A funny name for a horse-Bucephalus in Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Ox-head seems a strange name for a horse and the name has been responsible for some strange iconography among the derivatives of Pseudo-Callisthenes, although that text was hardly to blame as it quite soberly gives the correct explanation of the name of Alexander's favourite war horse.

The history of the name diverges early into rational and fantastic explanations. Arrian, with his usual critical approach to his authorities, offers two alternative rational accounts:

> His mark was an ox-head branded upon him, hence his name Bucephalas; others however say that he had a white mark on his head, the rest of him being black, which exactly resembled the head of an ox.

Plutarch tells the story of the purchase of Bucephalus from Philonicus of Thessaly, and of his taming by Alexander. The prince noticed that the colt was afraid of his own shadow. He therefore turned him to face the sun, and thus calming him was able to mount and break him in.

We have seen that the explanation of the name favoured by Arrian is that the horse was marked with an ox-head brand on his flank. This is no doubt the correct explanation and is supported by later sources.

In the first place it appears that an ox-head brand was frequently used to mark hourses in antiquity.

Aristophanes makes this clear in the Anagyrus (Fragment 41, Kock) «Don't cry. I will buy you a bucephalus».

These and other authorities agree then in a logical and rational explanation of the name but an element of the fantastic and marvellous made its way into the tradition at an early date and became increasingly accepted.

Aulus Gellius appears to imply that the horse was of ox-like appearance: «Equus Alexandri regis et capite et nomine Bucephalus fuit». «King Alexander's horse was Ox-head both in (the appearance of) his head and in his name».

Strabo suggests a next explanation — the breadth of the animal's brow: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ βουκεφᾶλας ἀπο τοῦ πλάτους τοῦ μετώπου. «He was called Bucephalus from the breadth of his forehead».

Pliny the Elder offers yet another suggestion — the fierceness of the animal's expression; but he also repeats the traditional explanation of the ox-head brand. «Bucephalus eum uocarunt siue ab aspectus toruitate siue ab insigni taurini capitis armo inpressi». «they called him Bucephalas either from the fierceness of his expression or from the sign of a bull's head branded on his flank».

It is with Pliny's plagiarist Solinus that the fantastic element enters the tradition. He adds to Pliny's two rational explanations of the name a third which is frankly marvellous — the horse was horned like an ox.

> The horse of Alexander the Great was called bucephalus either from the fierceness of his expression or from a symbol, because he had a bull's head branded on his flank, or because certain small horns protruded threateningly from his forehead...

Solinus remained very popular throught the Middle Ages as a general geography and natural history text-book and had some influence as a secondary source in Alexander-books.

Turning now to the account of the origin and taming of Bucephalus in the Pseudo-Callisthenes and in the Alexander-books based on it, we find a generally rather fantastic tale which nevertheless preserves the correct rational explanation of the animal's name.

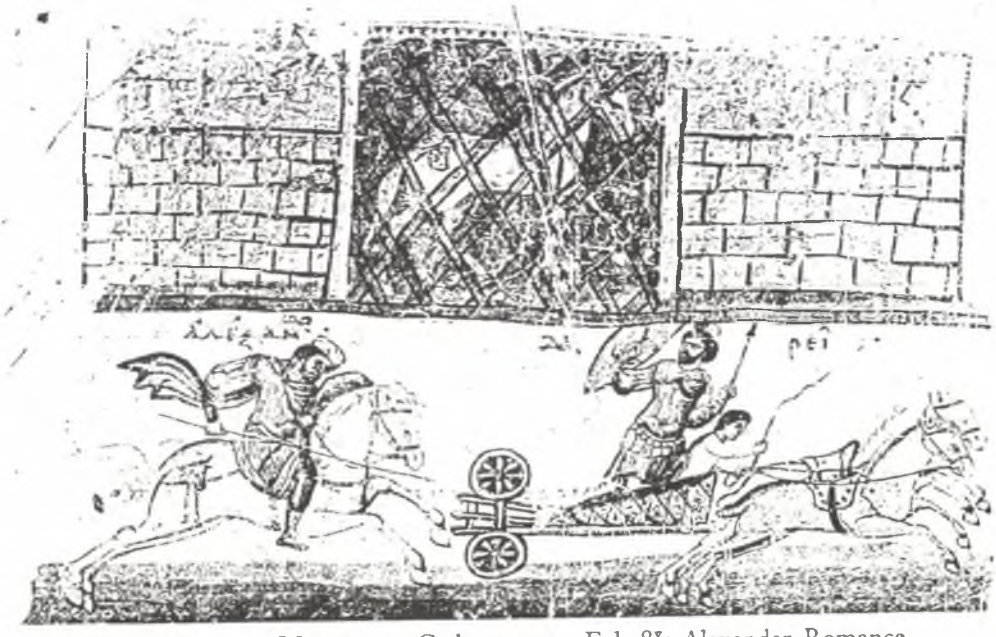
The first episode is found in Book I, chapter 13. In the A text, if we may still call it that, of manuscript A it runs:

> And the rulers of Cappadocia once brought to Philip as a gift from their stables a colt of great size, bound on all sides with many chains — they said he was a man-eater. Philip noticing that it was handsome said:
> «In this the proverbial saying is truly fulfilled:
> "Evil grows near good"; but since you have first brought him, take him and put him without a bridle in an iron cage and lock him up so that we may throw to him those who fall foul of the law and are caught committing robbery or murder». And the king's orders were quickly carried out.

I do not propose to deal with all the differences of detail in the various versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes except to note that version ε (Bodley



133. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 8r: Alexander Romance



134. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 8v: Alexander Romance

Barrocci 17) mentions a horn on the animal's forehead which appears in a number of texts and pictures deriving from that version.

> He was terrible and of very beautiful condition, having the head of an ox marked on his right flank and a horn on his head.

Similarly the interpolated versions of Arch Priest Leo's Alexander book known as *Historia de Preliis* contain Solinus's mention of horns, which pass in turn to texts and pictures based on that work.

In redaction δ*, as represented by Arch Priest Leo's *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni* the princes of Cappadocia, otherwise found only in manuscript A, reappear.

The second episode is the oracle given to Philip that the tamer and rider of the horse was to succeed him as king.

The A text runs:

> Philip returning to his own palace sent to Delphi to obtain an oracle (to tell him) who shall reign after him and subject all to his spear. And the oracle said: «Whoever shall mount and ride the horse Bucephalus through the midst of Pella». And the horse was called Bucephalus since a brand of the head of an ox was visible on its flank. But Philip on hearing the oracle expected to seee a new Heracles.

The third episode is the submission of Bucephalus to Alexander who rides him and is acclaimed as the future world conqueror by Philip. In manuscript A the text runs:

> One day when Alexander was fourteen years old he happened to pass the place where Bucephalus was lying and he heard a most terrible neighing. And turning to his friends he says: «Men, is this the neighing of a horse or the roaring of a lion?» And Ptolemy, later called Saviour, walking beside him says: «This is Bucephalus whom your father has shut up because he is a man-eater». But the horse listening to Alexander's speech neighed a second time, not as usually terribly and mournfully, but gently as perhaps under the control of a god; and Bucephalus himself on seeing Alexander stretched out his feet before himand moved his whole body as if fawning upon (praying to) his own master. But Alexander, seeing his changed (new) appearance and the remains of many men who had met a violent death, felt humain pity and, elbowing aside the guards, opened the cage, trusting his own noble birth or? companions (the passage is corrupt). And grasping the horse's mane (mounted him unbridled). And someone immediately ran and told Philip what had happened. And he, remembering the oracle, went to his son and embraced him saying: «Hail Alexander, lord of the world».



Some time ago, I was able to demonstrate the existence of a picture-cycle illustrating Pseudo-Callisthenes, of which the earliest trace is in a fourth-century floor-mosaic found in a villa at Soueidie near Baalbek (Heliopolis) in the Lebanon, and whose latest use is in Rumania in 1790 — possibly even as late as 1817. It is found used in manuscripts, principally between 1200 and 1500, of Alexander-books in Greek, Latin, Armenian, French, Middle High German, Italian, Middle Dutch, Church Slavonic (both Balkan and Russian) and Rumanian, and traces (unfilled picture spaces etc.) occur also in Hebrew and Arabis versions. I would refer you to an article «Olympias and the Serpent» in Warburg Journal XXVI, 1963, for the details.

