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The “Odyssey” *Cassone* Panels from the Lanckoroński Collection: On the Origins of Depicting Homer’s Epic in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*

To Professor
Karolina Lanckorońska (1898–2002)
In Memoriam

In a letter of 1354 to Nicolaos Sigeros, Petrarch wrote: “Your Homer is dumb in my presence, or rather I am deaf in his. Nevertheless I rejoice at the mere sight of him alone and I often embrace him and say with a sigh: Oh mighty man, how I desire to hear you.”¹ It was Sigeros who, a few years earlier, had sent to the first *poeta laureatus* of the early modern age a Greek manuscript containing both *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. Since Petrarch’s knowledge of Greek was almost non-existent, all he could do until almost the late 1360s, when he at last obtained a Latin translation of Homer’s epic produced by Leonzio Pilato, was to embrace the volume received from Sigeros.² Even if the translation was rather poor, it was an important event for both Renaissance humanism and the visual arts. The epic by the “mighty man” of antiquity could at last be “heard” in educated circles. Several episodes recounted by Homer soon appeared in both Petrarch’s and Boccaccio’s writings, and particularly in the latter’s *Genealogia deorum gentilium*. There is a well-attested tradition that Petrarch died while annotating his copy of the *Odyssey* translated by Leonzio.³

About eighty years later a Florentine painter, Apollonio di Giovanni (ca. 1415-1465), painted some long panels on wood depicting the *Adventures of Ulysses/Odysseus*. Four such paintings have survived to date.⁴ Two are housed in American collections: in the Art Institute in Chicago and in the Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh, while the other two remaining panels, once in the collection of Count Karol Lanckoroński in Vienna, have been in the Royal Castle in Kraków (known as the Wawel Castle)⁵ since October 1994 [Figs. 1, 2]. All four paintings were originally the front panels of *forzieri/cassoni* or marriage chests, which in Renaissance Tuscany were usually executed on the occasion of weddings, and were almost always produced in pairs.⁶ Very often the subject depicted on such *cassone* panels, as on those representing *The Adventures of Ulysses* from the Lanckoroński collection, is a single story, a myth or a legend, shown in numerous small scenes pictured in the manner of a continuous narrative spreading over both panels.

Apollonio di Giovanni’s *Odyssey* panels, despite their notable artistic qualities and the fact that they are the earliest narrative illustrations of Homer’s epic in post-antique art, have never been the subject of a separate study. This is partly due to the fact that the Lanckoroński pieces were not accessible to scholars for some fifty years. In 1939 the Lanckoroński



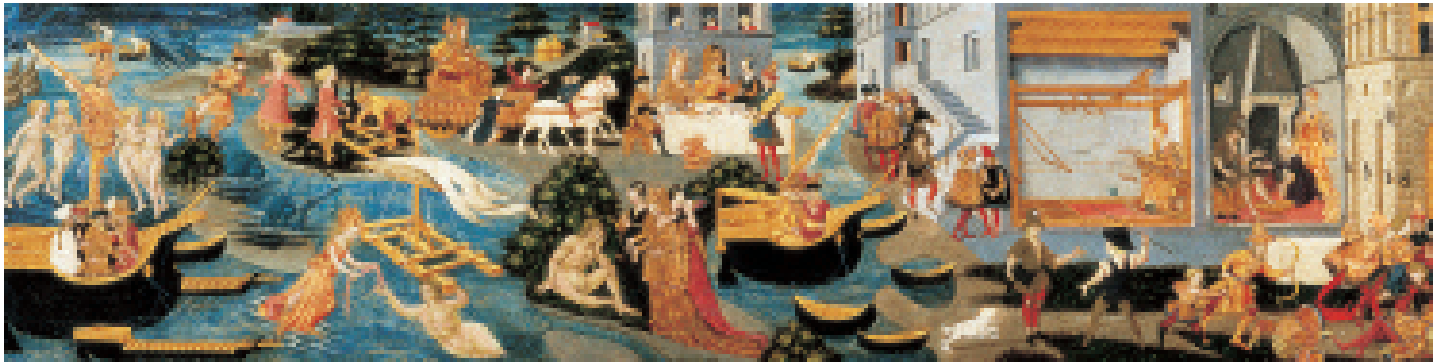
1) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», cassone front, tempera on panel, Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

collection was confiscated by the Nazis, and after its restitution in 1946 was kept in a bank in Zurich.⁷ After the panels arrived in Kraków they were carefully restored and cleaned and since 1997 have been on permanent display in one of the rooms on the first floor of the Wawel Castle [Fig. 30]. Unfortunately only the second painting [Fig. 2] is well preserved. The first was poorly transferred onto a new support (canvas pasted on wood) in the last quarter of the 19th century with the result that it lost its original colouring in several areas, particularly the pale blue of the background [Fig. 1].⁸ Even now, despite conservation work, it is much darker than its companion piece.

Both panels were published for the first time by Lanckoroński himself in a brochure entitled *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen* of 1905, being a short presentation of most of the Italian Renaissance domestic paintings in the collection.⁹ He dated them from 1430–1440 and ascribed them to the Florentine School. Together with the Chicago cassone panel, they entered the well-known corpus of *cassoni* compiled ten years later by Paul Schubring¹⁰ and were more widely discussed by Ellen Callmann in 1974.¹¹ Taking her point of departure from earlier research pursued by Wolfgang Stechow and Ernst H. Gombrich (who were the first to attribute several cassone panels to Apollonio himself) Callmann produced an important monograph on the painter.¹² The panels now linked to this painter were previously ascribed to two (or three) anonymous artists referred to as the Master of Dido (or the Master of Virgil) and the Master of Jarves Cassoni; the former name was coined by Paul Schubring (and Achille Schiaparelli) and the latter by Bernard Berenson.¹³ Callmann also published

a partially preserved cassone front belonging to the Helen C. Frick collection (presently housed in the Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh), which before was only hinted to by scholars.¹⁴ She attributed the Chicago and Pittsburgh panels to Apollonio himself and dated them from ca. 1440, whereas she considered those in the Lanckoroński collection to be a product of the painter's workshop, from a later period. Having examined the Lanckoroński panels at the Wawel Castle in 1996, Callmann was inclined to place them among Apollonio's autographs.

Some of the panels in question have been mentioned briefly in various publications concerning the painter or the classical tradition in the visual arts.¹⁵ Christopher Lloyd recently discussed the Chicago cassone panel in his catalogue of Italian paintings housed in the Art Institute of that city. However, it was beyond the scope of his entry to discuss a number of particular issues connected with the panels in question.¹⁶ One of Lloyd's observations related to the question of Apollonio's literary sources is stating that he "could have found someone to translate the Greek for him, since his [Homer's] work was much admired in humanistic circles."¹⁷ The present paper seeks to investigate the kind of Homeric text which Apollonio or his adviser could have known, the models for the scenes he depicted, and the context in which his *Odyssey* panels were produced. Thus, to some degree, this paper is also a contribution to the research on Apollonio di Giovanni's connections with humanism. Gombrich has already approached this topic in an exemplary way in his well-known study on the painter published almost fifty years ago.¹⁸ However, he mentions the *cassoni* in question only in passing.



2) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», cassone front, tempera on panel, Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

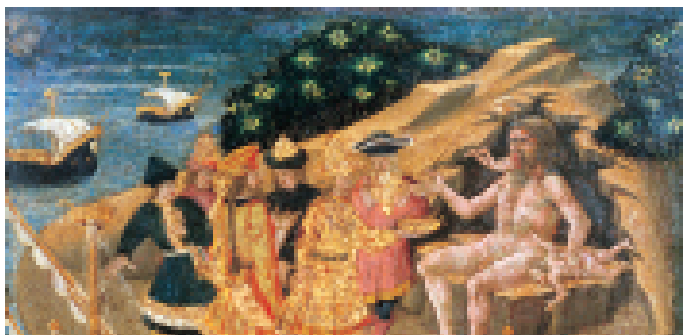
1. Apollonio di Giovanni and classical subjects

Thanks to the research of Stechow, Gombrich and Callmann, Apollonio di Giovanni's *œuvre* is currently quite well-known.¹⁹ The painter was educated in the circle of Bartolomeo di Fruosino and Battista di Biagio Sanguini who were mostly miniature painters. In the early 1440s he entered both the *Arte dei Medici e degli Speciali* and the *Compania di San Luca*. Apollonio's first dated works are miniatures for Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Dante's *Divine Comedy* illustrated in 1442 which are preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (Ms. Med. Pal. 72). Most probably in the later part of his life, possibly shortly before his death, he executed beautiful, but partially incomplete, illustrations in the Virgil-codex belonging to the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (Ms. 492).²⁰ From 1446 until 1463 together with Marco del Buono (ca. 1403–ca. 1480) he ran a large workshop specializing mostly in the production of domestic paintings. This fact is known from a document discovered in 1902 by Heinrich Brockhaus among the *Carte Stroziane* which is generally referred to as the *bottega* book being a record of commissions placed with the workshop. It was published for the first time by Paul Schubring in 1915 who, however, did not link the name of the painter with the existing paintings, the greater portion of which he himself reproduced.²¹ The *bottega* book contains a list of the people for whom Apollonio and his workshop produced some 170 pairs of *cassoni* and a number of *deschi da parto* or birth salvers. Notwithstanding, Apollonio di Giovanni was always called a *pittore*, never *forzierinaio* (that is, a cassone maker).²² Some fifty of these *cassoni* or the



3) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 2.

panels detached from them, as well as a few *deschi da parto* (of which only a small number are attributed to Apollonio himself) have come down to this day.²³ One is an almost perfectly preserved entire *cassone*, presently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, depicting on its front *The Conquest of Trebizond by the Turks* and executed for the Strozzi family between 1461 and 1465²⁴. In the early 1460s the



4) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 1.



5) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 1.

workshop also produced a pair of chests for the wedding of Pier Francesco Vettori and Catarina Rucellai. One of them, representing Xerxes's *Invasion of Greece*, is housed in the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin, while the second one with the *Triumph of the Greeks over the Persians* was destroyed during World War II.²⁵ It was these two panels bearing both the bride's and the groom's coats of arms which enabled Stechow to identify them as works by Apollonio and thus begin the recovery of the painter's *œuvre*. Some scholars now believe that a group of the panels once attributed to this painter or his workshop were executed in collaboration with Paolo Uccello or by this artist himself.²⁶ In fact, the landscapes depicted on the Lanckoroński panels, particularly on the second panel [Fig. 3], have much in common with Uccello's rendering of the subject. The striking similarities between the trees and buildings pictured in the artists' work are especially visible in Uccello's *Thebaide* housed in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence.²⁷

Almost half of the *cassone* paintings ascribed to Apollonio or to his workshop, both the front panels as well as the side panels (in Italian *lateral* or *fianchi* and not *testate* as they are often referred to) – similarly to the Vettori/Rucellai pieces and those discussed in this paper – depict classical themes taken from mythology or from ancient history. The front panels depict the following subjects: *The Judgment of Paris*, *The Rape of Helen of Troy*, *Dido and Aeneas*, *The Story of Camilla*, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, *The Battles of Alexander the Great with Darius*, *The Continenence of Scipio*, *The Triumph of Julius Caesar*. In turn, the *lateral*, or side-panels, show *The Rape of Ganymedes*, *Hercules and Nessus*, *Hercules and the Nemean*

Lion, and *Argus and Io*.²⁸ It was because of the subject matter (and despite the fact that the style of the paintings is only *all'antica* to a small degree) that the Florentine poet, Ugolino Verino (1438-1516), called Apollonio di Giovanni the Tuscan Apelles (*tuscan Apelles*).²⁹ In his first *opera poetica* entitled *Flametta* dating from ca. 1460, Verino said of the painter (without even mentioning Marco del Buono) that: "Once Homer sang of the walls of Apollo's Troy burned on Greek pyres, and again Virgil's great work proclaimed the wiles of the Greeks and the ruins of Troy. But certainly the Tuscan Apelles Apollonius now painted burning Troy better for us."³⁰

Gombrich, who was partly responsible for rediscovering Verino's poem, and who produced an exemplary commentary on it, has shown that the poet was not referring to *cassone* panels preserved to date and depicting scenes inspired by "Virgil's great work" but to a large *tabula picta*, which is now lost. The poem, however, enabled him to ascribe several *cassone* paintings to Apollonio, in particular those inspired by the *Aeneid*, including those housed in the Yale University Art Gallery. Even if Verino does not mention a *tabula picta* with the *Adventures of Ulysses* in his poem *expressis verbis*, he does refer not only to Virgil but also to Homer. It is probably not by accident that among the numerous *cassone* panels linked with the workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni the paintings depicting scenes from the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey* are usually attributed to the master himself.³¹ Gombrich was also of the opinion that with respect to "the scenes from the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey*, the standards of craftsmanship are generally high."³² Even if Apollonio was not the first painter to depict classical subjects on *cassoni* (as was long but erroneously believed), no one



6) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 2.

before him had depicted so many themes of that kind, and no one before him produced such elaborate pictorial narratives inspired by the *Odyssey* since antiquity.³³

One can imagine the amazement of the Florentines living in the mid-15th century when they saw the large *cassoni* densely covered with scenes depicting the unusual adventures of Odysseus recounted by the mysterious Homer whose epic was known in Florence through a few manuscripts only; even Dante had little to say about him and his poems.³⁴ Apart from the Strozzi and Rucellai families, mentioned above, Apollonio di Giovanni's clients included members of other important Florentine families such as the Medici, Pazzi, Pitti, Rinuccini, Alberti and Albizzi.³⁵ Even Donato Brunni, one of the sons of Leonardo Brunni himself appears in the workshop's list of people who commissioned marriage chests.³⁶ It is known from written sources that Piero de' Pazzi who, in 1452 and 1453, ordered two pairs of wedding chests for his daughters from Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono's workshop, knew the whole *Aeneid* by heart, as well as longer passages from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, and Petrarch's *Trionfi*.³⁷ However, there is no mention in this period of someone who knew the *Odyssey* by heart. This would in fact have been rather difficult, since there was no good Latin translation of the poem, and manuscripts of the work were rare. Nevertheless, at that time Homer was no longer an alien spirit. A Florentine patrician Cino Rinuccini in his *Invective against certain calumniators of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio*, composed at the latest in 1417, mentions people who "make great debates in front of the populace in the square about whether Homer or Virgil was the great poet."³⁸



7) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 2.

