels in reverent prayer (Pl. 35a). Luini has quite ingeniously merged the sequence of the three stanzas by showing Procris already in the dress of the virgin huntress, complete with bow and quiver.

Another sequence in the second act provides Luini with the subjects for two more panels. Cefalo is wandering through the woods in search of his run-away spouse. He bewails his loss violently, and threatens to do away with himself, life no longer having any significance for him.

O sfortunato Amore o iniqua sorte
 O amante troppo al suo damno veloce
 Perche non viene a me pregata morte
 A cui quanto piu viuo el viuer noce

(E. ii. *recto*)

To an old shepherd who has tried in vain to restrain Procris from forsaking "one who dies for her,"

Deh non fugir donzella:
 Colui che per ti more

(E. iii. *recto*)¹

he repeats the same threats and entreaties for sympathy:

¹ The shepherd's words had a long history in Renaissance descriptions of amorous pursuits:

Deh, o bella fanciulla, non fuggire
 Colui, che t'ama sopra ogni altra cosa:
 (Boccaccio, *Ninfale Fiesolano*, St. 100, ed. V. Pernicone, Bari, 1937, p. 245, *Scrittori d'Italia* 165.)

Non mi fuggir, donzella;
 ch'i' ti son tanto amico,
 E che più t'amo che la vita e'l core.
 (Poliziano, *Orfeo*, 125/126, ed. Carducci-A. D'onati), Milan, 1910, p. 81.)

Cf. A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, p. 34 ff.; other relationships between *Cefalo* and *Orfeo* are quoted in E. de Renoche, *op. cit.*, p. 178 ff.

Piata pastor de lo infoelice amante

Se la mia morte brāmi (Procris) e nhai pur gioco
 Fermate e me uedrai finir qui in poco
 (E. iii. *verso*)

In the two panels (Pl. 35b, c) we see the still disguised Cefalo in agony, with the sympathetic old shepherd trying to comfort him and prevent any hasty suicidal attempts.¹

In Act IV the actual homicide takes place, and Luini shows Procris reeling under the blow of the spear which has entered her breast (Pl. 35d):

Ceph. ferita Procris in cambio de vna fera entra nel
 bosco e troua lei caduta languire.

Haime crudele Amante: haime consorte
 Haime vita mortal come te lasso
 O infoelice amatori a che rea sorte
 Conducte siamo e a che infoelice passo.
 Haime che de tua man mhai dato morte
 Crudo amante e marito: a cor di sasso.
 O stelle: o coeli: o fato crudo & empio
 Perche voi farme de gli amanti exempio
 (F. ii. *verso*)

In the course of bemoaning his tragic mistake, Cefalo encounters two nymphs, and this provides Luini with another illustration (Pl. 36a):

Cephalo visto due nymphe a quelle parlando dice.

O sacre nymphe che per freschi fonti
 Inscie del nostro mal cantando gite
 Se accerbo caso obtenebro mai fonti
 Vno excessiuo danno alquanto vdite
 Non aspettati chel mio mal raconti
 Ma queste fresche rose impalidite
 Chio vi discopro a contemplar restate
 Che cagion le man mie se sono state
 (F. iiiii. *recto*)

The nymphs are represented asleep when Cefalo comes upon them with the terrible news.²

Of still greater interest are Luini's "metaphorical" illustrations, in which, rather than a strict visualization of the text, the picture becomes an imaginative supplement to it. For example, in the beginning of the second act, Procris tells Diana of Cefalo's treachery, and begs the goddess to show him her wrath:

¹ In the background of Pl. 35b is a reference to the Theban episode of Cephalus' dog, which took place after the estrangement and before the death; according to Ovid, the beast of Themis had been ravaging the Theban flocks when the shepherds came to Cephalus for help (VII, 759 ff.).

² Nymphs, of course, are very commonly sleepy:

Die Nymphe darf nicht munter sein,
 Und wo sie steht, da schläft sie ein.

(Faust, II, 1, 1276/7.)

Also the classical statue type, e.g., the famous sleeping Nymph in the Vatican.

Adopra contra a lui Dea il tuo furore
(E. verso)

Luini elaborates on Diana's wrath, and shows Procris at the left with the goddess who sets the dogs against Cefalo (Pl. 36b). Cefalo fights back furiously, while other nymphs rush forward to join in the fray.¹

Particularly amusing is the panel illustrated in Pl. 36c, for it is the result of a curious misreading by Luini of a passage in Correggio's text. Twice we see Cefalo in his disguise digging in the ground, with a small vase or urn at his side. The scene illustrates a speech made by Cefalo in Act I where, in his merchant's attire, he tempts Procris with the offer of fabulous gifts, pressing his suit as follows:

Ioue non son: non son Phoebo o Mercurio
Chio mi sapia far cigno: o farmi un Toro
Son vn tuo seruo: e cum foelice augurio
Te anuntio vltra quel don cento onze doro
Qui fora de la terra e vn mio tugurio
Doue alcun non va mai: piglia el Thesoro
Che doppo quello io mi ti dono e lego
Segui con vtel tuo questo mio prego
(D. vii. verso)

Luini has obviously misread the passage; for "piglia el thesoro" he reads "piglio el thesoro," and represents Cefalo digging for the treasure. Furthermore, for the word "vtel" (*utile*) in the last line, Luini misunderstands the rhythm and reads "vtel" (*utello, utellino*—a small vase), and shows the little pot at Cefalo's side. In the distance is seen his dwelling "fora de la terra" (as a merchant he has come from afar) which he modestly refers to as "vn mio tugurio / doue alcun non va mai." Instances like these do not speak very well for Luini's accuracy as a textual interpreter, but doubtless he was not terribly concerned over such matters.