The Bucephalus episode is normally treated in this picture-cycle in three scenes, but others occur. These are:

1. The presentation of Bucephalus to Philip.
2. Alexander puts his hand through the bars of the animal's cage and tames him.
3. Alexander rides Bucephalus usually in Philip's presence.

We first examine the illustrated α text of the *Armenian Alexander*. Of the three scenes only the first and third, the presentation and the riding of Bucephalus are normally present in the illustrated Armenian texts.

The best representative is M, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Armenian 3, of 1544. Both scenes occur (figure 2).

1. Fol. 12 r°. Philip sits on a cushion, crowned and with nimbus, and holds out his right hand in a speaking gesture. Two grooms stand behind and beside the horse, right. The horse has an ox-head on its left flank, and broken chains are attached to its fetlocks. The ox-head has been misunderstood by the artist as its horns project above the back of the animal which would not be possible in a brand. It is, as we shall see, more usual for one groom to lead the horse to Philip instead of two standing beside it, as here (figure 3).



2. Fol. 18 v°. Alexander rides Bucephalus towards Philip who stands, with hands extended in a speaking gesture.

It is significant that the ox-head brand as explanation of the horse's name survives illustrated in the Armenian manuscripts, in Manchester,

and, combined with horns from another source, in Erevan, Matenaderan 5472. In the oldest manuscript, L, Venice, San Lozzaro 424[1], from which the taming of Bucephalus sequence is lost, the ox-head brand occurs on an otherwise normal horse on five occasions.

Of the texts based on Pseudo-Callisthenes β, the Leningrad *Chronograph Aleksandria*, manuscript Academy of Sciences 76, made in the later sixteenth century for Ivan the Terrible, is copiously illustrated (figure 4), and the three usual scenes are supplemented by others.



1. Fol. 599 v°. The presentation of Bucephalus to Philip.

Philip sits crowned in a building with a courtier standing behind him, left. Two grooms, centre, lead to him a horse, right. Bucephalus is quite normal and has neither horns nor ox-head brand, nor is he chained. Two noblemen, dressed as boyars stand behind the grooms. Possibly they are those in charge of Philip's stables. Behind them the heads of two horses are visible in a rocky landscape. Essentially if we eliminate the supplementary figures, the courtier on the left and the two noblemen to the right, the iconography agress with that of *Armenian Alexander* M fol. 12 r° (figure 5).

2. Fol. 600 r°. Philip seated before a builgind, left, with Alexander as a young prince behind him, gives orders to soldiers to shut



Bucephalus in a cage, right. The cage has diagonal bars, a significant and original feature, which we shall find again in the second scene in the eleventh century Venice Pseudo-Oppian manuscript.

3, 4 and 5. Fol. 603 r° (figure 6). The taming of Bucephalus by Alexander in three scenes.



3. Above, left in the background. Alexander asks his companions what is the noise of neighing that he hears.

4. In the foreground. Alexander, with his companions behind him, pats the head of Bucephalus who emerges from his cage.

5. Above, right, in the background. Alexander rides Bucephalus surrounded by his companions.

6 and 7. Fol. 603 v° (figure 7). Philip hears of Alexander's exploit.



6. Left, a man stands and reports to Philip who is seated.

7. Right. Philip embraces Alexander. Three courtiers stand on the right.

The ox-head brand which does not appear here is clearly visible on Bucephalus's right flank in a picture in this manuscript showing the death of Nikolaos, and elswhere (not illustrated).

The unrhymed Byzantine poem in political metre in manuscript Venice, Biblioteca Marciana 408 has picture-spaces and tituli corresponding to the usual three scenes illustrating the taming of Bucephalus, on fols 28 v°, 31 v°, and 32 r°.

Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian, Barrocci 17 of the text of ε illustrates the taming and riding of Bucephalus by Alexander in the usual way, but the presentation of the horse to Philip is omitted (figure 8). Version ε is the source of version γ and of a Middle Greek Prose Alexander-book which is itself the source of versions in Serbian Church Slavonic and Rumanian with which we shall be concerned. Barrocci 17 has two pictures.



1. Fol. 9 v°. Alexander stands, right, and puts his hand throught the bars of the cage, left. The picture has almost entirely scaled away. Alexander is reduced to an outline, the cage has been redrawn clumsily in ink. Its bars are vertical and horizontal. Bucephalus is reduced to one raised fore leg (figure 9).





14 - (f. 16 v)

2. Fol. 10 r°. Alexander rides Bucephalus towards Philip seated between two attendants. Philip's crown and the whole of Alexander and Bucephalus are clumsily redrawn in ink. Bucephalus has very short legs in this redrawn version of the picture. He has a horn on his forehead, as in the text of this version.

Both pictures conform to the usual iconography of these scenes.

Passing from ε to its first derivative γ we have in manuscript D (Venice, Istituto di Studi Bizantini) on fol. 16 v° a full page devoted to the subject. It is not very intelligently handled but two of the usual scenes can be identified. The presentation of Bucephalus to Philip presumably appeared on a folio now lost (figure 10).

The picture is in two registers.

1. Upper register, left. Philip, right, addresses three men, left. Possibly he is consulting them as to how to discover his successor, but no such passage occurs in this or in any other text.

2. Upper register, right. Philip consults the oracle in Delphi which is represented by fire naked statues of pagan gods in round arched niches, two above and three below.

No other illustrations of this episode are known.

3. Lower register, above, right. A main (badly damaged) kneels before Philip, seated, with a guard behind him. This represents the reporting of Alexander's exploit to Philip, but it seems to be out of order as the riding of Bucephalus follows it.

4. Lower register, below, left. Alexander leads Bucephalus out of his cage. This differs from the normal handling of the taming scene, where Alexander puts his hand through the bars of the cage and the horse kneels to him.

5. Lower register, below, right. Alexander rides Bucephalus to the right with a man wearing a turban behind him. Normally he rides towards Philip or at least in his presence. In these pictures Bucephalus has neither horns nor ox-head brand.

Both of the Balkan and all but one of the Russian manuscripts of the socalled «*Serbian*» *Alexander*, based on ε by way of the *Middle Greek Prose Alexander*, fail to illustrate the taming of Bucephalus sequence, but all the Russian manuscripts examined have some pictures showing the ox-head brand.

The russian manuscript, Leningrad, Academy of Sciences 99, of the early eighteenth century, shows only the presentation of Bucephalus to Philip, but in the background he is also shown alone in his cage (figure 11).

1. Fol. ?. Philip sits on an elaborate baroque throne under a canopy. A groom leads Bucephalus, with a small horn and the ox-head brand, to him up some steps. In the right background Bucephalus stands alone in a circular cage with a conical roof, a scene which, as we will see, may be related to the second in the Marciana Pseudo-Oppian.

There is also (not illustrated) a large, double page spread depicting the presentation of Bucephalus to Philip on fols. 7 v° and 8 r° of Nastase Negrule's 1790 manuscript of the Roumanian Prose *Alexandria*, Bucarest, Biblioteca Academiei RPR 869, which shows a variant



through which the standard iconography can easily be recognised. In this, Bucephalus appears as a colt with a horn on its brow accompanying a mare which occupies his usual position.

The taming of Bucephalus is represented in the δ* tradition of Pseudo-Gallisthenes by illustrations in manuscripts of all three interpolated redactions of the *Historia de Preliis* and by those of its derivative the *Old French Prose Alexander*. For lack of space I show only the most interesting of these, most of them showing the now familiar standard iconography.