2. Apollonio's *Odyssey* panels in Kraków and elsewhere

The Lanckoroński *Odyssey* paintings are the only pair of *cassone* panels with the *Adventures of Ulysses* that have survived from the 15th century to this day. They provide the most complete depiction of Odysseus's wanderings before the appearance of the monumental mural cycles in the art of the Cinquecento.³⁹ Beside the considerable number of scenes depicted on both panel fronts (twenty-four in all, while fourteen are to be found on the Chicago panel) they comprise only part of the *Adventures of Ulysses*, recounted in ten of the twenty-four books of the *Odyssey*. The first panel illustrates events described in books IX, X, and XII and depicts the following scenes [Figs. 4, 5]: *Ulysses offering a bowl of wine to Polyphemus* (combined with the scene of *Polyphemus eating his victims*), *Ulysses and his companions blinding Polyphemus*, *Two Cyclopes peering over the mountain*, *Ulysses and his companions escaping from the cave of Polyphemus*, *Mercury warning Ulysses before Circe and giving him the magic plant moly*, *Ulysses's companions being turned into beasts*, *Ulysses and Circe*, *The banquet at Circe's house*, *Ulysses and his companions fighting with Scylla*. The scenes on the second panel [Figs. 6, 7] – based on books XII, V, VI,



8) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», cassone front, tempera on panel, Chicago, Art Institute.

VIII, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XXII (seven in all) – depict: *Ulysses and the Sirens*, *Mercury and Calypso*, *Ulysses building his raft*, *Ulysses and Leucothea (Ino)*, *Ulysses being discovered by Nausicaa*, *Ulysses and Nausicaa travelling in a carriage*, *The King Alcinoos offering a feast*, *Ulysses arriving in Ithaca*, *Ulysses with his dog Argus and the beggar Irus*, *Penelope weaving*, *Eurycleia recognizing Ulysses*, *Ulysses and Telemachus routing the suitors*.

Thus, as Callmann noted, the painter showed the adventures of Ulysses in the order in which he experienced them and not as recounted by Homer. However, the order of the scenes with the Sirens and Scylla was changed. He placed the latter at the end of the first cassone front [Figs. 5, 20] and the former at the beginning of the second panel [Figs. 6, 21] although they are told in the opposite order. By so doing, the painter or his learned adviser most probably intended to make the first panel more dramatic (the scenes with Polyphemus and Scylla devouring Ulysses' companions) and the second more serene, with a happy ending (the Sirens in the shape of beautiful, nude women, *Penelope weaving*, *Eurycleia recognizing Ulysses*). It should also be noted that in the scenes representing Ulysses and Nausicaa, repeated almost exactly on the three panel fronts under discussion [Figs. 3, 8, 9], the painter, contrary to the text, depicted a triumphal parade of Alcinoos's daughter with Ulysses in a carriage drawn by a pair of chargers mounted by pages (on the Chicago painting the latter are black), rather than Ulysses's secretive appearance in the palace of the island's ruler (VI, 251–315).

It is hard to say whether the cassone front in the Art Institute, Chicago [Fig. 8] originally had a *pendant* with scenes from the *Odyssey*, since it depicts a selection of scenes pictured on both the Lanckoroński panels, including those concluding the story. Thus it shows episodes with Polyphemus, the sorcerer Circe, Leucothea (Ino), the Sirens, the Phaeacians, and those which occurred at Ithaca after the return of Ulysses. Due to the lack of space, the scenes on Ogygia, the island of the nymph Calypso, who herself is not shown at all, are combined with the scene depicting Odysseus's meeting with Circe. Next to Odysseus building his raft is the scene with Hermes. Thus the latter scene most probably stands for two appearances of the messenger of the gods: during his visit to Calypso and during his meeting with Ulysses before the adventure with Circe.

The Frick Art Museum panel [Fig. 9], which is only partially preserved (the bottom and upper portions were cut off and a small fragment depicting Mercury and Calypso as well as the upper portion of two Sirens is housed in the Fogg Museum, Harvard University), appears to bear the same, only slightly changed, scenes as those pictured on the second of the Lanckoroński panels. Here we can see scenes with Calypso and the Phaeacians, as well as those which took place at Ithaca after the return of Ulysses. The panel apparently lost its *pendant*, which most probably contained a selection of scenes similar to those on the first of the Lanckoroński paintings [Fig. 1]. The practice of more or less identically repeating the same scenes or even whole compositions on cassone fronts is to be



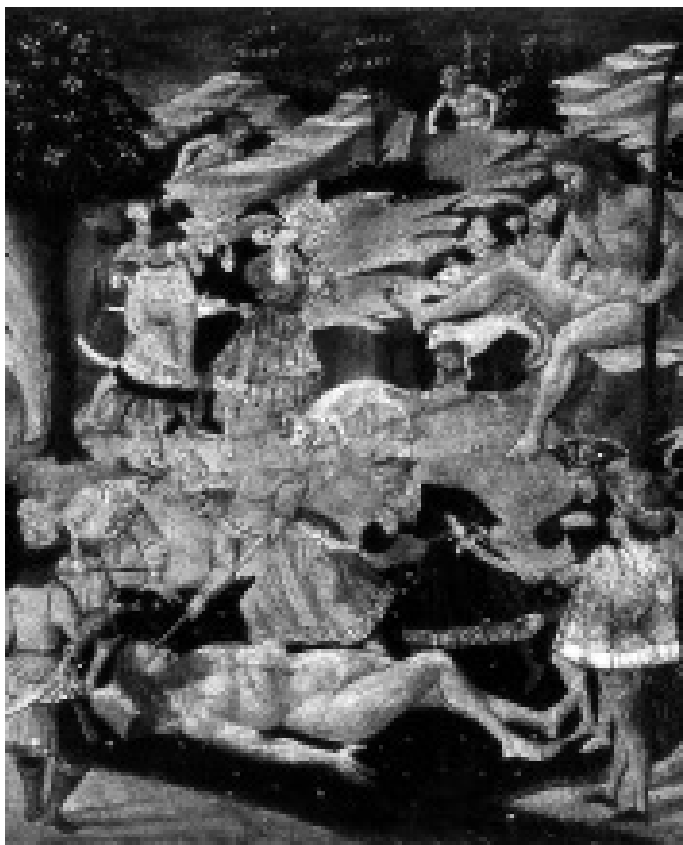
9) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», cassone front, tempera on panel, Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum.

found not only in the *œuvre* of Apollonio but also among the earliest historiated chests, as well as the *cassoni* produced in the last quarter of the 15th century.⁴⁰

Despite the differences between the panels in Chicago and Pittsburgh and those in Kraków with regard to colour and the rendering of various scenes, there is no doubt that they are all the product of the same hand; or at least were executed according to the conception of the same artist. To be sure, there was a ready stock of patterns for depicting groups of people, single persons or motifs as well as ships, cities and animals, which were composed in a variety of configurations.⁴¹ However, despite the fact that the paintings in question show a story from remote antiquity, only some of the scenes or motifs are pictured more or less *all'antica*. Most of the characters are wearing contemporary clothes elaborately ornamented with gold, so clearly belong to the late phase of the Gothic International style.⁴² Needless to say, at that point it was the style still preferred by even the most distinguished Florentines, as exemplified by, for example the famous frescoes dating from the late 1450s by Benozzo Gozzoli depicting *The Journey of the Magi* in the Medici Chapel.⁴³ However, there is at least one "Greek" (in fact Byzantine) element also present. In the scenes with Polyphemus and the Sirens (as on the second Lanckoroński panel, [Figs. 10, 21]) some of Odysseus's companions are wearing the characteristic high caps which are to be found on several 15th-century Italian representations of Byzantines. Examples include scenes on Filarete's (Antonio di Pietro Averlino) bronze door at the Vatican, and in the famous frescoes by Piero della Francesca depicting *The Story of the Holy Cross* in Arezzo.⁴⁴ In his biography of Pope Eugenius IV (who not only organized the Council in Ferrara/Florence in 1439 which was to bring about the union of Latin and Greek Christianity, but

who also commissioned the Vatican's central bronze doors) Vespasiano Bisticci says: "I will not pass on without a word of special praise of the Greeks. For the last fifteen hundred years and more they have not altered the style of their dress; their clothes are of the same fashion now as they were in the time indicated. This may be seen in Greece in a place called the fields of Philippi, where were found many records in marble in which may be seen men clothed in the manner still used by the Greeks."⁴⁵ Thus, Apollonio may well have believed that he had represented Ulysses's companions, and by implication the whole composition, *all'antica*. In fact he did paint some motives and even scenes in a more or less archaeologically correct fashion, as will be shown soon.

Among the most interesting elements of the *Odyssey* panels, also to be found in other *cassone* paintings executed by Apollonio and his workshop, are the many inscriptions identifying peoples, islands and cities. Such inscriptions also occur in his *Aeneid* illuminations and *cassone* panels.⁴⁶ The use of such inscriptions is by no means unusual, since even in ancient art similar inscriptions can be found on the numerous representations inspired by Homer's epic.⁴⁷ Some examples can be found in the small relief tablets known as the "Iliac tablets" or *Tabulae Odysseae*.⁴⁸ One of these (housed in the National Museum, Warsaw and dating from the time of Augustus) depicts *Ulysses and Hermes*, *Ulysses and Circe*, *Ulysses, Circe and Monstrous Companions* [Fig. 11].⁴⁹ As in the *cassoni* in question we can see here an episodic treatment of the scenes placed one above the other. In order to facilitate recognition of the main *dramatis personae* on the *cassone* fronts housed in Chicago and Pittsburgh the painter or his assistant labelled them with their names written in white. For example, on the former, ULISSE is written seven times, PENELOPE twice, PULIFEMO three times and [ER]ME



10) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 1.

(Hermes) and INACO once. In turn, on the first Lanckoroński panel there are only inscriptions bearing the names of two Sicilian cities: SARAGUSA, MES[SIN]A, and the names of three islets north of this island: VULGANO (Vulcani), SIVIGOLI, and LIPABI (Lipari),⁵⁰ none of which are mentioned in the *Odyssey* [Fig. 12]. These latter inscriptions figure close to the scene depicting the episode with Scylla, who already in classical antiquity (by Stesichoros and Virgil, and later by Isidorus of Seville and Boccaccio, among others) was located in Sicily at the Straits of Messina.⁵¹ The other Lanckoroński panel bears no inscriptions whatsoever.

But what can be learnt from the abundance of inscriptions on the panels in Chicago and Pittsburgh and their scarcity on those from the Lanckoroński collection? It could be suggested



11) Relief with subjects from the Odyssey, marble, beginning of the 1st century AD, Warsaw, National Museum.



12) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 1.



13) A follower of Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», cassone front, tempera on panel, Florence, Museo Stibbert.

that the latter were executed for someone who had a sound knowledge of the *Odyssey*. On a panel with the *Adventures of Ulysses* deriving from a cassone front, executed most probably in the late 1460s or 1470s by a not very gifted follower of Apollonio di Giovanni (presently housed in the Museo Stibbert, Florence) the inscriptions identifying the main *dramatis personae* are again present in abundance [Fig. 13].⁵² This is the case in another cassone front, previously in the Ashburnham Collection, which is of an almost as poor artistic quality as the previous one and depicts mostly the scenes pictured on the first of the Lanckoroński panels.⁵³ In turn, on a poorly preserved cassone front in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, which is at times attributed to the Master of the Argonauts and dated ca. 1480, there is not one single inscription.⁵⁴ In this case, however, the result is that some of the characters and even two entire scenes have remained unidentified. Although one can recognize among them Ulysses's encounter with Circe and the Sirens [Fig. 22c] as well as Ulysses's descent into Hades; the latter scene does not appear on either of the Apollonio panels. It would seem that the Liverpool painting is almost completely independent of *Tuscan Apelles's* iconography; the best example of which is the scene with the Sirens.

It is worth mentioning here one more instance of a subject from Homer's epic depicted in the mid-15th century which can be found on a small informal bronze plaque by Filarete [Fig. 14].⁵⁵ The relief labelled with the inscription in Greek (ANTINOOS, IROS, ODYSEUS) depicts the fight between



14) Antonio Averlino called Filarete, «Ulysses and Iros», bronze relief, ca. 1450, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



15 a) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 8.

Ulysses and Irus, as recounted in the *Odyssey* (XVIII, 46–49). On the left we see four suitors; one of them dressed in a tunic and chlamys with a cap on his head must be the Antinous identified by an inscription. To the right is a veiled female figure, presumably Penelope or the nurse Eurycleia. Above, in the vault, hangs Odysseus's famous bow, which the suitors would seek in vain to bend and some other weapons i.e. a quiver, two double-edged axes, a shield depicting Hercules, and a helmet adorned with a relief of a centaur. Compared with several of the *Odyssey* episodes pictured by Apollonio, this scene (beautifully placed in an entrance hall with a coffered barrel-vaulted ceiling supported by four Corinthian columns) is a very interesting “reconstruction” of a story from antiquity. However, in some of his scenes which are represented in a tapestry-like manner, Apollonio also showed an interesting view of the ancient world as demonstrated below.

3. Creating Homeric Iconography

There are no late-Antique, medieval or early-Renaissance narrative illustrations of the *Odyssey* analogous to those which



15 b) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 2.

exist for the *Aeneid* before the appearance of Apollonio di Giovanni's paintings.⁵⁶ Therefore the painter, most probably helped by a humanist adviser, had to create a completely new iconography for Ulysses's adventures. Like the other *cassone* painters representing secular subjects not previously illustrated, he was forced to adapt the existing compositions or motifs available. Ellen Callmann and Christopher Lloyd have already shown some models used by Apollonio. As Lloyd observed, the standing musician playing a *lira da braccio* depicted in the scene of Alcinoius's feast echoes his counterpart playing a *viella* in Giotto's fresco of *The Feast of Herod* in the Peruzzi Chapel at Santa Croce, Florence.⁵⁷

Callmann, for her part, has convincingly suggested that the seated figure of the nude Ulysses depicted in the scene with Nausicaa [Fig. 15a] was modelled on the representation of the *Creation of Adam* by Lorenzo Ghiberti in the Porta del Paradiso (the motif most probably deriving from an antique sarcophagus of Adonis).⁵⁸ However, by representing Odysseus on the Lanckoroński panel as seated, Apollonio introduced an innovation. He is no longer extending his left arm to Nausicaa, but is resting his head on it, thus looking – let us add from our part – very much like a meditating Job [Fig.



16 a) Apollonio di Giovanni, «The Adventures of Ulysses», detail of Fig. 1.



16 b) Baccio Baldini, «Fighting animals», engraving, ca. 1460, London, British Museum.