The remaining two frescoes are again elaborations on ideas in the play rather than illustrations of specific narrative details. One of the panels (Pl. 36d) shows a young maiden with one arm extended toward a unicorn which kneels in subjection before her. The scene is obviously an attestation to the virginity of the lady, who is identified as Procris by her dress. This brings up again the interesting question as to the condition of Procris' virtue after being seduced by her own husband (see above, p. 269). Whereas Hyginus had taken an extremely dim view, Correggio repeatedly expresses his opposition. In the second act Diana willingly takes Procris back as a nymph and clothes her in virginal dress. In the fifth act the point is again emphasized; Diana recalls Procris from death, and turns her over to the grateful Cefalo, saying:

¹ There is certainly a reference to the Actaeon myth, through which an attack by hunting dogs had become associated with Diana's wrath. Classical reliefs often show Actaeon, not yet transformed into a stag,

fighting the dogs with a big stick, e.g., the Louvre Actaeon sarcophagus from the Borghese Collection (De Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, 1841, II, 1, p. 321, pl. 113).

Rendoti adunque la tua chara sposa
 E ti ritorno nel suo primo stato
 E perche luno non vi fusse odiosa
Sia qui di nouo il suo Himeneo chiamato
 (F. vii. verso)¹

It is the stress upon Procris' emerging unblemished from the inadvertent encounter with her husband that Luini is allegorizing in this panel. The interest in this point of morality, which was a purely secondary aspect of the ancient accounts, is itself profoundly Christian in character, even mediaeval. It is not surprising, therefore, that Luini should signify the idea by a unicorn, and he did so on perfectly good precedent, completing a kind of cycle of late mediaeval associations and symbolism.

The *Ovide moralisé* had described Aurora, Cephalus' original seductress, in glowing terms:

Aurora est la vierge pucele
 Qui tant fu glorieuse et bele,
 Plaine de grace et de purté.
 (VII, 3579-81)²

The author's choice of words betrays his source, the famous description of the unicorn in the *Bestiaire d'Amour* of Richard de Fournival:

. . . et a une corne en la narine que nule armeure ne le puet contretenir, si que nus ne li ose corre sus ne attendre, fors virge pucele. Car quant il en sent une au flair, il s'agenolle devant li et si s'umelie docement aussî come por servir.³

Thus, the author of the *Ovide moralisé* took over the description of the virgin from the *Bestiaire d'Amour* and applied it to Aurora, but omitted any reference to the unicorn. Aurora then became so pure,⁴ that she was even identified with the Virgin Mary:

Progreditur, inquam de virtute in virtutem (Psal. LXXXIII) quasi Aurora, quia sicut aurora solem super terram lucentem mundo inducit, sic virgo Maria quasi coelestis aurora Solem justitiae mundo parit. Aurora solem antecedit, sed ipsa tamen a solis virtute procedit; sic Virgo veri luminis praevia, id est Solis justitiae est praenuntia; sed tamen ab ipso spirituali gratia est illuminata. Et vere quasi aurora consurgens, id est tota simul surgens; quia tota fuit sancta et corpore et spiritu splendens.
 (Alain de Lisle, *Elucid. in Cant. Cant.*, Cap. VI, Ps. LXXXIII).⁵

The idea of virginity thus became the essential meaning of the whole myth. This stage is to be seen in the manuscript of the *Ovide moralisé* in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal (MS. 5069). On folio 105 *recto* of the manuscript the

¹ Italics are mine.

² Ed. de Boer, III, p. 100.

³ C. Hippeau, *Le bestiaire d'amour par Richard de Fournival*, Paris, 1860, p. 23.

⁴ Of course she is anything but pure in the ancient myths about her.

⁵ Migne, *P.L.*, CCX, col. 94.

following conclusion is given to the story of Cephalus and Procris, accompanied by an appropriate illustration:

Ci devise la moralite de ceste
Fable sus l'Annonciacion de l'ange
A la Vierge Marie. (Pl. 39a).¹

In Correggio also, summarizing the traditional mediaeval attitude toward Procris, the idea of the "vierge pucele" is the central theme of the story; omitting the reference to Mary, it is now applied to the unfortunate wife. This in turn suggests to Luini finally to complete the cycle and go back to the original source, the *Bestiaire d'Amour*, with its description of the kneeling unicorn.

The final panel (Pl. 36e) provides a grand finale to the apotheosis of feminine purity which is the dominant feature of the play; indeed, it is based on Correggio's last act finale. Diana has resurrected Procris and given her back to Cefalo. Then the nymphs join together in singing the joys of the occasion. They all enter the "house" with Cefalo, and Calliope sings the final stanza, invoking Hymeneus to seal the new marital bliss with the stamp of legitimacy, and exhorting all to share in the joy that the lovers are finally reunited.

Le Nymphe danzando cum Cep. intrano in casa

Qvi hymeneo sia qui chiamato
A relagrar il nodo
Che morte hauea slegato
E sia li Amor cum legiptimo modo
Il coel ne sia laudato
E in casa foco accendasi
Debite gratie rendasi
A chi ce ha resa procri o mie sorelle
Cantate o nymphe belle

(F. viii. *recto*)

The building is this sacred nuptial house, the temple of Diana and of Virginité, as identified by the spear-carrying female statue on the apex of the pediment, and by the inscription.² The idea of harmony is epitomized by the appearance of Cefalo and the faun approaching the temple; along with all the world, even the rivals for Procris' affection join in reverent homage at the Temple of female chastity.³

¹ *Le Romant des Fables d'Ovide le Grant*, Paris, Arsenal 5069; H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Paris, 1889, pp. 35-36.

² The idea of re-marriage probably led Luini to recall with his building the temples of the *Sposalizio* of Christian iconography. The architecture strongly suggests the octagonal cupola of S. Maria della Passione in Milan, with its angle pilasters, stepped mouldings, pedimented windows, etc. S. M. della Passione was begun in 1485, and the cupola finished in 1530 (Carlo Ponzoni, *Le Chiese di*

Milano, Milan, 1930, p. 185 ff.). Luini did his well-known *Deposition* for this same church, dated by Beltrami 1512-1515 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). The type became quite popular in Milan, and is reflected in the cupolas of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, S. Carlo al Lazzaretto, and S. Giuseppe in Via Verde.