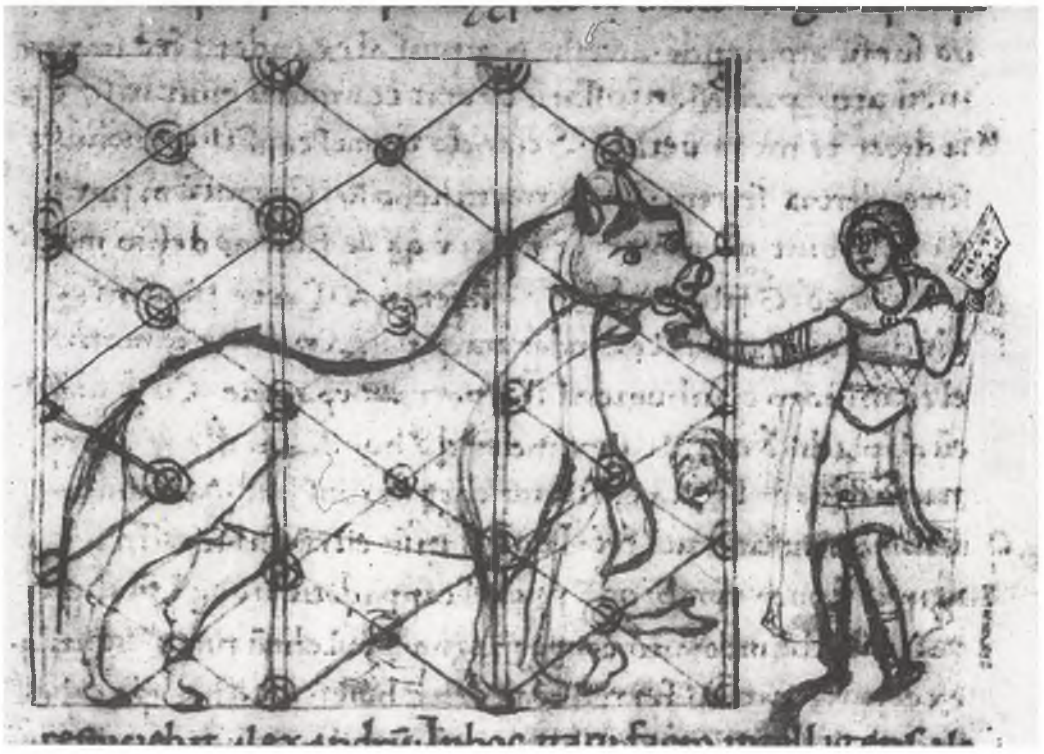
I begin with the Leipzig manuscript Lg of interpolated version 12 (not illustrated), Leipzig, Universitaetsbibliothek Repositorium II, 4to, 143, made in South Italy in the late thirteenth century. The usual three stages of the episode are illustrated.

1. Fol. 9 r°, above. the presentation in the usual form.

2. Fol. 9 r°, below. Alexander tames Bucephalus in the standard iconography.

3. Fol. 9 v°. Alexander, with a curved stick on his shoulder, rides Bucephalus towards a tower from the window of which Philip looks out and makes a speaking gesture, presumably greeting Alexander as the destined world conqueror. Bucephalus is a normal horse without horns or ox-head brand, although the text (ed. Hilka p. 35, 11, 1-8) offers both alternative explanations of his name (not illustrated).

Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. ac. lat. 174 (figure 12) of the mid-thirteenth century, has on fol. 4 v° a pen-drawn version of the taming of Bucephalus. The most interesting feature is the diagonal bars of the cage, here combined with vertical ones, which



occur also in the Marciana Pseudo-Oppian and, as we saw, in the Leningrad *Chronograph Aleksandria*. They are evidently a primitive feature.

The illustrated *Historia de Preliis II* manuscript, National Library of Wales (figure 13). Peniarth 481 of the late fifteenth century, has on fol. 34 v° a double miniature, probably by a Flemish artist, showing the presentation and taming of Bucephalus.

1. Left. The presentation scene as usual. The horse's fore and hind legs on each side are chained together, and it has the head of an ox with two straight horns. This unusual characteristic is repeated throughout the manuscript in every picture in which Bucephalus appears. The explanation is the omission of three words in the text of the manuscript, which the illustrator must have read, though the iconography of both these pictures is the standard one of the picture-cycle. The name of Bucephalus is explained in *II* with the interpolation from Solinus:

> ... et dicebatur ipse equus Bucephalus propter aspectus toruitatem seu ab insignis, quod taurinum caput *in armo* habebat *inustum*, seu quod de fronte eius quedam mine corniculorum protuberabant.