15b].⁵⁹ Callmann also noted that the scene with Leucothea (Ino) rescuing Odysseus recalls another composition depicted on Ghiberti's bronze doors [Fig. 3]. In fact Ino's pose is that of Eve in the scene of her creation, although in reversed position. In turn, the animals shown in the scene with Circe have much in common with the creatures represented in a Florentine engraving ascribed to Baccio Baldini dating from the third quarter of the 15th century [Fig. 16a–b].⁶⁰ Instead of depicting Odysseus's companions being changed into swine, as recounted by Homer (*Odyssey* X, 135 ff.) the painter adopted the existing model (in fact the engraving was indeed produced to serve as a pattern plate), despite the fact that it includes both real and fantastic animals, even a dragon. It should be added that in several scenes showing Circe in ancient art, not only are there swine (or men with the heads of these animals) but also lions, dogs, wolves and even horses and sheep. In fact, writers of the Roman period, among them Apollodorus in his *Bibliotheca* (Epitome VII, 15)⁶¹ and Dio Chrysostom in his *Eighth Discourse* (*On Virtue* 21), preserve versions in which some of Ulysses's companions were turned into wolves, lions and asses.⁶² It is still hard to ascertain whether such ancient representations and the texts of the above mentioned authors were available to Apollonio or his adviser.

Now the question arises: what might have been the models for representation of the other scenes or individual characters depicted on the panels in question? Some of the

compositions or motifs simply appear to be pure invention of the painter. Consider Polyphemus, who apparently was easy to depict simply as a very large man [Fig. 17]. However, the painter clearly had a problem with representing the Cyclops's countenance; in the scene where he devours his victims Polyphemus has two eyes instead of one. In turn, in the scene in which Odysseus and his companions are escaping from the cave, the Cyclops is grasping a big tree trunk topped with one remaining branch, which is not mentioned in Homer [Figs. 1, 10]. This particular iconographic trait, however, occurs in Virgil in the passage recounting how Aeneas finds one of Odysseus's companions on the Cyclopes's island. The passage reads as follows: "His [Polyphemus'] steps are steadied by the lopped-off pine he grips" (*Aeneid* III, 854). The branch visible on the top of the trunk clearly identifies the tree as a species of pine. In this case the painter also used Virgil's epic, which must have been well known to him since he produced several panels inspired by the *Aeneid*; besides, opposite to the *Odyssey* the *Aeneid* was easily available in Italian translations⁶³. At the time the *Odyssey* panels were painted the relationship between Homer and Virgil's epics was of great interest to certain humanists.⁶⁴ It is perhaps also worth noting that the big tree trunk on which Polyphemus is leaning is often to be seen in the hands of Saint Christophorus, the Christian giant who was very popular in the Italian art of that time.⁶⁵ One such depiction, attributed to Fra



18 a) Apollonio di Giovanni, «Hermes warning Ulysses and giving him the plant moly», detail of the middle portion of the first Lanckoroński cassone panel (as in Fig. 1).



18 b) Apollonio di Giovanni, «Mercury and Calypso», detail of the left upper portion of the 2nd Lanckoroński cassone panel (as in Fig. 2).

Carnevale, once belonged to the Lanckoroński collection but, unfortunately, its present whereabouts are unknown.⁶⁶

The *Odyssey* panels depict some motifs and even compositions which are truly *all'antica*, these being clear proof of the painter's efforts to be as "modern" as possible. This aspect of the paintings in question has been almost completely neglected as yet by scholars dealing with the *Tuscan Apelles*. Such *all'antica* representations include the images of Mercury, the personifications of the Winds, and, to some degree the depictions of Scylla and the Sirens.

Mercury, the messenger of the gods, and in the *Odyssey*, predominantly the messenger of Athena/Minerva, is depicted twice; first in the scene in which he is warning Odysseus before his meeting with Circe [Figs. 16a, 18a] and then in the one which took place at the island of Calypso [Fig. 18b]. In the former scene the god is handing the plant moly to Ulysses;

unfortunately the magic plant is now hardly visible.⁶⁷ In both cases the god is depicted with winged shoes (*talaria*) and a caduceus, his miraculous wand, with two entwined snakes. In order to determine how *all'antica* or "modern" these images are, it is enough to compare them with the late 14th- and early 15th-century depictions of the god among the *Ovide moralisé* illustrations [Fig. 19a], in a fragment of a *cassone* housed in the Czartoryski Collection in Kraków [Fig. 19b], and in a scene on one of the Embriachi caskets.⁶⁸ In all these instances we see a medieval Mercury with great wings growing from his shoulders, as if he were an angel, and holding in his hand either a simple staff or a wand with two snakes twining around it in a very strange way. As already hinted at by Jean Seznec, Apollonio's panels most probably provide one of the earliest images of a "new" or *all'antica* Mercury in Renaissance art and could have been patterned on the famous drawing produced



19 a) «Hermes and Argus». From «Ovide moralisé en vers», Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS fr. 176, end of the 14th century.



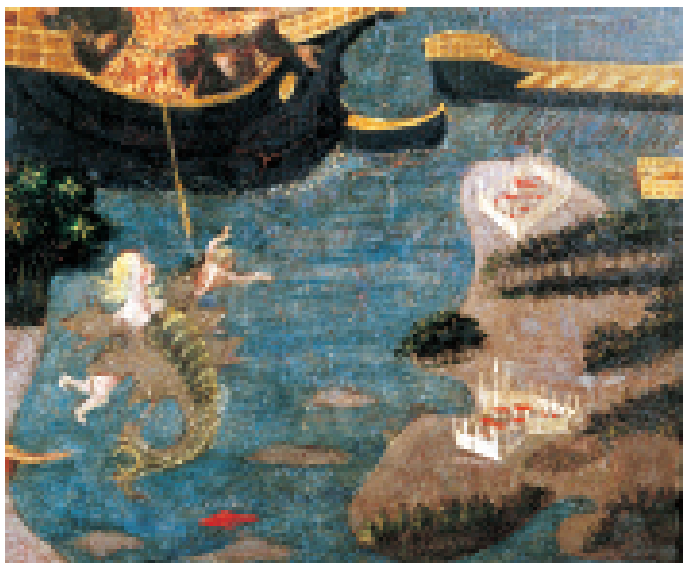
19 b) «Winged Hermes/Mercury», cassone panel, detail, ca. 1385, National Museum, Kraków, Czartoryski Collection.



19 c) «Mercury», relief from Hellenistic period, Panticapeum.



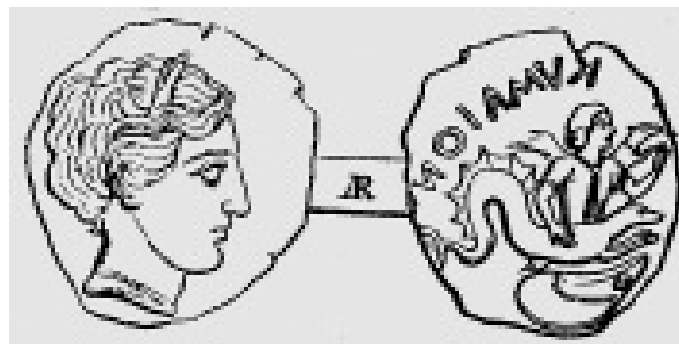
19 d) «Mercury», copy of a drawing made by Ciriacus of Ancona, Oxford, Bodl. Ms. Can. Lat. Misc. 280.



20 a) Apollonio di Giovanni, «Ulysses fighting with Scylla», detail of right portion of the first Lanckoroński cassone panel, (as in Fig. 1).

20 b) «Scylla swimming», drawing , after Greek coins from Cumae.

20 c) Tetradrachma of Acragas, Scylla and crab, private collection, ca. 400 B.C.



by Cyriacus of Ancona (d. 1455) during one of his journeys.⁶⁹ A copy of his drawing, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (ms. Canonicianus lat. misc. 280) executed ca. 1440, depicts the god as shown on a Hellenistic relief which Cyriacus found at Panticapaeum during his voyage to Greece and the Archipelago [Fig. 19c–d].⁷⁰ It should be noted that in the scene with Caplypso, as pictured on the second Lanckoroński panel [Fig. 18b], Mercury – apart from the fact that he is beardless – looks very much as he does on the Cyriacus drawing; this relates to his pose, his cap, his *talaria* and the way in which he is holding the caduceus. Later

generations of artists followed in the steps of Cyriacus and Apollonio. Another interesting example of this “new” Mercury is to be found in the *cassone* panels illustrating the *Story of Cupid and Psyche* by the Master of the Argonauts which are housed in the Bode Museum, Berlin, and date from ca. 1470.⁷¹ However, on the *cassone* with the scenes from the *Odyssey*, once in the Ashburnham collection, Hermes still has great wings growing from his shoulders, as in medieval art.⁷²

The Scylla depicted on the first Lanckoroński *cassone* is also to some degree similar to the mythological creature represented in antique art [Fig. 20a]. In the *Odyssey* she is

described thus: "Therein dwells Scylla, yelping terribly. Her voice is indeed but as the voice of a new-born whelp, but she herself is an evil monster, nor would anyone be glad at sight of her, no, not though it were a god that met her. Verily she has twelve feet, all misshapen, and six necks, exceeding long, and on each one an awful head, and therein three rows of teeth, thick and close, and full of black death" (XII, 85–93). A little further on the monster is called "a cureless bane", and finally Homer puts the following words into Odysseus's mouth: "Then verily I forgot the hard command of Circe, whereas she bade me in no wise to arm myself; but when I had put on my glorious armour and grasped in my hand two long spears, I went to the fore-deck of the ship, whence I deemed that Scylla of the rock would first be seen, who was to bring ruin upon my comrades" (XII, 224–226). In the scene in question Ulysses, armed with a long spear, although without his *glorious armour*, is indeed fighting with Scylla. However, the upper portion of the sea creature does not look at all like "an evil monster." Her head and breasts are those of a beautiful woman with long, blond hair, but the body recalls that of a lobster or crayfish. Out of her torso grow the heads of six many-toothed dogs while the tail has prongs. Apollonio's Scylla is a strange hybrid who, as in ancient literature and art, has undergone a process of partial idealization involving anthropomorphism and taming. While Homer's Scylla is by no means a half-female, for Virgil she is: "a fair-bosomed maiden down to the waist, below a sea-dragon of monstrous frame with dolphins' tails joined to a belly of sea-green hounds" (*Aeneid*, 426–431, 435). So, once more Virgil's text most probably helped Apollonio to cope with the problem of Homeric iconography.

In the scene in question Scylla's body does not really echo the antique representations, but her head shown in profile with long flowing hair looks almost exactly the same as on some Greek coins and Roman mosaics. The coins struck ca. 440 BC in Cumae [Fig. 20b]⁷³ and some twenty years later in Acragas [Fig. 20c] provide particularly interesting analogies.⁷⁴ But is it possible that the *Tusculan Apelles* could have seen them or some other ancient image of Scylla? It is known from written sources that Cyriacus of Ancona was in possession of an engraved antique gem depicting this sea-creature, which was so admired by his friends that in the early 1440s he gave lead casts of it to Theodor of Gaza and to Angelo Grassi, Bishop of Ariano.⁷⁵ Unfortunately there is no precise description of their appearance. It should be remembered that Greek coins were also in circulation not only in the Renaissance period but even in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁶ Curiously enough an almost archaeologically correct representation of Scylla, quite similar to the one depicted on the Lanckoroński cassone panel, was pictured in the Carolingian period on the vault of the westwork of the church at Corvey.⁷⁷



21) Apollonio di Giovanni, «Ulysses and Sirens», detail of the left portion of the 2nd Lanckoroński cassone panel, (as in Fig. 2).

George Hanfmann and other scholars have proved that in this case the only model could have been the coin from Acragas. So it is possible that the iconography of Scylla with the countenance of a beautiful woman with flowing hair was also known in 15th-century Florence. Furthermore, when painting his image of Scylla at the Straits of Messina (which is not mentioned by Homer) Apollonio or his learned adviser must have consulted the *Aeneid*, Isidore of Seville's *Ethymologiae*, or Boccaccio's *Genealogia*.

The meaning of the whole scene should perhaps be understood as in Fulgentius's *Mythologiae*: "Scylla is explained as the symbol of a harlot, because all her lustful

groin must be filled with dogs and wolves [...]. Ulysses also sailed harmlessly past her, for wisdom scorns lust; he had a wife called Penelope the chaste, because all chastity is linked with wisdom.”⁷⁸ Scylla’s wind-blown hair seems to support such an interpretation because since antiquity such hair has had obvious erotic connotations.⁷⁹ Calypso, who kept Odysseus as her lover for so long, is also depicted in the same way [Fig. 3]. This gender-conscious reading can perhaps be applied in at least one more case, that of the Sirens.

Apollonio’s Sirens tempting Ulysses are even more attractive and unusual than his Scylla. They are depicted in the largest scene of all as it fills the whole height of the panel [Fig. 21]. This adventure of Odysseus was one of the most beloved themes in the commentaries of the Church Fathers, both Greek and Latin, and therefore was often recalled by theologians and other writers before the Renaissance period.⁸⁰ So it is not at all surprising that the subject was often represented by the artists of the Latin Middle Ages. Apollonio’s Sirens are shown as beautiful and almost completely naked girls with blond hair and sensual lips, hovering on small clouds on both sides of Ulysses who is tied high up on a mast.⁸¹ There are four of them, although Homer mentions only two. The poem reads: “Come hither, as thou farest, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans; stay thy ship that thou mayest listen to the voice of us two. For never yet has any man rowed past this isle in his black ship until he has heard the sweet voice from our lips. Nay, he has joy of it, and goes his way a wiser man. For we know all the toils that in wide Troy the Argives and Trojans endured through the will of the gods, and we know all things that come to pass upon the fruitful earth’. So they spoke, sending forth their beautiful voice, and my heart was fine to listen [...]” (*Odyssey*, XII, 183–190). In this famous passage the poet mentions no specific aspect of the Sirens’ physiognomy that paved the way for countless speculations about their appearance both in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

What is greatly surprising on both the Chicago [Fig. 8] and Lanckoroński [Fig. 21] panels, is the fact that the Sirens depicted on them are very different from the ancient half-women and half-birds and from medieval half-women and half-fish with a double or single tail.⁸² There is an excellent example of the latter type on one of the capitals of the cloister at Monreale [Fig. 22a].⁸³ One might have the impression that it is an illustration of a passage from Guido delle Colonne’s famous *Historia Destructionis Troiae* written in the mid-13th century, being a kind of translation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure’s *Le roman de Troie*, produced almost exactly at the same time as the capital, i.e. in the second half of the 12th century. Guido reads: “Sirens [...] are very great sea monsters, roam the ocean. Above the waist they are feminine shape with the faces of girls, but below the waist

they have the appearance of fish. They reveal in singing marvellous voices [...] you would think they surpassed the heavenly harmony”.⁸⁴ Such iconography of Sirens, invented in the early Middle Ages, survived in Italy (also in Florence), to the very end of the 15th century; a case in point being one of the so-called *Otto Prints* (this kind of engraving most probably served as a pattern for the decoration of *forzierini*, Fig. 22b). The sea-creatures on the *cassone* front with the subjects from the *Odyssey* belonging to the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool are also depicted in this way [Fig. 22c]⁸⁵ as are those on Pinturicchio’s large fresco (transferred onto canvas) at the National Gallery, London, depicting *Penelope at the loom*⁸⁶, which includes some of her husband’s adventures. In both cases there are three of them and like the Sirens in the *Otto Print*, and at Monreale, they hold their tails in a very characteristic way.