³ Precisely the opposite situation occurs in connexion with the Temple of Diana in Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Polia has taken the goddess' vows of chastity, but then falls in love with Poliphilus, whereupon they are both driven from the Temple of Diana;

It remains only to consider how Girolamo Rabia and Luini came to know the play of Correggio. In general terms it is significant that the first two plays of the Renaissance based on classical subject-matter should have been produced in the closely related cities of Mantua and Ferrara. This is only further evidence of the leading role which the north Italian *ambiente* played in the Renaissance revival of antiquity, in which Milan also had an important share. It would thus have been quite natural for Girolamo Rabia and Luini to have heard of Correggio's novelty and to have been enthusiastic about having it illustrated among the mythological subjects in the decoration of Rabia's new town house. There can be no doubt that the play was known in Milan, since the chronicler Zambotti specifically records that among the guests present at the original production were two ambassadors of the Duke of Milan.¹ Moreover, Niccolo da Correggio had himself been in Milan for eight years (1490-1498), in the service of Il Moro. Quite possibly Correggio and Rabia were personally acquainted, since the latter was also intimately associated with the court.

The evidence for Luini's knowledge of the play is equally conclusive, and is of particular interest since the source itself had an influence on his illustrations. As has been noted, *Cefalo* was first published in Venice in 1507;² this edition contained a woodcut illustration which was also used in the later printings (Pl. 39c).³ That Luini made use of one of the editions is evident from a comparison with Luini's panel illustrating Cefalo's meeting with the two nymphs (Pl. 36a). Luini's dependence on the woodcut is apparent in the position of the main foreground figure, the general disposition of the very north Italian landscape, even in the city seen in the distance.⁴ The panel is not an exact copy of the woodcut, but a rather free adaptation, similar to Luini's attitude toward the play itself.⁵

II

The Cephalus and Procris myth as it appears in Ovid was a fusion of several originally independent stories, most important being the rape of Ce-

illustrated in the 1499 edition, cf. J. W. Appell, *The Dream of Poliphilus, facsimile of 169 woodcuts*, London, 1893, No. 159.

¹ The name of one of the ambassadors is known, a certain Johannes de Ferofinus. They had been sent for negotiations concerning the vain attempt of the Duke of Milan to induce the Este Duke to join with the King of Naples in his war against the Pope (Pardi, *Titoli dottorali*, pp. 78-9).

² The editions also contain another play of Niccolo, *Psiche*. It has been suggested that this work had some influence on Correggio's S. Paolo frescoes (1518), Luzio-Renier, *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 86.

³ Prince d'Essling, *Livres à figures vénétiens*, Florence-Paris, 1907-1909, II, 1, No. 1566,

pp. 149-151, ill. p. 150.

⁴ There may indeed have been a more personal connexion between Luini and Niccolo da Correggio, through Isabella d'Este. Luini probably also had contact with Isabella regarding his picture of Christ among the Doctors (London, National Gallery) which reflects a composition that she had asked Leonardo to paint in 1504 (cf. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1943, I, p. 115).

⁵ Further comparison with Renaissance literary sources may throw additional light on other of Luini's enigmatic mythological scenes. Stechow, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (Excuse), has associated an idyllic poem of Lorenzo de' Medici with Luini's queer *Daphne* panel from La Pelluca.

phalus by Aurora and the Attic Procris myth.¹ After Ovid these components entirely lost their independence until the turn of the seventeenth century when the Aurora and Cephalus portion is again treated separately; this occurs in another play, *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*, by Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1637).² Chiabrera, widely known as the "Italian Pindar," wrote the play for presentation at the festivities in Florence celebrating the marriage of Marie de' Medici to Henry IV of Navarre in the year 1600.³ The magnificence of the presentation, which took place in the Medici theatre in the Uffizi, was beyond all precedent; 3,000 male guests and 800 women are said to have attended, and the musical accompaniment was played by 100 musicians.⁴ Particularly elaborate were the various mechanical devices used to produce dramatic descents of deities from heaven on luminous clouds, chariots, and wings—all designed and operated by Bernardo Buontalenti.⁵

The play itself is remarkable for the complete absence of any trace of the moralizing interpretations which have thus far been inescapable. The action centres about the havoc created in the universe by Amor; in causing Aurora to fall in love with Cephalus, he induces her to neglect her duty of leading the sun through the heavens, and thereby disrupts the orderly succession of night and day. It is purely a mischievous demonstration of Love's power, and he defies the gods to interfere, on peril of being shot by one of his arrows. After all the divinities, including Zeus, have shown him due respect, Amor restores order by causing Cephalus to return Aurora's love (he had been a trifle reluctant at first) and she carries him off to the heavens.

With Chiabrera's play the separation between antique and Christian that had begun with Boccaccio is complete, at least in theory. Perhaps the motive force that brought the final cleavage was the Counter-Reformation which, while often not violently anti-antique, had stringently opposed the mediaeval policy of reconciliation.⁶ Even yet, however, something of the spirit of the conflict remained; Chiabrera himself felt it when he wrote his own epitaph:

¹ Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, *art. cit.*

One morning while Cephalus was out hunting Aurora carried him off from the heights of Mount Hymettus. He wished to remain faithful to Procris, and Aurora, incensed at his lack of response, sent him back home with the angry warning that he would regret ever having known his wife. It was this remark that first aroused Cephalus' suspicions.

A third essential element was the episode of the Teumesian fox, see below, note 2, p. 286.

² First published by Mareschotti, Florence, 1600, under the title *Il Rapimento di Cefalo, rappresentato nelle nozze della Cristianiss. Regina di Francia e di Navarra Maria Medici*; it has been given a modern edition by A. Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, Milan-Palermo-Naples, 1905, III, p. 29 ff.