However, there was a tradition of depicting the Sirens as two or three women (as far as I know, four Sirens are only mentioned by Boccaccio in his *Genealogia*),⁸⁷ and not as half women and half-fish. There are surviving Etruscan urns of alabaster showing three Sirens as three women seated on the rocks wearing chitons and himations, turned in the direction of Ulysses’s ship. Each of them is making music on a different instrument: the first is playing an aulos, the second a syrinx or panpipes and the third a lyre. One such urn, unfortunately partially damaged, is to be found in the National Museum in Warsaw [Fig. 23a]. The three Sirens, this time winged, two of which are playing instruments and one singing, can be seen among the illuminations of the famous book by Herrad of Landsberg entitled *Hortus deliciarum* [Fig. 23b–c]. However, this time they are partially birds, since they do not have women’s feet, as on the Etruscan urns but clutches (claws). This particular case probably relates to a depiction of what is written in Honorius of Autun’s *Speculum Ecclesiae*, another great 12th century theologian, who mentions that Ulysses’s wisdom is an example to be followed as it was because of this that the Sirens were defeated. He also refers to the sea-men lured by the music of the Sirens and who were subsequently killed by them. Honorius says: “Once [...] a certain duke, named Ulysses, was constrained to that island [of the Sirens]. He commanded that he should be tied to the mast, but his companions’ ears he stopped with wax. Thus they escaped from this peril without hurt, and even drowned the Sirens in the depths. These my beloved, are mystical images, even though they have been conceived by the enemies of Christ. The sea represents this earthly world, which is always being disturbed by the storms of tribulation. The island stands for the pleasures of this world, and the three Sirens who by their sweet music enchant the mariners and lull them to sleep are the three lusts which make the heart of man soft unto evil and lull us into the sleep of death.”⁸⁸



22 a) «Siren with two tails», decoration of a capital in the cloister of the Abbey at Monreale.



22 b) «A Gallant and his Mistress holding a Crown with Venus and Cupid and a Siren», Florentine engraving, ca. 1470.



22 c) «Ulysses and the Sirens», right portion of a Florentine cassone panel, ca. 1480, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.

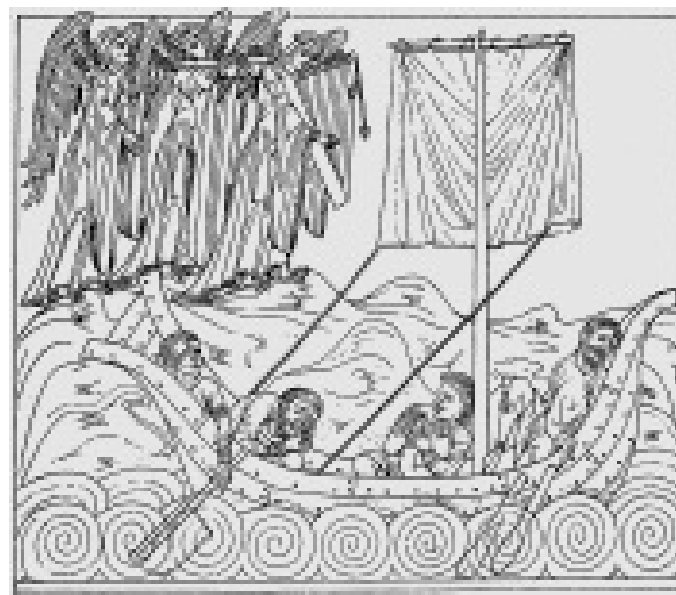
However, beautiful, sensual, and naked Apollonio's Sirens as they are, they should perhaps also be seen as seducing not only with their singing, but with their corporal beauty too. In his well-known encyclopaedia *Li Livres dou Tresor*, Brunetto Latini says: "Sirens, the authors say, are of three types. One resembles a woman from the head to the thighs, but from there down it resembles a fish, and they have wings and nails. The first one sings marvellously well with its voice, the other with a flute and a pipe, and the third with a lyre, and through their sweet song they made the unsuspecting people who were passing over the sea perish. But in truth, the sirens were three prostitutes who tricked all passers-by and brought them to ruin. The story goes that they had wings and nails to signify love, which strikes and flies; and they remain in the water because lust was made of moisture."⁸⁹ Thus Brunetto's Sirens similarly to those in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* are half women and half birds but first and foremost, although they are less allegorical and more corporeal, they are seducers and this is most probably the way they should be interpreted on Apollonio's cassone panels. Even if it is hard to say whether the painter could have known the Etruscan urns or



23 a) «Ulysses and Sirens, Etruscan urn of alabaster, 3rd Century BC. Volterra, Warsaw, National Museum.

other ancient depictions of the Sirens in the form of beautiful women there is no doubts that the texts by Guido delle Colonne, Brunetto and the like authors were widely known during the Renaissance period. Apollonio's Sirens may well have been – as Guy de Tervarent once suggested⁹⁰ – the result of the ambitious interpretation of a highly enigmatic text by Homer and – we should add – descriptions by other ancient (first of all Virgil) and medieval authors.

To conclude this part of the paper we should refer briefly to the fact that the personifications of the Winds in the scene depicting *The Storm at Sea* as shown on the left portion of the second Lanckoroński panel are also *all'antica* to some degree [Figs 6, 21].⁹¹ They are represented in profile and hold a slender curving or straight horn to blow. They look very much like the representations of the Winds depicted, among others, on an early Christian Jonah sarcophagus executed at the end of the 3rd century, presently kept in the Ny Carsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen [Fig. 24]⁹² and in the Vergilius Romanus of the 5th century housed in the Biblioteca Vaticana.⁹³ However, Apollonio was not the first Renaissance artist to depict such *all'antica* personifications of the Winds. They were shown in the same way some one hundred years earlier, on Giotto's famous *Navicella* in Saint Peter's basilica.⁹⁴ Thus, in the light of the observations presented above, the Lanckoroński *Odyssey* panels are a fascinating cultural document revealing an early Renaissance view of antiquity.



23 b) «The Sirens making music», in *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad of Landsberg.



23 c) «Ulysses and Sirens», in *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad of Landsberg.



24) Marble sarcophagus with Jonah story, fragment, the end of the 3rd Century AD Copenhagen, Ny Calsberg Glyptotek.

4. The Odyssey panels in the historical context

In his already cited entry concerning the Chicago *Odyssey* panel Christopher Lloyd wrote the following: "[...] it is likely that Apollonio could have had access to an illustrated manuscript and have found someone to translate the Greek for him, since his work was much admired in humanistic circles."⁹⁵ However, as it was already said above there is no trace of any illustrated manuscript of the *Odyssey*. Furthermore the important questions arise: What were Apollonio's literary sources? Would he indeed have looked for someone to translate the Greek for him? And, what was the context of the appearance of a much elaborated Homeric narration on the *cassoni* in examination?

It is hard to remember today that the *Odyssey* (as with the *Iliad*) was translated into Latin – thus becoming an important element in Western civilisation – as late as on the eve of the age of the Renaissance. The poem was widely known only from the second half of the 16th century onwards. In antiquity, well-educated Romans read it in Greek (the aforementioned *Tabulae Odysseae* were most probably produced for those in the early stages of their education [Fig. 11], while for the Latin-speaking citizens of the Empire it was the *Aeneid* that played the role of the "national" epic. No doubt the perfect hero of the Romans was not Odysseus but Aeneas. The latter often expresses his hate for Laertes's son, perhaps most strikingly when he recounts the voyage past Ithaca:

We fled past the rocks of Ithaca, Laertes' kingdom,
And cursed the land that nourished fierce Ulysses
(*Aeneid* III, 272–273).

Robert Lamberton observed that the characteristic Virgilian epithets for Ulysses consistently emphasize his deceitfulness, his seductiveness and his gift for manipulation through language (cf. *Aeneid*, II, 90; II, 164).⁹⁶ He was, in fact, the key person during the war which brought complete ruin to the famous and proud Troy. After all the small group of its citizens headed by Aeneas was the founder of Roman civilisation. Long before Virgil, the Greek poets themselves asked whether Homer was truthful. Some of them were of the opinion that he was a liar and a cheat, and therefore his favourite hero must also have been a villain. Pindar preferred Ajax to Odysseus as did some Greek playwrights.⁹⁷ It was Philostratus, among others, who in his *Heroicus* made some definitive attacks on Homer's narrative.⁹⁸ In his opinion, Odysseus's wanderings were pure fables. Why, for example – he asked – would goddesses like Circe and Calypso love a man past the age for amorous delights? However, there had always been several influential voices in favour of Homer and his hero. Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, among others, wrote about them almost with admiration.⁹⁹ Besides in late-Antiquity very interesting allegorical interpretations of the *Odyssey* in Greek were produced.¹⁰⁰ Also some Latin poets had something beautiful to say and in the like allegorical way. In Claudian's poems *Laus Serenae*, written ca. 400, the following verses are to be found: "Does old Homer's soaring soul essay aught else throughout his song? Dangers from Charybdis' gulf, from Scylla's dogs, from Circe's cup, the escape of Ulysses from the greed of Antiphate, the passage of the ship between the rocks where sat the Sirens to whose alluring voices the rowers were deaf, the blinding of Cyclops, the desertion of Calypso – all these do but redound to the glory of Penelope, and the whole scene is set to display her chastity alone. Toils by land and sea, ten years of war, ten years of wandering, all do but illustrate the fidelity of a wife"¹⁰¹.

However, quite soon Homer and his heroes were to be almost completely forgotten in the Latin Middle Ages and the main sources of knowledge on the Trojan War and Ulysses were brief and rather poor, from the literary point of view, Dares of Phrygia's *Excidio Troiae historia* and Dictys of Crete's *Ephemeridos belli troiani libri*.¹⁰² They influenced the imagination of many writers on the Troy Romance, from Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Guido delle Colonne, to the still anonymous author of the *Istoriella troiana*.¹⁰³ In their books, read universally in medieval and Renaissance Europe, Homer is frequently contradicted and Ulysses himself is presented as a second or third rate character, and rather a negative one at that.¹⁰⁴ In particular Dares, in his pro-Trojan zeal, was destined, together with the *Aeneid*, to influence the medieval tradition of Ulysses.¹⁰⁵ Dante, the great admirer of Virgil, put Ulysses in one of the circles of the *Inferno* (Canto XIX and

XXVI); however, curiously enough he identified himself with him to some degree.¹⁰⁶ At times Ulysses appeared as a worthy example of natural virtue, and not only in the story of the Sirens in which he was seen as a symbol of Christ on the Cross.¹⁰⁷ In the *Gesta Romanorum* – one of the most famous books produced in the 14th century – there is an account of Ulysses detecting Achilles in Scyros.¹⁰⁸ In this allegorized story Ulysses stands for Christ. Nevertheless, until the second half of the 14th century Homer and his masterpiece recounting the adventures of Ulysses were names to be rediscovered.

However, it was Petrarch who, with some help from Boccaccio instigated the first Latin translation of Homer by Leonzio Pilato.¹⁰⁹ In 1360 Petrarch wrote his famous letter to Homer in which he recalls the names of Odysseus and Penelope.¹¹⁰ Although the translation was rather poor it was soon used by Boccaccio in his *Genealogia deorum gentilium*. Petrarch's manuscript containing Leonzio's *Odyssey* with numerous *glosse* was in turn copied for Coluccio Salutati, a humanist and chancellor of Florence in the years 1375–1406.¹¹¹ In 1396 in a letter to Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia, then in Constantinople he wrote: "[...] bring as many books as you can [...]. Buy Homer in large letters (*grossis litteris*) on parchment and a mythographer, if you find one."¹¹² Around 1400 another copy of Leonzio's *Odyssey* was in the hands of Pala Strozzi, another distinguished Florentine. Leonardo Bruni, Salutati's pupil, translated some parts of the *Iliad* into Latin.¹¹³ In the first half of the 15th century longer or shorter pieces of Homer's epic were produced by Lorenzo Valla, Guarino da Verona, Angelo Decembrio and Vittorino da Feltre; some of them also made interesting comparisons between the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*.¹¹⁴ Around 1460 Francesco Griffolini from Arezzo made a complete translation of the *Odyssey*.¹¹⁵ His version, which is much better than Leonzio's was also made in prose. In the second quarter of the 15th century Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, often refers to Homer in his *Storia di due amanti* and in *De Europa*.¹¹⁶ In his *De pictura* written in 1435 and one year later translated into Italian, Leone Battista Alberti in advising painters as to what kind of writers they should look for inspiration, also mentions Homer among other ancient authors.¹¹⁷ He *expressis verbis* refers to Ulysses's meeting with Nausicaa. At the time when Apollonio was producing his narrative paintings, not only the Strozzi but also the Medici kept numerous classics, including Homer's *Odyssey*, in their well stocked libraries.¹¹⁸ The first Italian translation of Homer's epic appeared only in 1573.¹¹⁹ Thus Apollonio di Giovanni was probably helped greatly by a humanist if he himself did not know Latin well enough.

An important role in the diffusion of the *Odyssey* in Florence and subsequently in the whole of Italy and the rest of Europe,

which consequently led to a new and fully positive image of Odysseus, was played by a text as yet unnoticed by students of Apollonio di Giovanni's œuvre. I have in mind Basil the Great's letter titled *To Young Men, on how they Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature*. It reached Europe at the end of the 14th century and soon after 1400 was translated into Latin by Leonardo Bruni, who dedicated it to Coluccio Salutati.¹²⁰ Before the mid-15th century the letter was known in Italy in *volgare* as well.¹²¹ The scale of the influence of this text is testified by the fact that more than 400 manuscript copies of it have come down to this day; in the later half of the century it was widely known in the whole of Europe.¹²² Two fragments of this letter are particularly important for our investigations. The first reads as follows:

"I myself have heard a man who is clever at understanding a poet's mind, say that all Homer's poetry is an encomium of virtue, and all he wrote, save what is accessory, bears to this and, and not least in those verses in which he has portrayed the leader of the Cephallenians as naked, after being saved from shipwreck, and the princess as having first shown him reverence at the mere sight of him (so far was he from incurring shame through merely being seen naked, since the poet has portrayed him as clothed with virtue in place of garments), and then, furthermore, Odysseus as having been considered worthy of such high honour by the rest of the Phaeacians likewise that, disregarding the luxury in which they lived, they one and all admired and envied the hero, and none of the Phaeacians at the moment would have desired anything else more than to become Odysseus, and that too just saved from a shipwreck. For in these passages, the interpreter of the poet's mind was wont to declare that Homer says in a voice that all but shouts: 'You must give heed unto virtue, O men, which swims forth even with a man who has suffered shipwreck, and, on his coming naked to land, will render him more honoured than the happy Phaeacians.'"¹²³

In the other passage one can read: "[...] as to the learning to be derived from the poets, that I may begin with them, inasmuch as the subjects they deal with are of every kind, you ought not to give your attention to all they write without exception; but whenever they recount for you the deeds or words of good men, you ought to cherish and emulate these and try to be as far as possible like them; but when they treat of wicked men, you ought to avoid such imitation, stopping your ears no less than Odysseus did, according to what those same poets say, when he avoided the songs of the Sirens."¹²⁴

Some twenty years after the translation of Basil's text, most probably in 1424, Leonardo Bruni in his letter to Battista Malatesta instructs the educated woman thus: "The poets, too, I would have her read and understand. This is a knowledge which all great men have possessed. Aristotle, at least, frequently cites

passages of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, and the other poets [...]. The poets have many wise and useful things to say about life and how it should be lived; in them are to be found the principles and causes of nature and birth – the seeds, as it were, of all teachings – by their antiquity and their reputation for wisdom they possess a high authority, by their elegance they have acquired a splendour and a distinction [...]. Does Homer lack any sort of wisdom that we should refuse him the repute of being most wise? Some say that his poetry provides a complete doctrine of life, divided into periods of peace and war. And indeed in the affairs of war, what has he not told us of the prudence of the general, of the cunning and bravery of the soldier, of the kinds of trickery to be allowed or omitted, of advice, of counsel? [...] in no other writers can be found so many examples of womanly modesty and goodness: Penelope's chastity and faithfulness to Ulysses, Alcestis's wonderful modesty towards Admetus, the marvellous constancy of both in the face of calamities and long separation from their husbands. Many such instances can be read in the poets, the finest patterns of the wifely arts."¹²⁵

Thus, in the mid-15th century the grounds for the appearance of Odysseus in the visual arts as a fully positive character, and as an *exemplum virtutis* to be followed was well prepared. His astuteness, practical wisdom and wilfulness, and likewise the chastity of his wife Penelope, entered the canon of *exempla* as did the heroes of Virgil, Livy and Valerius Maximus and among them Aeneas, Dido, Camilla, Lucretia and Virginia.¹²⁶

5. Some further thoughts on the meaning of the *Odyssey* panels within the context of the marital bedroom

It should be recalled that the majority of *cassoni* served as marriage chests and played an important part in the so-called *domumductio* or marriage procession (in which the newly-wed woman was led to her husband's house). Afterwards they were placed in the bedroom, often called the *camera mia*: that is, the most important room in the house.¹²⁷ Perhaps it was because of this public show during which the chests were transported through the streets of Florence that they were so lavishly adorned with multicoloured narrative paintings, thus demonstrating not only personal artistic tastes but also refinement. One scholar dealing with domestic painting has even argued that "the wedding chests developed their elaborate decoration as a result of their substitution for a display of the dowry itself."¹²⁸ Judging from the preserved *cassone* panels produced in Florence it was very fashionable indeed in the mid-15th century to have marriage chests adorned with subjects inspired by classical authors.

The answer to the question: What could have been the message conveyed by the *cassone* fronts by Apollonio di Giovanni? (which were executed for an unknown Florentine wedding) seems obvious, if only in the light of the previously cited texts. As in ancient times Penelope, who waited loyally for many years for her husband to return, was seen as the ideal of a beautiful and faithful wife (*castitas* being perhaps the most extolled of the womanly virtues in 15th century Florence), whereas Odysseus was once again the symbol of wisdom, courage, craftiness and perseverance. Penelope who did not succumb to the wiles of her relentless suitors, and is shown working at her loom [Fig. 25], could be perceived as the supreme symbol of hearth and home. In his *Triumphus Pudicitiae* Petrarch says:

But I will tell of some in the forefront
Of truest honour; and among them all
Lucretia and Penelope were first,
For they had broken all the shafts of Love
And torn away the quiver from his side,
And they had plucked the feathers from his wings.¹²⁹

Boccaccio echoes his words somewhat in his *Concerning Famous Women*: "Penelope [...] wife of Ulysses [...] was a woman of untarnished honour and inviolate chastity, and a holy and eternal example for women."¹³⁰ And Odysseus not only defeated Scylla but did not succumb to the Sirens (a symbol of lust) and tried, as fast as he could, to free himself of the unwanted love of the beautiful Calypso and Circe who tempted him with the offer of eternal youth. It should be remembered that some writers interpreted the monster (Scylla) as a harlot and Ulysses as wisdom. Moreover Homer relates how the gods were constantly vigilant of the exemplary couple – they are both put to the test, but fate is kind to them. These qualities and "favours granted by the gods" were very meaningful and precious to the rich merchants who inhabited Florence and travelled throughout Europe and the Levant. Also on the *cassoni* under discussion there are some motifs relating to pilgrimages: Odysseus returns to his Kingdom with a staff and an even more telling symbol – a mollusc shell in his hat; and thus seems like a veritable medieval or Renaissance pilgrim. His long and perilous journeys had already long been seen as a metaphor of human life, a return to one's home, the search for wisdom and also a journey to the world beyond¹³¹.

The chests depicting tapestry-like scenes from the *Odyssey*, placed at the sides of the nuptial bed were to be a daily reminder of the antique ideal of a man and wife and to show, when the occasion arose (i.e. a visit from friends of family) the good breeding and ideals of the owners¹³². So that the connection



25) «The Adventures of Ulysses», right portion of the second Lanckoroński panel (as in Fig. 2).

between the paintings, and the weddings and the *domumductio* (or wedding procession) would be totally self-evident Apollonio di Giovanni deviated, as already noted, from one of the scenes in Homer's text. He depicted Odysseus and Nausicaa in a



26 a) «Ulysses travelling with Nausicaa on a cart», detail of the Chicago panel (as in Fig. 8).

beautiful two wheeled carriage, and not stealing imperceptibly into the palace of the King [Fig. 26a–b]. So they appear, like the newly-wed Theseus and Hippolyta, depicted riding in an equally ornamented carriage on the *cassone* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,¹³³ or like the Queen of Sheba on her way to King Solomon on the *cassone* in a private collection in Italy.¹³⁴ It is worth noting that on the panel from the Lanckoroński collection behind the carriage a pair of rabbits is depicted [Fig. 26b]. As it is well-known in the period when the *cassoni* in question were produced rabbits signified love and fertility¹³⁵.

6. The *Odyssey* panels, the last of the Lanckorońskis and the Royal Wawel Castle

In conclusion of these observations on the *cassoni* depicting the most elaborate narration inspired by the *Odyssey* in the Italian 15th-century art, it is worth briefly mentioning the Lanckoroński family's own "odyssey" and the "odyssey" of their art collection. This seems all the more appropriate because Homer occupied an important place in the Lanckoroński's residence in Vienna and also because the family became extinct with the death of Professor Karolina Lanckorońska in 2002. She herself was a scholar of the Italian Renaissance art, and it was she who towards the end of her long life donated to the Royal Wawel Castle the part of the collection amassed by her father remaining in her possession.¹³⁶



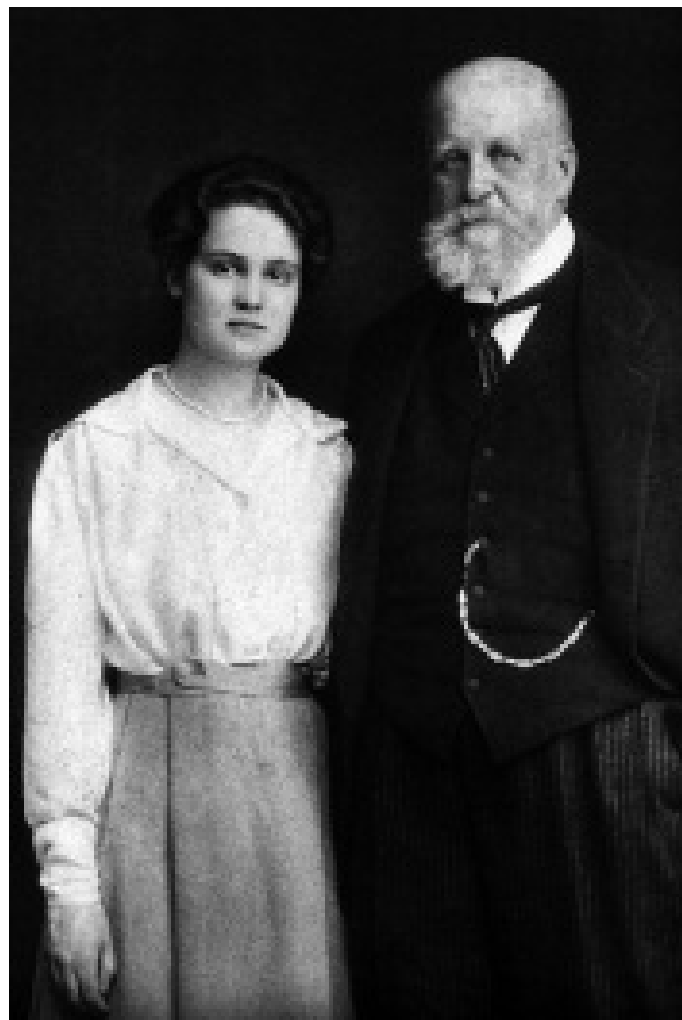
26 b) «Ulysses travelling with Nausicaa on a cart», detail of the middle upper portion of the second Lanckoroński *cassone* panel (as in Fig. 3).

The Count Lanckoroński and his collection of Italian paintings

Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933), son of Kazimierz Lanckoroński and Leonia (née Potocka), was born and educated in Vienna [Fig. 27].¹³⁷ He was descendant of the family that have played a leading role in Polish history and cultural life for at least seven centuries. Their roots can be traced back to the beginning of the 14th century when they owned extensive demesnes in the former north-eastern part of Poland. Members of the family included hetman, senators (of which there were as many as 16 in the course of the family's history) and civil servants who worked in the highest echelons of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Many of them earned a reputation as great patriots and patrons of the arts and culture by supporting, *inter alia*, the Jagiellonian University, commissioning famous works of arts in Kraków, the former capital of Poland, and for their involvement, in the last quarter of the 18th century, in the Commission for National Education. After the the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, like many of the other aristocratic families in Galicia, the Lanckorońskis settled in Vienna but they never stopped declaring their Polishness and fought for it persistently.

Count Karol Lanckoroński spent his childhood in Paris and then attended both high school and University in Vienna¹³⁸. In 1870, when barely twenty-two years old he received his doctorate in law. During his studies he also took a keen interest in classical archaeology, history of art and in literature. It would seem that Alexander von Warsberg and Wilhelm von Hartel (1839–1905) had much influence on his tastes and interests as a collector, archaeologist and researcher.¹³⁹ Von Hartel, a distinguished classical philologist (in 1900–1905 the Minister of Culture and Education) was one of Lanckoroński's teachers and, in time, became one of his closest friends, also taking part in the famous archaeological expedition to Asia Minor organised by the Count in the mid-1880s¹⁴⁰. The monumental, two-volume publication being the result of the expedition entitled *The Towns of Pamphylia and Pisidia*, which Lanckoroński dedicated to von Warsberg, the author of the once famous *Homerische Landschaften* (1884) and *Odyseische Landschaften* (1887), is a good indication of their friendship.¹⁴¹ The dedication reads: "In memory of Aleksander, the Baron von Warsberg, a much lamented friend and lover of the Antique, dedicated by the author."

As a result of his journeys, his likes, his knowledge and financial means, Lanckoroński gathered an enormous number of works of art almost from all the continents¹⁴². However, the country he loved and got to know the best was Italy. He visited it countless times, first to become acquainted with its culture and to collect Italian works of art, and then to take part in



27) Karol Lanckoroński with his daughter Karolina, ca. 1920, photograph.

archaeological excavations and conservation work at the cathedral of Aquileia. In one of his books – entitled *Around the World* (published in both German and Polish) he writes: "I am happy with the hope of India, I would be happy to travel around the world, but my heart belongs to that strip of land between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas. With Robert Browning I can say: 'Open my heart and you will see /Engraved inside Italy'"¹⁴³. The monuments of Italy – architectural works,

sculptures and paintings he also praised in verse; the titles of some of these being: *Lido*, *Santa Barbara di Palma il Vecchio*, *San Francesco in Deserto*, *Michaelangelo's Moses*.¹⁴⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century his collection consisted, among others, of over two hundred Italian paintings and among these more than thirty produced for domestic setting, deriving from *cassoni*, *spalliere*, *cornici* (wainscotting) and *lettucci* (day-beds).

We know quite a bit about the collection from several paintings by Rudolf von Alt and Hans Ludwig Fischer depicting the interiors of Lanckoroński's residences in Vienna and Rozdół (near Lvov/Lviv) and first and foremost from three publications: a small guide of 1903, *Palais Lanckoroński Jacquingasse 18*; the *Eniges über italienische bemalte Truhen*, 1905, referred to above, and the *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoroński*, 1918 (being a Festschrift to the Count). A priceless item is a small watercolour by Ludwig Hans Fischer, which recently came to light at a Sotheby's auction [Fig. 28].¹⁴⁵ Against a backdrop of furniture and various works of art which cover the walls of the first of the rooms, one of the most famous canvasses of the former Lanckoroński collection – *St. George and the Dragon* by Paolo Uccello is easily recognizable. Some *cassone* paintings are visible on the facing wall. One of the photographs taken at the Lanckoroński residence on the Jacquingasse in Vienna shows the Italian Room of the palace filled with, among other objects, the famous canvas by Dosso Dossi depicting *Jupiter Painting Butterflies* (since 2002 also housed in the Royal Wawel Castle), a tondo attributed to Botticelli (lost during the II World War), and one of the *Odyssey cassone* fronts [Fig. 29]. During and after the war perished not only the aforementioned tondo but many more paintings and other objects from the collection.