³ Chiabrera's verses imitating Pindar brought him fame as one of Italy's leading classicists; he is best remembered to-day for his autobiography and for his lyrical poems:

F. L. Mannucci, *La Lirica di Gabrielle Chiabrera, storia e caratteri*, Naples, 1925.

⁴ Cf. A. Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, Florence, 1905, p. 23 ff. The music was written by Giulio Caccini, and the intermezzi by Don Giovanni de' Medici. The festivities of the occasion and the presentation of the play itself, on October 9, are described by Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jr., a large abstract of whose work is quoted by Solerti, *Gli albori*, p. 11 ff.; the diaries of Tinghi and Settimani also contain notices of the presentation, Solerti, *Musica, etc.*, p. 26, n. 2.

⁵ Buonarroti description, Solerti, *Gli albori*, p. 27 ff.

⁶ Cf. the well-known instance of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1564 (Pius IV) which, while not suppressing Ovid himself (not even the *Ars Amatoria*), prohibited the reading of such works as the *Ovidius moralizatus*; quoted in Panofsky and Saxl, *art. cit.*, p. 277, note 63.

Io vivendo cercavo il conforto per lo Monte Parnasso
 Tu, meglio consigliato, fa di cercarlo sul Monte Calvario.¹

Almost at the same time that Chiabrera's play was written, the story of Aurora and Cephalus had also been isolated from the main narrative in the famous Carracci fresco in the Palazzo Farnese (Pl. 39d).² Cephalus is seen, somewhat coy perhaps, but not really reluctant, being carried off by Aurora in her chariot, which is drawn by two great white steeds, while a little putto leads the way strewing flowers. At the lower left appears Cephalus' dog, and the aged Tithonus reclines asleep at the right. Close examination reveals that Carracci's representation has several points in common with Chiabrera's *Rapimento*.

For example, the unusually prominent position given to Tithonus, who had not been included in any previous illustrations of the myth, recalls his appearance, also for the first time since classical literature, in the melodrama of Chiabrera; Tithonus opens the second act with a solo aria bemoaning the loss of his beloved wife.

Chi mi conforte ahimè! Chi più consolami?
 Or ch'l mio sol, che sì bei raggi adornano,
 La bellissima Aurora, onde s'aggiornano
 Mie notti, innanzi tempo ecco abbandonami;
 Nè pensa che quest'ore unqua non tornano.
 etc.³

He is represented asleep since Aurora was supposed to have slipped away to seek Cephalus before dawn, when her husband had not yet awakened. Buonarroti, in his account of the presentation of the play, describes Tithonus' appearance on the scene:

Ma intanto lo ingelosito Titone, forse dormente quando la bella consorte sua li si tolse per novo amore, . . . videsi . . . apparire. Egli aveva rabbuffata barba e chioma canuta, e quasi che dal sonno frettuloso levatosi infuriato, rinvolto in uno spazioso manto, che pure per l'ampiezza sua, maestade a lui apportava, quivi comparse mezzo giacendo, e quasi stanco la guancia posando su l'uno mano.⁴

The description corresponds in detail to Carracci's figure.

¹ Cf. *Canzonette, Rimevarie, Dialoghi di Gabriello Chiabrera*, ed. L. Negri (Classici Italiani), Turin, 1952, p. 516.

² By this time, of course, Aurora in her relationship to Tithonus had already come to symbolize the young and "ewig weibliche," as opposed to old age and decrepitude. In this sense, and without any reference to Cephalus, she and Tithonus had been isolated by Tintoretto in his fresco for the façade of the Casa Marcello di Gervase (Palazzo Donato), for which two drawings are preserved, cf. S. Colvin, "Tintoretto at the British Museum—II," *Burlington Magazine*,

XVI, p. 255, p. II (February 1910). Another instance is the *Aurora* attributed to Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in the Galleria Colonna, Rome.

See also Annibale Caro's letter to Taddeo Zuccaro, written for Alessandro Farnese, giving directions for the Aurora decoration at Caprarola; quoted by Vasari (ed. Milanese, VII, p. 115 ff.) and reprinted in Caro's *Opere*, Milan, 1807, III, p. 158 ff. Cf. further F. Piper, *Mythologie des christlichen Kunst*, Weimar, 1851, II, p. 368 ff.

³ Solerti, *Gli albori*, p. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.



a—The Annunciation, *Ovide Moralisé*, Paris, Arsenal MS. 5069, f. 105^r (p. 277)



b—School of Francesco Albani, 'Aurora Raping Cephalus,' Galleria Estense, Modena (p. 281)



c—Illustration to *Cefalo*, Venice, 1521 (p. 278)



d—Agostino Carracci, 'Aurora and Cephalus,' Galleria Farnese, Rome (p. 280)



e—Peruzzi (attr.), 'Aurora and Cephalus, and the Death of Procris,' Sala delle Prospettive, Farnesina, Rome (pp. 264, 282)



a—Guido Reni, 'Aurora,' Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome (*p.* 284)



b—Domenichino, 'Apollo,' Palazzo Costaguti, Rome (*p.* 284)



c—Guercino, 'Aurora,' Villa Ludovisi, Rome (*p.* 284)



d—Poussin, 'Aurora and Cephalus,' National Gallery, London (*p.* 284)

By Courtesy of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London

Regarding certain other elements in the fresco it is interesting to consider an almost unknown painting of Aurora raping Cephalus in the Galleria Estense in Modena (Pl. 39b).¹ Aurora is represented with great wings, swooping down on Cephalus, whose cloak billows out behind him in the wind. Buonarroti describes Cefalo's appearance in the play:

oltre a tutti bellissimo . . . e di più adorna roba di nobili indanajate pelli e drappi, composta, addobbato, dalla quale pendevano vaghe falde, e cinto alle spalle di svolazzante manto, per modo di vela che 'l vento muova, . . .²