Despite the efforts made by Karol Lanckoroński's heirs to have the collection moved to Poland after his death in 1933, it proved impossible. Apart from Karolina, the other heirs were her brother Antoni and sister Adelajda. When permission was finally received, the II World War broke out and the collection was confiscated by the Nazis in October 1939; Karolina, her brother and sister took on Polish citizenship already in 1918. The inventory made in 1942 numbered 3,559 items.¹⁴⁶ In 1942 and 1943 the most valuable works were transported to the salt mines in Alt-Aussee and Immendorf. In 1945 they were found by the US Army and taken to the Collecting Point in Munich; after their identifications they were returned to the owners. All Lanckoroński's art objects which were saved from the conflagrations of war were moved in the late 1940s to a bank in Zurich where they stayed for nearly fifty years.

In the course of time, mostly in the 1950s, numerous masterpieces were sold and now they belong to some of the

most prestigious collections all over the world. For example, Paolo Uccello's *St. George and the Dragon* as well as Domenichino's famous frescoes from Frascati are to be found in the National Gallery in London.¹⁴⁷ *St. Andrew* by Masaccio from the Pisa altarpiece was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu.¹⁴⁸ In turn, some Greek and Roman sculptures from the Lanckoroński Collection; e.g. a votive relief from the 4th century BC, as well as a sculpture of a Faun, were acquired for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.¹⁴⁹ Major part of the Collection was thus sold, but the motives for these sales were altruistic and patriotic. After the II World War Karol Lanckoroński's descendants could not accept the Soviet presence in Poland and therefore they lived in exile. Their main aim was to support Polish culture and the humanities abroad. For this purpose, in 1960 the Karol Lanckoroński Fund was created; seven years later it was transformed into the *Fundatio Lanckoroński* with its seat in Switzerland and London.

The great collector, archaeologist is as yet little known outside of Poland. However, some of the art objects which once belonged to his collection still bear the name of their former owner. Such is the case of the excellent neo-Attic relief depicting Athena, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond,¹⁵⁰ and the beautiful Florentine painting from the mid 15th century with a scene of the *Annunciation*, bought by the Museum of Fine Arts, San Francisco.¹⁵¹ The first of these is defined as the "Lanckoroński Relief", and the second is called "The Lanckoroński Annunciation", whereas its as yet anonymous author is known as "The Master of the Lanckoroński Annunciation".

Count Lanckoroński and Homer

In his *Eniges über italienische bemalte Truhen* Lanckoroński mentions that one of the *cassoni* fronts with the scenes from the *Odyssey* he bought ca. 1890 from the famous Italian collector and art merchant Stefano Bardini, and the second in 1904 in an auction of the Somzée collection in Brussels.¹⁵² Thus, because of Lanckoroński's interest in Homer and *cassone* paintings both panels, which had been separated for very long time, could be found not only in the same collection but also in the same room [Fig. 30]. There is much to show Lanckoroński's fondness of the Greek epic. His collection contained a bronze bust of the poet which was a copy of the famous portrait from the Hellenistic period and is currently housed in the Wawel Royal Castle [Fig. 31]. From the *Memoirs* of Karolina Lanckorońska it is known that her father used to recount the whole of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to his children when they were still very young. So she says about it: "He was afraid of bringing up his own children who were so much younger than he was [...]. But throughout our



28) Hans Ludwig Fischer, «View of a room in the Lanckoroński residence at Wasagasse, Vienna», watercolour, whereabouts unknown.



29) «The Italian Room in the Lanckoroński Palace at Jacquingasse 18», photograph, beginning of 20th cent.

youth, he did this diligently and rather despotically. I could not yet read when he took me on his knee and told me about the whole of the Trojan War”¹⁵³.

Count Lanckoroński and the Wawel Castle

Karol Lanckoroński played an important role in the restoration of the monuments on Kraków's Wawel Hill. During the 19th century many of the buildings had fallen into a state of serious dilapidation, as the Austrians after the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century had converted the Castle into a military hospital and the Cathedral was in a poor state of repair. Work on the Cathedral (which had fortunately remained in the Polish hands) was begun in 1895 and Karol Lanckoroński became a member of the restoration committee. He not only provided financial support but also made sure that the monuments were restored according to their original design. His opinion in this respect was ahead of the times and had a great impact on further restoration work on the Wawel Hill.

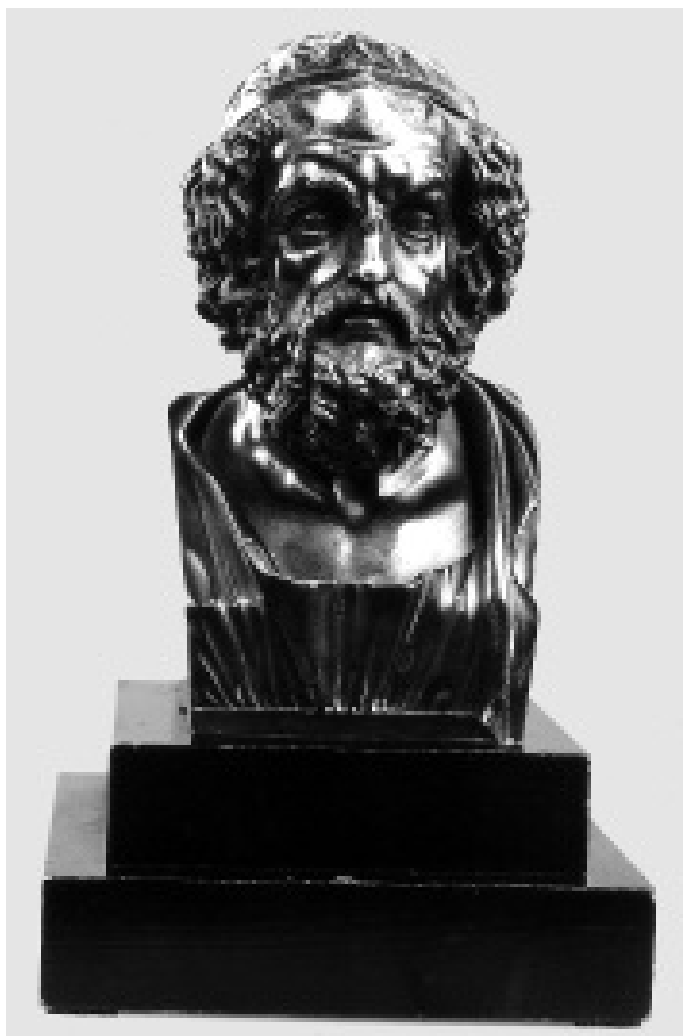
The gift donated by the last in the Lanckoroński line to the Wawel Royal Castle is the real crowning point of the many activities undertaken by Karol Lanckoroński in the last fifty years of his life which led to the conservation and restoration of the monuments on the Wawel Hill. In 1994 Karolina wrote the following about her father: “Together with a group of



30) Both Lanckoroński «Odyssey» panels on display in one of the rooms of the Royal Castle, Kraków.

friends [...] at the beginning of this century [20th] for several years he waged a homeric-like war for the residence of the Jagiellonians to be relinquished from its role as Austrian barracks”.¹⁵⁴ The same year while making the donation in her letter to the President of Poland Lech Wałęsa, Professor Lanckorońska wrote: “The Wawel Castle will receive [...] a number of paintings. Seventy-six of these are Italian, dating from 14th to the 16th century. They come from the country whose architects built the courtyard and the rooms of Wawel Castle” [Fig. 32].¹⁵⁵

In a way the presence in the Wawel Royal Castle of the bronze bust of Homer and the *Odyssey* panels executed by the Florentine artist seems appropriate not only because the Castle was built by Italian architects but also because of some events which occurred there at the turn of the 15th and 16th century. In one of his letters to Ficino, Filippo Buonaccorsi (d. 1496), called Callimachus, who spent in Kraków more than 25 years of his life, wrote: “escaping Charybdis I fell upon Scylla”¹⁵⁶. On the occasion of the festivities that accompanied the wedding of Sigismundus I of Poland to Barbara Zapolya of Hungary in 1512, the German humanist Eobanus Hessus was so taken with the choral music that he wrote: “There wasn't not just one Siren singing there, but all of them. If he could have heard them, Ulysses himself would have turned his ship back”¹⁵⁷. Three years later, on 2 October 1515, in the



31) Bronze bust of Homer from the Lanckoroński Collection, Royal Wawel Castle, Kraków.

Senators' Room of the Castle a play entitled: *Ulissis prudentia in adversis* (Ulysses's prudence in the face of adversity) was presented¹⁵⁸. In turn in the *Laurentii Eckii de reipublicae administratione dialogus* (Kraków 1520, k. C3v) one of the interlocutors ridicules the tales of the poets (Homer and his commentators) who recount the story of Circe and how Odysseus's companions were turned into swine. The second interlocutor rebukes him for not understanding the moral behind the tale. The King of Ithaca's companions were turned



32) Stanisław Tondos, «Courtyard of the Royal Wawel Castle», watercolour, Kraków, Royal Wawel Castle.

into swine when they were not being prudent and gave way to animal-like pleasures. In our times also – the second interlocutors concludes – many people turn into donkeys and mules when they do vile things and become entangled in dim-witted stupidity.

Thus, from the Homeric “aura” of the Lanckoroński palace in Vienna the Apollonio's *Odyssey* panels were moved to the Renaissance and somewhat Homeric “aura” of the Wawel Royal Castle.

* This paper was written during the tenure of Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellowships in 2001 at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) at the National Gallery of Art., Washington D.C. and revised in February of 2003 at the Villa I Tatti (Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Craig H. Smyth, Henry A. Millon, Elizabeth Cropper, the Deans of CASVA and Joseph Connors, the Director of Villa I Tatti. I am also grateful to the Directors and Curators of the Art Institute in Chicago, the Frick Art Collection in Pittsburgh, the Royal Wawel Castle and particularly to Kazimierz Kuczman and Ewa Wilkojć for the possibility of studying *in situ* the panels discussed in this paper. My special thanks go to Ellen Callmann for the stimulating discussions on Apollonio di Giovanni and to Ted Dalziel and other colleagues from the Interlibrary Loan Division at the Library of National Gallery of Art., Washington as well as to Valerio Pacini from the Villa I Tatti who facilitated my access to several books and papers. Anne-Marie Fabianowska and Kathryn Bosi kindly amended my English. I would like to express my gratitude to the Foundation for Polish Science for the financial support.

¹ Petrarch, *Ad Familiares*, XVIII, 2. Citation after R. Sowerby, "Early Humanist Failure with Homer", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 4, fasc.1 (1997), pp. 37–63: 45.

² On Petrarch's studies of Greek and his desire to read Homer's poetry, see Roberto Weiss, *Notes on Petrarch and Homer*, in: *idem, Medieval and Humanist Greek*, Padova, 1976, pp. 150–165; see also Antonios Fyrgios, "Petrarca e lo studio del greco. I Barlaam e Petrarca", *Studi petrarcheschi*, 6 (1989), pp. 178–200.

³ John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1908, p. 9; this volume eventually ended up in the Visconti Library in the castle of Pavia.

⁴ All these *cassoni* are reproduced and discussed by Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford, 1974, nos. 3, 4, 5 and 34, figs. 29, 30, 31–32, 163–164, with previous bibliography. See also Jerzy Miziołek, "The Lanckoroński Collection in Poland", *Antichità Viva*, XXXIV, 3 (1995), p. 122. Colour reproductions of the Lanckoroński panels are to be found in: *To the Donor in Homage. A Catalogue of Restored Paintings and Family Mementoes from Karolina Lanckorońska's Donation, Wawel Royal Castle, August – October 1998*, Kraków, 1998, nos. 1–2 (entry by Kazimierz Kuczman).

⁵ For general information on the Count see, Karolina Lanckorońska s.v. *Lanckoroński*, *Count Karol*, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, vol. 18, London 1996, p. 692. For the donation of the collection to the Wawel Royal Castle: Miziołek 1995, pp. 27–49; *idem*, *The Last of the Lanckorońskis as the Benefactors of Polish Culture and Learning*, in: "Artist and national identity in Poland and England", Conference held at Birkbeck College, University of London, 5–6 April 1995, ed. by Anna Kwilecka and Francis Ames-Lewis, London, 1996, pp. 73–84.

⁶ For *cassoni*, their decoration, and their importance in Renaissance Italy, see Attilio Schiapparelli, *La casa fiorentina i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1983 (ristampa a cura di Maria Sframelli e Laura Pagnotta); Peter Thornton, "Cassoni, forzieri, goffani e cassette: terminology and its problems", *Apollo*, 120 (October 1984), pp. 246–251; Ellen Callmann s.v. *Cassone*, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 6, pp. 1–7; Jerzy Miziołek, *Soggetti classici sui cassoni fiorentini alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Warsaw, 1996; Cristelle L. Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Florence*, Cambridge–New York 1998.

⁷ For the confiscation of the collection during the war and its discovery by the U.S. army see: Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*, Chapel Hill–London, 1996, pp. 162–165; T. C. Howe,

Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles. The Discovery and Restitution of Looted European Art*, New York, 1946, p. 78. As with all the other collections looted by the Nazis the items from the Lanckoroński collection were kept for some time and well-documented in the Collecting point in Munich, see Craig H. Smyth, *Repatriation of Art from the Collecting Point in Munich after World War II*, Maarsse–The Hague, 1988, pp. 110 ff.

⁸ The conservation work was financially supported by The Getty Grant Program, see *To the Donor in Homage*, 1998, nos. 1–2.

⁹ Karol Lanckoroński, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen*, Vienna, 1905, pp. 17–20 with illustrations of both panels. The second panel is mentioned by Werner Weisbach, *Francesco Pesellino und die Romantik der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1901, p. 16.

¹⁰ Paul Schubring, *Cassoni. Truhen und Truhenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance*, Leipzig, 1923, nos. 245–252 (first edn. 1915).

¹¹ Callmann 1974, nos. 3 and 34.

¹² Wolfgang Stechow, "Marco del Buono and Apollonio di Giovanni cassone painters", *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum*, 1 (1944), p. 17; Ernst H. Gombrich, *Apollonio di Giovanni. A Florentine Cassone Workshop seen through the Eyes of a Humanist Poet*, in: *Norm and Form. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London, 1966, p. 19 (first published in 1955).

¹³ Schiapparelli 1908 (1983), p. 284; Schubring 1915 (1923), p. 284; Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places*, Oxford, 1932, p. 347. See also *idem*, *Italian pictures of the Renaissance. A List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places*. Florentine School, London, 1963, p. 18.

¹⁴ Callmann, 1974, no. 5, pp. 53–54, pl. 29, with earlier bibliography; see also Walter R. Hovey, *Treasures of the Frick Art Museum*, Pittsburgh, 1975, pp. 51–57.

¹⁵ Raymond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1927, vol. IX, p. 102, and vol. X, 1928, p. 554; Guy de Tervarent, *Les enigmes de l'art. L'héritage antique*, Paris, 1946, pp. 29–39 and fig. 14; Jane D. Reid, *Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s*, New York–Oxford, 1993, p. 725.