Chiabrera's Aurora also had wings, and approached Cefalo, directed by her little *amori*, in a manner which the painting strikingly recalls:

. . . vaga e giovane donna, che alie dorate spiegava, tutta serena e ridente in volto ne dimostro . . . per dolce movimento posando i lucenti piedi con leggieri passi e soavi su le bell'erbe, verso il gentil Cefalo indirizzandosi, con esso si accontò, e' suoi amori affettuosamente scoperseli . . .³

The moment of their meeting, as in both the Modena picture and Carracci, was in the shadowy hours just before dawn, when only a little light was to be seen in the distance:

e tanto piu ombrose, et il cielo ancora, quanto che quel tempo della notte rappresentandosi antecedente al crepuscolo, poco di chiarore dovea vedersi.⁴

Moreover, Buonarroti describes the magnificent chariot of the Sun used in the production, "un carro con quattro cavalli," all splendid with gold, as were the exquisitely worked reins; the sides and arms were decorated with cameo-like reliefs which girded the car at the middle.⁵

Evidently, the Modena painting duplicates in almost every detail the play of Chiabrera as it was originally performed. The similarities of this representation with the Farnese scene show that Carracci certainly made use of the same source, in slightly abbreviated form for the chariot and the *putto*, changing the figures of Aurora and Cephalus, but introducing Tithonus exactly after the play.⁶ The complex relationships between the two paintings and the play are readily understandable from the fact that the Modena picture is by a student of Francesco Albani, one of Agostino Carracci's closest followers.⁷ Thus, it would seem that the play, first used by Carracci for the

¹ Pallucchini, *I dipinti della Galleria Estense di Modena*, Rome, 1945, n. 301.

² Solerti, *Gli albori*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ un carro con quattro cavalli . . . che d'oro e di gemme tutto splendente, sì come le redini di quelli erano, di squisitissimo lavoro composto era, quale convenevole ne

pareva, dovendose per quell figurare il carro del Sole: le spalliere del quale, et i luminose sostegni, ricignendo nel mezzo, quasi in cammei d'oro . . .

⁶ Carracci doubtless introduces the god for purposes of identification, by way of reference to the Procris story.

⁷ Pallucchini, *loc. cit.*

Farnese painting, became common property in the Carracci school; the painter of the Modena picture, while retaining many of the features of the fresco,¹ went back to the original source for the other details of his picture.

A question arises when it is noted that the wonderful chariot described by Buonarroti in the play actually belonged to the Sun-god Phoebus. Although Aurora drove a quadriga in many ancient representations, Carracci made the transfer on a much more recent precedent, and one which he certainly knew.² Along with the Death of Procris, Aurora had been included nearly 100 years earlier in the mythological frieze of the Sala delle Prospettive of the Farnesina (Pl. 39e).³ Here, the goddess, led by Hesperus carrying the morning star, also drives a chariot, and her old husband Tithonus rides along with her.⁴ The similarities are so close as to suggest that perhaps the Farnesina chariot was the ultimate source for both Chiabrera and Carracci;⁵ the former gave it to Phoebus, while the latter returned it to Aurora, transforming Hesperus into a flower-flinging *putto*, and subtracting a pair of horses.

As has been noted, Chiabrera's play and the extravagant stage machinery used in the presentation were being created almost exactly contemporaneously with the Farnese picture. This panel is generally attributed to Agostino Carracci,⁶ who probably arrived in Rome to assist Annibale with the decorations of the Galleria late in 1597.⁷ If the attribution to Agostino is correct,

¹ The cartoon in London for the Farnese picture shows the sphinxes on the arms of the chariot, as in the Albani school piece (National Gallery, cat. No. 147).

² For the classical types, cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Eos."

³ The frieze in the Sala delle Prospettive, attributed to Peruzzi by Vasari (ed. Milanese, IV, p. 593, followed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1866, III, p. 393), was given to Giulio Romano by F. Hermanin, *La Farnesina*, Bergamo, 1927, p. 81 ff., pl. XLIX; more recently this latter attribution has been disputed, J. Hess, "On Raphael and Giulio Romano," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Ser. VI, Sept.-Oct. 1947, p. 99 and note 70. Cf. F. Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *Art Bulletin*, XXX, 1948, p. 92, note 70.

It would seem that there was a renewal of interest in the Cephalus and Procris myth in the Raphael school. A drawing in Frankfurt of the Death of Procris is attributed by Voss, *Zeichnungen der Spätrenaissance*, pl. I, to Giulio Romano; cf. F. Baumgart, "Beiträge zu Raphael und seiner Werkstatt," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VIII, 1931, p. 57, fig. 9. Stechow, *op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 3, notes the influence of the drawing on Poussin's Louvre 'Apollo and Daphne'. The drawing is further interesting in that it also shows Aurora driving a chariot; the frontal view in this case is very close to the most frequent antique

type.

Cf. also a painting in Vienna once attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio (Kunsthistorisches Museum, catalogue 1884, n. 106, Engerths); it is a distant reminiscence of the scene at the right in the Farnesina panel.

The group of six magnificent tapestries illustrating the Cephalus and Procris myth in the Sala dei Pontefici of the Borgia apartments must unfortunately be left out of account; they are briefly described by Hermanin, *L'appartamento Borgia in Vaticano*, Rome, 1934, p. 98 ff.

⁴ For Hesperus (son of Cephalus and Aurora) the morning star, as distinguished from Hesperus the evening star, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 381; Hyginus, *Astron.*, II, 42; Roscher, s.v. "Hesperus."

⁵ Voss, *Malerei des Barock*, Berlin, 1927, p. 495, has pointed out other influences of the Farnesina in the Galleria Farnese.

⁶ Hans Tietze, "Annibale Carracci's Galerie im Palazzo Farnese und seine römische Werkstätte," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXVI, 1906/7, p. 59 ff.; also Thieme-Becker, V, 1912, p. 55 ff. (H. Schmerber). The attribution goes back to Bellori, *Le vite de 'pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 58.

⁷ Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 124 ff. Agostino was still in Parma in October of 1597, since on the 22nd of that month he received payment for a portrait he executed there.

as it probably is, the Aurora must have been completed by July 1, 1600, since Agostino had left Rome by that time following the dispute with his brother.¹

An inscription on the cornice of the Galleria includes the date 1600 in reference to the marriage of Ranuccio I, brother of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese who was owner of the Roman Farnese Palace, to Margherita Aldobrandini; the wedding took place on May 14, 1600.² Hence, the inscription, although it bears no relation to the date when the paintings were actually finished,³ does associate them with the marriage in the Farnese family, just six months before the marriage in Florence for which Chiabrera's play was written. Thus, both the play and the frescoes were being created at almost exactly the same time; both were associated with the festivities in honour of important marriages which took place only a few months apart; and both have the omnipotence of love as their theme.⁴

Agostino could not have known the play from the original production or its printed editions since he must have finished the fresco before the presentation in October. There is ample evidence, however, that the play and its elaborate production were in preparation long before the actual presentation.⁵ Probably, Agostino heard of the preparations from Bernardo Buontalenti himself. This would not have been the first contact between the two artists; Carracci had engraved Buontalenti's designs for the festivities in Florence honouring the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I to Cristina di Lorena, niece of Catherine de' Medici, in 1589.⁶ Moreover, the relationship between the Farnese panel and Chiabrera's play must have been quite well-known at the time, and not quickly forgotten. Many years later Bellori, in describing the picture, still gives an account which assumes an association with the main argument of the play:

¹ On November 31 he received payment in Parma for services to Ranuccio I, Duke of Parma, which, according to the document, had begun on July 1; Tietze, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 127; cf. also F. de Navenne, *Rome et le Palais Farnèse*, Paris, 1923, I, p. 94.

³ Tietze says in 1604, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n. 5.

⁴ In the Farnese frescoes, Aurora and Cephalus symbolize the power of love in the element of air; the marine scene on the other side of the vault is the power of love in the element of water; these flank the Bacchic scene on the centre of the vault, the power of love in the element of earth. This account of the programme is given in Bellori, *Le Vite*, p. 32, followed by Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 94, Voss, *op. cit.*, p. 496, *et al.*

Bellori also states that Carracci was aided in devising the programme by Agucchi. Most modern writers are probably correct in minimizing Agucchi's role (notably Tietze, *loc. cit.*; D. Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, London, 1947, p. 115). It is interesting to note, however, that Agucchi was actually present at the production of Chia-

brera's play in Florence. Agucchi accompanied Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Pope Clement VIII, on his mission to France. Florence was the first stop on the journey, where they attended the festivities in honour of Marie de' Medici's wedding. Moreover, the diary of the journey specifically mentions the play (*Diario del Viaggio fatto dal Cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini nell' andare Legato a Firenze per la celebrazione dello Sposalizio della Regina di Francia, e poi in Francia per la Pace*, Vat. lat., 13433, fol. 27^v; some small parts of the diary have been published in C. Manfroni, "Nuovi Documenti intorno alla legazione del Card. Aldobrandini in Francia," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XIII, 1890, p. 101 ff.). The presence of the Cardinal legate is also noted by Settimani, *Diario*, VI, c. 221 (cf. Solerti, *Musica, etc.*, p. 26, n. 2.).

⁵ Solerti, *Musica, etc.*, p. 23.

⁶ Discussed by A. Warburg, "I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589," *ed. cit.*, p. 259 ff.

Il vecchio Titone giace in terra dormendo; & ella coronata di rose, *al gran viaggio accinta, pur troppo tarda, e si arresta; poiche vagheggiando vn Sole, oblia l'altro*, che spunta dall'orizzonte, e indora la veste sua purpurea, e rancia. *Già li candidi destrieri impatienti calpestanto l'aure rugiadose*, dileguandosi l'ombra; ed in tanto vn leggiadro Amoretto pieno il canestro di fiori, sparge dal cielo fresche, e matutine rose, inuitando i mortali, che si destano alla nuoua luce.¹

Carracci's introduction, on the basis of Chiabrera and the Farnesina composition, of Aurora as an isolated theme was a landmark in the history of seventeenth-century painting. The potentialities which the subject contained for dramatic aerial effects in terms of light, atmosphere, and perspective completely fascinated the Baroque artistic spirit. Beginning with Carracci's immediate followers Aurora became a kind of *leitmotiv* which can be traced through every essential step in the early development of Roman Baroque ceiling decoration. Around 1614 Guido Reni, who worked in the Galleria Farnese, painted his 'Aurora' on a ceiling in the Casino Rospigliosi (Pl. 40a). Characteristically, Reni's work mixes elements from a variety of sources. Following Chiabrera, the chariot belongs to Apollo, but the basic composition, including the chariot itself, as well as the leading figure and Phoebus' manner of handling the horses, is that of the Farnesina version. However, the Farnesina Hesperus has been transformed into Aurora herself, while she takes over the flower-distributing function from Carracci's *putto*. The *putto* is retained, but, as in the Modena picture by Albani's follower, has in turn become Hesperus, and carries the torch of the morning star. For good measure, Reni adds the lovely dancing figures of the Horae. Somewhat later (*ca.* 1615), Domenichino, also a Carracci student, produced the Apollo in the Palazzo Costaguti (Pl. 40b). Phoebus is still in the driver's seat and Aurora is entirely eliminated, although Carracci still leaves his mark in the sphinxes decorating the car. Finally Guercino, in the Villa Ludovisi, returns the chariot to Aurora (Pl. 40c, *ca.* 1622). Moreover, he reduces the number of horses to Carracci's two, brings back the *putti* with flowers, as well as old Tithonus who waves good-bye from the rear.²

The seventeenth-century Roman Aurora revival had an effect outside the limits of ceiling decoration, as well. For example, the Carracci-Chiabrera tradition is reflected, though completely transformed, in the beautiful 'Cephalus and Aurora' of Poussin in the National Gallery, London (Pl. 40d). In a striding position, strongly reminiscent of the figure of Bacchus in Titian's famous 'Bacchus and Ariadne' (London, National Gallery), Cephalus resists Aurora's advances,³ and gazes virtuously upon the portrait of his wife held up to him by a little *amoretto*. To the left lies the sleeping Tithonus taken directly from the figure in Carracci's Farnese panel, turned around and with the positions of the arms reversed; his head rests upon the traditional water

¹ Bellori, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Italics are mine.