¹⁶ Christopher Lloyd, *Italian Paintings before 1600 in the Art Institute of Chicago, a catalogue of the collection*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 6–9.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁸ Gombrich 1966.

¹⁹ Stechow 1944; Gombrich 1966, *l.c.*; Callmann 1974; *idem*, *Apollonio di Giovanni (di Tomaso)*, 1996, pp. 228–229. See also Paul F. Watson, "Apollonio di Giovanni and Ancient Athens", *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, 37 (1979/1980), pp. 3–25; Jennifer K. Morrison, "Apollonio di Giovanni's Aeneid cassoni and the Virgil commentators", *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (1992), pp. 27–47.

²⁰ These illuminations are reproduced and discussed in Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, Teil I, 2. Band, Berlin, 1968, pp. 559–566.

²¹ Brockhaus brought the book to the attention of Aby Warburg who, however, turned it over to Schubring to include in his book, see Schubring 1915 (1923), pp. 443–450. Schubring was unable to combine the names mentioned in the list with preserved *cassoni* by Apollonio di Giovanni; Stechow 1994, pp. 5–21 started the process of such identification. Further steps were made by Gombrich 1966 and E. Callmann 1974, *passim*: See also *eadem*, "Apollonio di Giovanni and painting for the early Renaissance room", *Antichità Viva*, 27 (1988), 3–4, pp. 5–18.

²² See Paul F. Watson, *Virtù and Voluptas in Cassone Painting*, Yale University, Ph.D., 1970, Ann Arbor 1970, pp. 99 and 222. For the production of the *cassoni* see Callmann 1974.

²³ As to the number of preserved domestic panels executed by Apollonio and his workshop, see E. Callmann, s.v. *Apollonio di Giovanni* in: *The Dictionary of Art*, 1996, pp. 228 ff.

²⁴ Helmut Nickel, "Two Falcon Devices of the Strozzi: An Attempt at interpretation", *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, IX (1974), pp. 229–232.

²⁵ Stechow 1944; Gombrich 1966, figs. 17–18.

²⁶ Laurence B. Kanter, "The 'cose piccole' of Paolo Uccello", *Apollo* (August 2000), pp. 11–20. See also S. Tumidei, *Italiens. Peintures des musées de la région du Centre*, Paris, 1996, pp. 79–81, in particular p. 80. Lanckoroński himself and Bernard Berenson believed that Uccello was also a cassone painter.

²⁷ Anna Padoa Rizzo, *Paolo Uccello. Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Firenze, 1991, no. 28.

²⁸ See Gombrich 1966; Callmann 1974, *passim*; Watson 1970, *passim*.

²⁹ Gombrich 1966, *passim*. For Ugolino and his *Flametta* see Mario Martelli, *Letteratura fiorentina del Quattrocento. Il filtro degli anni Settanta*, Firenze, 1996, pp. 109–112.

³⁰ Quote after Gombrich 1966, p. 11.

³¹ See E. Callmann 1974, pp. 40–41, who was of the opinion that the *cassoni* in Chicago and in the Frick Art Museum were produced by Apollonio himself, while the fronts from the Lanckoroński collection were executed by his collaborators. Having examined the latter pieces *in situ* in 1996 she now agrees that they are Apollonio's autographs. See also Gombrich 1966, p. 19.

³² Gombrich 1966, p. 19.

³³ Callmann 1974, argued that *cassoni* with classical subjects appeared in the 2nd quarter of the 15th century. See also Brucia Witthoft, "Marriage Rituals and Marriage Chests in Quattrocento Florence", *Artibus et Historiae*, 5 (III), (1982), pp. 43–59, cf. Miziolek, *Soggetti classici*, 1996 and *idem*, *Cassoni istoriati with "Torello and Saladin": Observations on the Origins of a New Genre of Trecento Art in Florence*, in: *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor M. Schmidt, (Studies in the History of Art, 61), New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 443–469.

³⁴ Hugh Shankland, "Dante Aliger and Ulysses", *Italian Studies*, XXXII (1977), pp. 21–39.

³⁵ See Gombrich 1966; Callmann 1974, Appendix I, pp. 76–81 with transcription of all the people commissioning *cassoni* in the workshop of Apollonio and Marco del Buono in the years 1446–1463.

³⁶ Callmann 1974, p. 78 (n. 65).

³⁷ *Eadem*, p. 227.

³⁸ Watson 1970, p. 222.

³⁹ Marco Lorandi, *Il mito di Ulisse nella pittura a fresco del Cinquecento italiano*, Milano 1996; Margaret R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York–London 1964, pp. 142–180; see also Sylvie Béguin, J. Guillaume, A. Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse à Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1985, *passim*.

⁴⁰ See Jerzy Miziolek, "'Florentina Libertas'. La 'storia di Lucrezia romana e la cacciata del tiranno' sui cassoni del primo Rinascimento", *Prospettiva*, 83/84 (1996), pp. 159–176; *idem*, "Alcune osservazioni sulla Storia di Amore e Psiche nella pittura italiana del Tre e Quattrocento", *Fontes*, 5/6 (2000), pp. 133–154; *idem* 2002, pp. 443–469.

⁴¹ On methods of executing *cassoni* in Apollonio's workshop, see Callmann 1974, pp. 25 ff.; see also Gombrich 1966, pp. 18 ff.

⁴² The most interesting characteristics of Apollonio's style are to be found in Gombrich 1966, *passim*; cf. Callmann 1974, *passim*.

⁴³ For the observations on this style in Florence see Bruce Cole, *Masaccio, and the Art of Early Renaissance Florence*, Bloomington–London, 1980, *passim*. For the Cappella dei Magi see Cristina Acidini

Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli's Chapel of the Magi Restored and Rediscovered*, in: *The Early Medici and their Artists*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis, London, 1995, pp. 125–133.

⁴⁴ For Filarete's door see Michele Lazzaroni, Antonio Munoz, *Filarete e architetto del secolo XV*, Roma, 1908, figs. 57–60; for Piero della Francesca's frescoes see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Piero della Francesca*, New York, 1992, colourplates 25 and 29, pp. 94–95 and 102–103.

⁴⁵ Vespasiano Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates. The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. by William George and Emily Waters, New York–Evanston, and London, 1963, p. 26. See observations in Gombrich 1966, p. 19.

⁴⁶ See Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, figs. 802, 803.

⁴⁷ For discussion on subjects from the *Odyssey* in antique art see Karl Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, trans. A. Griffiths, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 294–301.

⁴⁸ See Kurt Weitzmann, "Tabula Odysseaca" in: *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler, Chicago and London, 1971, pp. 1–19.

⁴⁹ Tomasz Mikocki et al., *Les sculptures mythologiques et décoratives dans les collections polonaises* (Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Fascicule 2), Warsaw, 1999, no. 1, pp. 23–24, Pl. 1. Some inscriptions figure also on famous *Odyssey* landscapes from the Esquiline, painted in the 1st century BC, now in the Vatican Museum.

⁵⁰ Cf. *To the Donor in Homage* 1998, p. 44.

⁵¹ George M.A. Hanfmann, "The Scylla of Corvey and her Ancestors", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), (Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honour of Ernst Kitzinger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, ed. William Tronzo and Irving Lavin), pp. 249–260; For Isidore of Seville, *idem*, p. 257. For Boccaccio see his *Genealogia deorum gentium*, 1606, k. 123.

⁵² See *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze*, vol. 2, a cura di G. Cantelli, Milano, 1974, fig. 14, cat. no. 163, p. 42. This rather modest panel might have been executed after the death of Apollonio by one of his collaborators or followers. For a Sienese cassone panel depicting the *Adventures of Ulysses* housed in the Museum of the Renaissance, Ecouen (formerly in the Musée Cluny in Paris) see Piero Misciatelli, "Cassoni senesi", *La Diana*, IV (1929), p. 123, fig. 20. It is usually attributed to Matteo di Giovanni (1452–1495).

⁵³ Callmann 1974, fig. 162.

⁵⁴ *Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool: Foreign Catalogue. Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours, Tapestry, Sculpture, Silver, Ceramics, Prints, Photographs*, Liverpool, 1977, pp. 69–70, fig. on p. 86. For an excellent illustration of the panel see Graham Hughes, *Renaissance Cassoni. Masterpieces of Early Italian Art: Painted Marriage Chests 1400–1550*, London, 1997, pp. 12–13. It was Everett Fahy (Some Followers of Domenico Ghirlandajo, New York & London, 1976, p. 129) who attributed this panel to the Master of the Argonauts; see also *id.* "The Argonaut Master", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, CXIV (1989), pp. 285–299, in particular p. 287), this opinion is hardly acceptable.

⁵⁵ Manfred Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, Washington, 1986, no. 1, pp. 48–50; *Da Pisanello alla nascita dei Musei Capitolini. L'antico a Roma alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Roma, 1988, no. 36, pp. 125–127.

⁵⁶ For the late antique and medieval illuminated manuscripts of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* see Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, London, 1977, *passim*; Thomas B. Stevenson, *Miniature Decoration in the Vatican Virgil. A Study in Late Antique Iconography*, Tübingen, 1985. For Apollonio's *Aeneid* illuminations see Callmann 1974.

⁵⁷ Lloyd 1993, pp. 8–9. A beautiful illustration of this fresco is to be found in Leonetto Tintori, Eve Borsook, *Giotto: The Peruzzi Chapel*, New York, 1965, fig. 51.

⁵⁸ Callmann 1974, figs. 37, 39 and 42. Almost the same pose of Adam is also pictured in Paolo Uccello's fresco in the Chostro Verde at Santa Maria Novella.

⁵⁹ For the iconography of Job see s.v. *Job* in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, hrsg. von Engelbert Kirschbaum, vol. 2, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1970, cols. 407-414.

⁶⁰ Degenhart, Schmitt 1968, figs. 532-533 and p. 399; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 24, part 1, 1993, no 113.

⁶¹ Apollodoro, *I miti greci (Biblioteca)*, trad. Di M. G. Ciani, Verona, 1996, pp. 664-665.

⁶² See Diana Buitron, Beth Cohen, Norman Austin et al., *The Odyssey and Ancient Art and Epic in: Word and Image*, Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Edith C. Blum Art Institute and the Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, 1992, pp. 78-80.

⁶³ Guido da Pisa, *I Fatti di Enea*, a cura di Francesco Foffano, Firenze, 1978. See also A. Lusini, "Il codice senese del primo volgarizzamento dell'Eneide", *La Diana*, V (1930), pp. 21-28.

⁶⁴ See Sowerby 1997, pp. 49-51.

⁶⁵ See s.v., *Christophorus* in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, hrsg. von Engelbert Kirschbaum, vol. 5, 1973, cols. 496-508.

⁶⁶ Luciano Bellosi, *Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento*, in: *Pittura di luce. Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento*, a cura di Luciano Bellosi, Milano, 1990, fig. 30, p. 37; *Carnevale. Un artista rinascimentale da Filippo Lippi a Piero della Francesca*, catalogo della mostra, Milano 2004, fig. 13 on p. 32.

⁶⁷ For this magic plant see Hugo Rahner, *Moly and Mandragora in Pagan and Christian Symbolism*, in: *idem, Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, trans. B. Butterworth, London, 1963, pp. 179-277.

⁶⁸ See Jerzy Miziolek, "Europa and the Winged Mercury on two cassone Panels from the Czartoryski Collection", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 56 (1993), pp. 63-74, Plates 13a and 15c, e. For the Embriachi casket scene see Berthold Hinz, "Nackt/Akt - Dürer und der 'Prozess der Zivilization'", *Stadel-Jahrbuch*, 14 (1993), pp. 199-230, esp. 205-206, fig. 7.

⁶⁹ Fritz Saxl, "Rinascimento dell'Antichità. Studien zu den Arbeiten A. Warburgs", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIII (1922), fig. 21, p. 252; Miziolek, *Europa and the Winged Mercury*, pp. 68-70.

⁷⁰ Saxl 1922, fig. 21c-d; Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and its Place Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. B. F. Sessions, New York, 1953, pp. 200-201 and fig. 81.

⁷¹ See Miziolek, "Alcune osservazioni sulla Storia di Amore e Psiche...", pp. 133-154, esp. p. 140, figs. 26-27.

⁷² See Callmann 1974, fig. 162.

⁷³ H. A. Seaby, *Greek Coins and their Values*, London, 1975, no. 132a.

⁷⁴ *Ulisse: il mito e la memoria*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 1996, pp. 108-119 and *passim*; J. Neils, *Les Femmes Fatales: Scylla and the Sirens in Greek Art*, in: *The Distaff Side. Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. B. Cohen, New York-Oxford, 1995, pp. 175-184. See also Marie O. Jentel, *Scylla I*, in: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, 1, Zurich, 1997, pp. 1137-1145.

⁷⁵ See Carlo R. Chiarlo, "'Gli fragmenti della sancta antiquitate': Studi antiquari e produzione delle immagini di Ciriaco d'Ancona a Francesco Colonna", in: *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*. A cura di Salvatore Settis, t. 1: *L'uso dei classici*, Torino, 1984, pp. 271-297: 276-277, with the following information "per l'immagine di Scilla; sappiamo infatti che una rappresentazione del mostro fu donata da Ciriaco a Teodoro Gaza, e ancora un calco in piombo di una gemma antica con lo stesso soggetto fu regalata dall'Anconitano ad Angelo Grassi, vescovo di Ariano, e di Reggio di Calabria poi.

⁷⁶ See for example Susan Solway, *Ancient Numismatics and Medieval Art: The Numismatic Sources of Some Medieval Imagery*, Ph.D. 1981, Northwestern University, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1981, with further bibliography. For the study of ancient numismatics during the Renaissance, see Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery with Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 167-179.

⁷⁷ Hanfmann 1987, pp. 249-260; *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III.* In Paderborn, vol. 2, exh. cat., ed. Ch. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, Mainz, 1999, no. VIII. 61-62, pp. 583-586 with bibliography.

⁷⁸ Fulgentius the Mythographer, *The Mythologies*, trans. Leslie G. Whitebread, Columbus, 1971, p. 74 (*The Fable of Scylla*).

⁷⁹ Neils 1995, pp. 175-184, esp. 177.

⁸⁰ This subject was studied in an exemplary way by Rahner 1963, pp. 328-387.

⁸¹ *Ulisse, il mito e la memoria*, 1996, pp. 96-107; Neils 1995, pp. 175 ff.; Lorandi 1996, pp. 95 ff.