² Of course the idea served very well for Diana also; compare Pietro da Cortona's 'Diana,' Castelfusano, with Guercino.

³ Poussin's central group is also curiously

reminiscent of a composition by Malosso (G. B. Trotti, 1555-1619) in an aquatint by A. Scacciati (Pl. 41b); Uffizi, cf. E. W. Bredt, *Der Götter Verwandlungen*, Munich, 1920, p. 59 ff.



a—Follower of Guido Reni, 'Death of Procris,' Brunswick (p. 285)



b—A. Scacciati, After Malosso, 'Aurora and Cephalus,' Aquatint (p. 284)



c—P. van der Borcht, 'Death of Procris,' Etching, Amsterdam, 1591 (p. 285)



d—Guercino, 'Death of Procris,' Dresden (p. 285)



a—Claude Lorraine, 'Death of Procris,' London, National Gallery (p. 285)



b—Adam Elsheimer, 'Apollo and Coronis,' Collection Lady Martin, London (p. 286)



c—Magdalena de Passe, 'Death of Procris,' Engraving, Brussels, 1677 (p. 286)



d—Picart and van Gunst, 'Death of Procris,' Engraving, Amsterdam, 1732 (p. 286)

symbol, probably indicating Ocean, the site of his original love with Aurora.¹ In the rear is Pegasus drawing Aurora's chariot (partly obscured by the trees), a reference to one of the rare sources which associate Aurora with Pegasus.² Procris sits reclining against a tree and in the distant clouds appears the fiery chariot of Phoebus. The theme of Chiabrera's play is subtly suggested in the way in which Pegasus faces the sun, as if impatient with the delay and anxious to return to his proper place in advance of the approaching day. Perhaps typical of Poussin are the allusions to rather obscure and archaeological sources which pervade the picture. There is almost no narrative in the traditional sense, but a variety of symbols are assembled into a kind of iconographical ideogram, and strangely fused in a unified time and space.

Carracci, in going back to the Farnesina panel, was of course primarily interested in the left half, Aurora; this, as we have seen, was also true of his followers. At the same time, however, attention was inevitably called to the right half of the painting, the Death of Procris. As a consequence the Farnesina Procris also enjoys a flowering of popularity in seventeenth-century Rome. For example, the figure of Procris in a painting in Brunswick by Guido Reni or one of his followers (Pl. 41a) comes directly from the fresco, minus most of the drapery.³ Cephalus, however, is seated behind his wife and extracts the spear from her breast. This variation of the Farnesina design is interesting, since it depends upon an etching by Peter van der Borcht made in Amsterdam for an edition of the *Metamorphoses* which appeared in 1591 (Pl. 41c);⁴ the change in Cephalus' position was an innovation that van der Borcht had made on a tradition which itself went back to the Farnesina composition. Thus, while Reni follows the Farnesina version for the figure of Procris, he uses the engraving for that of Cephalus. On the other hand, Guercino preferred van der Borcht's Procris to that of the Farnesina, and made use of it for his Dresden 'Cephalus and Procris' (Pl. 41d).⁵ Ultimately, however, the Farnesina emerges victorious, since that composition is returned to in the London 'Death of Procris' by Claude (Pl. 42a), where some slight liberty is taken only in the position of Cephalus' arms.⁶

Probably related to the Farnesina tradition is the famous composition by Elsheimer, the subject of which has recently been identified as Apollo and

¹ E.g., *Hom. Hymn.*, V, 227, ed. Allan and Sikes, London, 1904, p. 216.

² E.g., Lycophron, *Alex.*:

Ἦώς μὲν ἀπὸν ἄρτι Φηγίον πάγον
Κραιπνοῖς ὑπερποτᾶτο Πηγάτον πτεροῖς
(16/17, ed. Holzinger, Leipzig, 1895, p. 92.)

Also Tzetzes, *Schol. Lyc.*, 16/17. Aurora's horses were sometimes equipped with wings in antique representations, cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Eos," fig. col. 1277.

³ Max van Boehn, *Guido Reni*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 107. The Brunswick catalogue (Flechsig, 1927, No. 480) notes that Gronau and Longhi have suggested Reni's pupil, Canlassi.

⁴ Printer, Jan Moretus. Cf. Henkel, *Vorträge*, p. 112. Von Boehn, *loc. cit.*, notes that

the landscape in the Brunswick picture is exceptionally elaborate for Reni; probably also a reflection of the woodcut. The idea directly contradicts Ovid who describes Procris herself trying to extract the spear as Cephalus comes upon her (VII, 846/7).

Van der Borcht's arrangement was itself influenced by love scenes, particularly examples of Venus and Adonis such as that in the 1599 Lyons edition of the *Metamorphoses* (illustrated in R. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poësis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1940, fig. 22).

⁵ Painted in 1644. Dresden catalogue, 1929, *Die romanischen Länder*, No. 361, pp. 168 and 169.

⁶ National Gallery, cat. No. 55.