⁸² For iconography of Sirens in antiquity, see Eva Hofstetter, "Seirenes", in: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, 1, Zurich, 1997, pp. 1093-1104; for Sirens in medieval art, see, Deborah Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries. Text, Image, Ideology*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 104-115, and recently William J. Travis, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs: A Romanesque Apocalypse at Montceaux-l'Etoile", *Artibus et Historiae*, 45 (2002), pp. 29-62, with further bibliography in notes. For descriptions of the Sirens see *Physiologus*, trans. M.J. Curley, Austin-London, 1979, pp. 23-24; *Il Bestiario toscano*, in: *Studi Romanzi*, VIII (1912), p. 37.

⁸³ R. Salvini, *Il chiostro di Monreale e la scultura romanica in Sicilia*, Palermo 1999, no. 26.

⁸⁴ Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, trans. by M. E. Meek, Bloomington, London, 1974, p. 250 (cap. XXXIII, 244-250).

⁸⁵ Hughes 1997, fig. on p. 13. Fahy, *The Argonaut Master*, 1989, p. 287, who attributed it to the Argonauts Master.

⁸⁶ A. Gentili, W. Barcham, L. Whiteley, *I dipinti di National Gallery di Londra*, Udine, 2000, pp. 80-81, fig. 74.

⁸⁷ Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, 1606, k. 123.

⁸⁸ *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXII, col. 855 CD; citation after Rahner 1963, p. 370.

⁸⁹ Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, New York and London, 1993, p. 107 (II, 136).

⁹⁰ De Tervarent 1946, pp. 29-31.

⁹¹ T. Raff, "Die Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Windpersonifikationen", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 48 (1978/1979), pp. 71-218. For Winds in the Vergilius Romanus: David H. Wright, *Codicological Notes on the Vergilius Romanus* (Vat. lat. 3867), Città del Vaticano 1992, fig. 38.

⁹² Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th century*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2nd edn., 1980, p. 21, fig. 33.

⁹³ Wright 1992, pp. 81-82, fig. 29.

⁹⁴ Raff 1978/1979, p. 120, fig. 68.

⁹⁵ Lloyd 1993, p. 8.

⁹⁶ R. Lamberton, *Homer the theologian*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1986, pp. 295-96. See also E. Pellizer, M. T. Graziosi, *Ulisse*, in: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, vol. 5, Roma 1990, pp. 358-361.

⁹⁷ W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme. A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, Oxford, 1954, chap. VII-IX; E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask, Princeton 1997, pp. 203-207.

⁹⁸ See Stanford 1954, p. 151.

⁹⁹ See Aristotle, *The Poetics*, in: Aristotle, *The Poetics*, Longinus, *On the Sublime*, Demetrius, *On Style* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge Mass., London, 1946, pp. 17 (IV, 14–15); 33 (VII, 3–4), and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ For the late-antique allegorical interpretation of the *Odyssey* (which were, however, unknown in the times when Apollonio was producing his cassoni), see Lamberton 1986. See also D. C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant*, Baltimore–London, 1970, pp. 83–105; R. Browning, *The Byzantines and Homer*, in: *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. R. Lamberton, J. J. Keaney, Princeton, 1992, pp. 134–148. For Aristotle's admiration of Homer see his *Poetic*; Quintillian, *Institutio Oratoria*, X, 1, 46.

¹⁰¹ Claudian, with an English trans. by Maurice Platnauer, vol. 2, London–New York, 1922, p. 241.

¹⁰² For the *fortuna critica* of both books see Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana. Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, London, 1971, pp. 1–8.

¹⁰³ Guido delle Colonne 1974, see particularly chapt. 33, pp. 153–287 and 35, pp. 1–110.

¹⁰⁴ For the best treatment of Ulysses in European literature and thought see Stanford 1954; see also Howard Clarke, *Homer's Readers. A Historical Introduction to the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey"*, Newark, 1981, *passim*; *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. by R. Lamberton and J. Keaney, Princeton, 1992, *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ Stanford 1954, pp. 146–158; Buchthal 1971, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Shankland, *Dante Aliger and Ulysses*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–39.

¹⁰⁷ H. Rahner, *Antenna crucis*, in: *idem*, *Symbole der Kirche*, Salzburg, 1964, pp. 239 ff, particularly pp. 260–271. See also Fulgentius, *l.c.*

¹⁰⁸ *Tales of the Monks from the Gesta Romanorum*, trans. Ch. Swan, New York, 1928, p. 276; *Gesta Romanorum*, von H. Oesterley, Hildesheim–New York, 1980, p. 537.

¹⁰⁹ The translation was in fact made in Boccaccio's home near Florence, see P. De Nolhac, *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*, Paris, 1907, pp. 127 ff.; James B. Ross, "On the Early History of Leontius' Translation of Homer", *Classical Philology*, 22 (1927), pp. 341–355; Agostino Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio. Le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo Umanesimo*, Venezia–Roma, 1964, *passim*; N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek studies in Italian Renaissance*, London, 1992, pp. 2–7; Sowerby 1997, pp. 37–63.

¹¹⁰ *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors*, trans. M. E. Cosenza, Chicago, 1910, pp. 148–204.

¹¹¹ See B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Padova, 1963, pp. 95, 118, 125, 231–232.

¹¹² *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, a cura di F. Novati, 3, Roma, 1896, pp. 131–132. See also Ullman 1963, p. 124.

¹¹³ Bruni's translations from Homer are cited and discussed in Peter Thiermann, *Orationes Homeri des Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, Leyden, 1993.

¹¹⁴ See Sowerby 1997, pp. 47 ff.

¹¹⁵ For translations of Valla and Griffolini see Pertusi, 1964, pp. 521–529; Sowerby 1997, pp. 37–63. For the latter see also G. Guerrieri (Gerolamo Mancini), *Francesco Griffolini d'Arezzo: traduttore d'Omero*, Cortona, 1931.

¹¹⁶ Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Storia di due amanti*, Palermo, 1985, *passim*.

¹¹⁷ See Leone Battista Alberti, *On Paintings*, translated with introduction and notes by John R. Spencer, New Haven and London, 4th ed., 1973, *passim* and p. 126 with, however, the following comment: "Manuscript NC (14v.) adds a marginal note in another hand citing the actions of Ulysses who covered his nudity with branches before addressing Nausicaa".

¹¹⁸ *Vedere i classici. L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo, catalogo della mostra*, a cura di M. Buonocore, Roma, 1996, no. 128, pp. 453–455. See also Browning 1992, p. 148 (concerning Palla Strozzi).

¹¹⁹ G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, New York–London, 1949, p. 115.

¹²⁰ For this letter see among others: A. Moffatt, "The Occasion of St Basil's 'Address to Young Men'", *Antichthon*, 6 (1972), pp. 74–86; L. Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus 'ad adolescentes'*, Genève, 1973; *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa. Manoscritti e incunaboli di testi patristici da Francesco Petrarca al primo Cinquecento*, Catalogo della mostra, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, a cura di S. Gentile, Rome, 1997, nos. 8 and 9, pp. 153–160.

¹²¹ *La orazione di San Basilio Magno 'Degli studi liberali e de' nobili costumi' volgarizzata da Antonio Ridolfi nel secolo XV*, a cura di P. Stromboli, Firenze, 1889.

¹²² P. J. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, vols. 2, Turnhout, 1996, pp. 373, 375–387, 554, 574, 819–820; *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa, l.c.*

¹²³ Basil the Great, "To Young Men, on how they Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature" in: Saint Basil, *The Letters*, with an English translation by R. J. Deferrari and M. R. P. McGuire (Loeb Classical Library), London, Cambridge Mass., 1970, pp. 395–397.

¹²⁴ *Idem*, pp. 397–389.

¹²⁵ See Miziolek, *Soggetti classici*, 1996, Appendix, no. 6, p. 132.

¹²⁶ A good introduction to the problem of *exempla* is Carlo Delcorno, *Exemplum e letteratura. Tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Bologna, 1989. See also J. D. Lyons, *Exemplum: the Rhetoric of Example in Early modern France and Italy*, Princeton, 1989; Curtius 1990, pp. 57–61.

¹²⁷ On wedding rituals including *domumductio*, see Witthoft 1982; *idem*, "Riti nuziali e loro iconografia" in: M. De Giorgio e Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, *Storia del matrimonio*, Rome–Bari, 1996, pp. 120–148. See also Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago–London, 1985.

¹²⁸ Witthoft 1982, pp. 51–52.

¹²⁹ *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. E. H. Wilkins, Chicago, 1962, p. 44 (*Triumphus Pudicitiae*, 130–135). H. P. Foley, "Penelope as Moral Agent", in: *The Distaff Side, op. cit.*, pp. 93–115.

¹³⁰ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, trans. by G. A. Guarino, New Brunswick 1963, p. 81. In 1453 the learned Bolognese woman Nicolosa Sanuti so said in her oration: "The Romans granted the crown of chastity to Penelope and Dido", see Ludovico Frati, *La vita privata di Bologna dal Secolo XIII al XVII*, Bologna, 1928, p. 254; for the matter of women's chastity in the visual arts of the Renaissance period see also Baskins, 1998, *passim*.

¹³¹ According to Boccaccio (*Della Genelaogia de gli dei...*, 1606, lib. XI, pp. 189–191) the defeat of Polyphemus could be seen as a victory over tyranny, and Ulysses' journey, and particularly the adventure with the Sirens as a search for knowledge, etc. For depictions of pilgrims with a mollusc shell see: *Romei e giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350-1350)*, a cura Mario D'Onofrio, catalogo della mostra, Roma, Palazzo Venezia 29 ottobre – 26 febbraio 2000, Milano 1999, figs. on pp. 21, 367, 375.

¹³² For the problem of placing cassoni in bedrooms see J. K. Lydecker, *The Domestic Setting of the Arts in Renaissance Florence*, Ann Arbor, 1987, *passim*.

¹³³ Lawrence B. Kanter, *Italian Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. I: 13th–15th Century, Boston, 1994, no. 42a, pp. 155–156, no. 40, pp. 152–154; Baskins 1998, p. 96.

¹³⁴ Jerzy Miziołek, "The Queen of Sheba and Solomon on some Early-Renaissance 'Cassone' Panels 'a pastiglia dorata'", *Antichità Viva*, XXXVI, 4 (1997), pp. 6–8, figs. 5–6.

¹³⁵ C. K. Abraham, "Myth and Symbol: the Rabbit in Medieval France", *Studies in Philology*, LX (1963), pp. 589–597.

¹³⁶ For Professor Lanckorońska, her interest in Italian Renaissance art and her donation, see Miziołek 1996 and Lech Kalinowski, *Karla (Carla) and Renaissance Art, in: To the Donor in Homage*, 1998, pp. 10–15.

¹³⁷ J. von Twardowski, *Lanckoroński*, Vortrag gehalten in Vereins des Museums freunde zu Wien am 26 November 1934, Wien, 1934, pp. 3–15; Miziołek 1995, pp. 27–49, esp. 27–28; *idem* 1996, pp. 74–78; Lanckorońska 1996, p. 692; Käss 1987, pp. 191–200.

¹³⁸ Twardowski 1934; Janusz A. Ostrowski, *Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) – Polish Connoisseur and Friend of art*, in: *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", MCXI, Prace z archeologii, 56, Kraków, 1993, pp. 53–79.

¹⁴⁰ Karol Lanckoroński, "Wilhelm von Hartel", *Neue Freie Press*, 18 (Januar 1907), p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Karol Lanckoroński, Georg Niemann, Eugen Petersem, *Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. I: *Pamphylien*, vol. II: *Pisidien*, Wien, 1890–1892. This publication, including a total of 500 pages with numerous maps, plans, drawings and plates, appeared also in French (Paris, 1890–1893) and in Polish (Kraków, 1890–1896).

¹⁴² T. von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, München, 1914, pp. 487–496; Miziołek 1995, pp. 27–49; Werner Oenbrink, *Die ehemalige Skulpturensammlung des Grafen Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) in Wien*, in: *Archeologia śródziemnomorska w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1897–1997*, Kraków, 1998, pp. 159–181. See also K. Kuczman, "The Lanckoroński Collection in the Wawel Royal Castle", *Folia Historiae Artium*, 1, 1995, pp. 135–144; J. Winiewicz-Wolska, "Wiedeńskie zbiory Lanckorońskich przed stu laty", *Folia Historiae Artium*, 8–9, 2002/2003 (published 2004), pp. 107–126 (with a summary: *The Viennese Collection of Karol Lanckoroński a Century Ago*, pp. 159–160).

¹⁴³ Karol Lanckoroński, *Rund um die Erde 1888–1889*, Stuttgart 1991, p. 4; in Polish version published in 1893, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ A selection of his poetry is to be found in Twardowski 1934.

¹⁴⁵ Sold Sotheby's, Munich, 2 December 1997, lot 19, see *Deutsche und Oesterreichische Malerei*, München, 1997, p. 16, no. 19.

¹⁴⁶ For the fate of the collection during the war see R. and M. Seydewitz, *Die Dame mit dem Hermelin*, Berlin, 1963, pp. 75–76; Petropoulos 1996, pp. 162–165; Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, *Dzieje kolekcji Lanckorońskich w latach 1939–1946 (Storia della collezione Lanckoroński 1939–1946)*, *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XXVIII, 2003, pp. 19–45.

¹⁴⁷ Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Earlier Italian Schools*, London 1986, pp. 309–314.

¹⁴⁸ Eliot W. Rowlands, *Saint Andrew and the Pisa Altarpiece*, Los Angeles, 2003.

¹⁴⁹ Oenbrink 1998, pp. 176–179, fig. 8.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 168, fig. 3.

¹⁵¹ A. Neumeyer, "The Lanckoroński Annunciation in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum", *The Art Quarterly*, 28 (1965), pp. 5–17.

¹⁵² Lanckoroński 1905, pp. 12 and 17.

¹⁵³ Lanckorońska's memoirs concerning her father are cited and commented in Jerzy Miziołek, *Miti, leggende e exempla. La pittura profana del Rinascimento italiano della collezione Lanckoroński*, Varsavia, 2003, p. 356, note 120.

¹⁵⁴ Karolina Lanckorońska, "W hołdzie Rzeczypospolitej", *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 44 (1994), p. 8.

¹⁵⁵ For this letter see Miziołek 1995, p. 38 and *To the Donor in Homage* 1998, pp. 8–9.

¹⁵⁶ Letter of 31 December 1486, see Philippi Callimachi *Epistulae selectae*, ed. I. Lichońska, G. Pianko, Wrocław, 1967. For his stay and activity in Poland see Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland. The Rise of the Humanism 1470–1543*, Ithaca–London, 1989, pp. 36–82.

¹⁵⁷ This text is cited and commented by Harry Vredeveld, "'Deaf as Ulysses to the Siren's Song': The Story of Forgotten Topos", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), s. 846–882: 868.

¹⁵⁸ Z. Raszewski, *Krótką historia teatru polskiego [A Short History of Polish Theater]*, Warszawa, 1990, pp. 16–17.