Coronis (Pl. 42b).¹ The compositional similarity was sufficiently great for Magdalena de Passe (1560-*ca.* 1640) to have thought that the picture represented the Death of Procris, and to have copied it as such in an engraving which was published in the 1667 Foppens edition of the *Metamorphoses* (Pl. 42c);² her mistake was followed in numerous later Ovid editions, such as that at the Hague in 1728 (Pl. 43e).³ Picart and van Gunst, in their illustrations to the 1732 Amsterdam edition,⁴ realized that something was amiss; although they copy the 1677 scene of Cephalus and Aurora and most of the death scene exactly (Pl. 42d), the latter is just changed enough to give it the proper iconography—the satyr family is eliminated, Elsheimer's nude now has a suitable arrow in her breast, and Cephalus appears with his bow from around the bushes.⁵ The attempt was vain, however, and Magdalena de Passe's error was preserved even unto our own day.⁶

¹ The identification of Elsheimer's subject has recently been made by Dr. Ernst Holzinger of Frankfurt in a paper delivered at the Amsterdam Congress, 1952. Unfortunately I did not hear Dr. Holzinger's paper which, it is hoped, will shortly be published; the results were kindly reported to me by Dr. Panofsky.

² The engraving was actually made earlier in the century; cf. R. Reitlinger, "The de Passe illustrations of Ovid," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVII, January, 1945, p. 15 ff. I am indebted to Mr. Peter A. Wick of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for this reference. In the main, Reitlinger's conclusions had been anticipated by Henkel, *Vorträge*, p. 118 ff.,

whom he does not quote.

³ Du Ryer translation; not mentioned in Henkel.

⁴ Wetstein and Smith; Henkel, *Vorträge*, p. 125 ff. Two editions were printed with the same illustrations, one Latin-French (Du Ryer version), and one Latin-Dutch (translated from Du Ryer).

⁵ Magdalena must be credited with having made at least a partial correction, when she attempted to disguise the obviously pregnant condition of the lady in Elsheimer's composition with a more liberal supply of drapery.

⁶ E.g., Weizäcker, *Adam Elsheimer, der Maler von Frankfurt*, Berlin, 1936, I, pls. 70-73.

APPENDIX

The woodcuts to the 1539 *Metamorphoses* edition of Janot at Paris have been recognized as completely new and independent.¹ The illustration to our myth gives an insight into the rather curious reason for this originality: the artist actually read his text. Page 37 *verso* contains the only separate illustration to the story of the Teumesian fox known to me (Pl. 43a);² but instead of turning into stone, both animals are becoming tall, leafy trees. The text had indeed said quite explicitly that this was the case:

Ung peu destournay mon regard & apres me retournay & regarday la beste & le chien qui en vng moment deuidrent deux arbres en telle maniere comme ilz avoient faict par auant, car aduis est que l'ung fuye & l'autre chasse. (I. 38, *recto*.)

Obviously, there has been a misreading of *marbres* without the initial *m*. However, the interesting point is that the error was not a new one. It does not seem to have been noted that the translation used in the 1539 Janot edition is taken exactly from the 1539 (colophon 1538) Jehan Real edition of *Le Grand Olympe des histoires*, and that this in turn, changing the chapter headings and omitting the moralizations, had been copied from the *Bible des Poètes*.

¹ Henkel, *Vorträge*, p. 73 ff.

² An awful monster had been sent to vex the inhabitants of Thebes. Unable to catch the beast, the hunters called upon Cephalus to unleash his dog Laelaps. The hound was so swift as to be inevitable;

on the other hand the monster was inapprehensible. The dilemma resulting from the ensuing chase was neatly resolved by some god, who suddenly turned both animals to stone (*Met.*, 759 ff.).



a—Laelaps Turning into a Tree, *Metamorphoses*, Paris, 1539 (p. 286)



c—Cephalus Killing Procris, *Ovide Moralisé*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS. fr. 137, f. 90^v (p. 287)



d—Virgil Solis after Salomon, Death of Procris, *Metamorphoses*, Frankfurt, 1563 (p. 287)



e—Death of Procris, *Metamorphoses*, The Hague, 1728 (p. 286)



f—Le Pautre, 'Cephalus Receiving the Gifts,' Engraving (p. 287)

Curiously, the Petit-Le Noir edition of the *Bible des Poètes* contains the following caption for the Cephalus and Procris myth:

Comment Cephalus occist son amye Procris.
Et de so chien qui fut mue en arbre.
(fol. lxxiii, *recto*),

thus repeating the error which occurs in the text. As has been mentioned, the source for this latter work, including its allegories, was Colard Mansion's 1484 Bruges edition, which in turn was based, at least in part, on the prose versions of the *Ovide moralisé* (B.N. fr. 137, Brit. Mus., 17E IV). And here at last is our culprit, for under the Cephalus and Procris miniature of the Paris manuscript, appears the very same caption with the very same mistake,

Comment Cephalus occist sa mie p(r)ocris e de son chien qui fut nuez en arbre:
(fol. 90, *verso*, Pl. 43c)¹

Just how peculiar the artist of the 1539 edition was, is shown by the fact that his accurate illustration of a textual error was preserved long after the error itself had been corrected. Thus, in the right background of Bernard Salomon's death scene (1557), (Pl. 43b) the two tiny animals appear as long slender trees from the neck up, though the event is not even mentioned in the text. Similarly, the tree-beasts are present in the 1563 edition of the original latin text, which properly retains Ovid's *duo marmora* (Pl. 43d). Indeed, the illustration is not definitely corrected until late in the seventeenth century in the engraving of Le Pautre, where the animals are quite normal (Pl. 43f).

¹ Here also is the solution to the problem referred to in note 2, p. 263; the dependence of Mansion's edition of the manuscript prose redactions on the *Ovide moralisé* or on the *Ovidius moralizatus* of Bersuire. Evidently, Mansion did use the MS. prose versions for the narrative portions of his text, including the captions, but he went to the *Ovidius moralizatus* for his

interpretations (and for his *première proheme*). This eliminates the inconvenient assumption (Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 141) that Mansion is mistaken when he states that he used the work of Waleys.

The error of the trees cannot be laid to the author of the *Ovide moralisé* since, in de Boer's edition, he speaks quite properly of "marbre."