... and the horse was called Bucephalus because of its fierce expression or because it had a bull's head branded on its flank, or because certain horns small and threatening protruded from its brow.

In this manuscript the words «in armo» and «inustum», branded on the flank, are omitted, leaving: quod taurinum caput habebat, beacuse he had the head of a bull.

2. Right. The taming in the usual form.



The illustrated manuscripts of the *Old French Prose Alexander* normally show two pictures of the Bucephalus episode; the presentation of Bucephalus to Philip and his taming by Alexander, both of which tend to follow the standard iconography. The horse is described in Hilka's published text:

> Li chevaus avoit a non Bucifal et avoit .ij. cornes comme de tor marin.

The horse's name was Bucifal and it had two horns like a sea bull (why a *sea*-bull I cannot say!).

Hilka's text is that of Redaction II. The Redaction I manuscripts mostly read:

> ... avoit .iij. cornes... ... had three horns...

These differences are depicted in some of the manuscripts, which, as their iconography shows no peculiarities, are not illustrated here.

We begin with R2 (figure 14), British Museum, Royal 19 D.I.,



a Redaction I manuscript of the mid-fourteenth century. On fol. 6 r°, col. 1 is a miniature in two registers with coarse diapered background.

1. Above. Philip sits crowned, a groom kneels on one knee, to present Bucephalus.

2. Below. Alexander bareheaded in a short tunic stands, extending his left hand to Bucephalus standing in the cage. The horse should kneel tohis future master. Compare ed. Hilka p. 36, II, 1-4 :

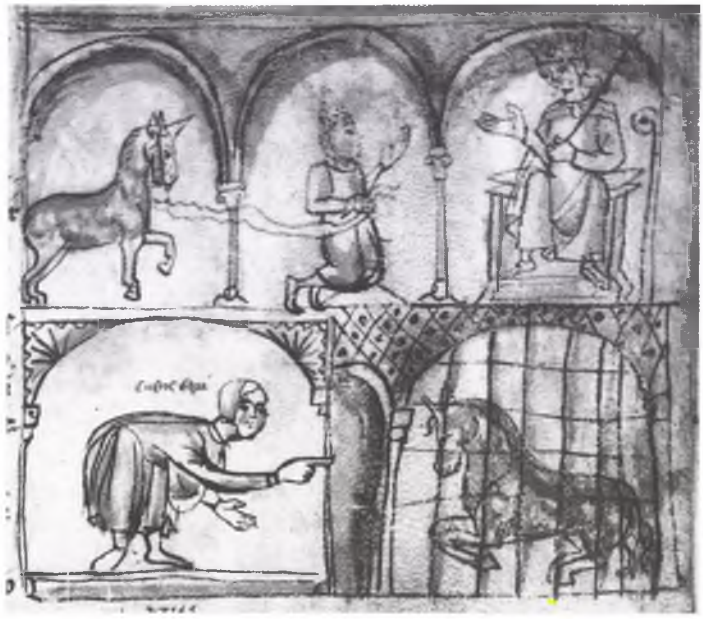
> Et li cevaus estendi maintenant le col et ploya les genous et s'inclina vers Alixandre et le regarda.

And the horse at once stretched out its neck and bent its knees and bowed to Alexander and looked at him.

The 11 Latin text Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8501 (figure 15), has borrowed its iconography from an *Old French Prose Alexander* MS resembling Royal 19. D.I. On fol. 7 r°, col. 2, it has a similar picture to the last, but the upper scene takes place beneath three round arches and the lower beneath two. The groom kneels on both kness and holds the halter of Bucephalus, who has one small horn. In the lower register the figure representing Alexander is wrongly entitled: «custos equi», but the horse kneels, following the French text (figure 16).

L. Manuscript Le Mans 103, Italian or South French, fourteenth century, has, on fol. 3 v°, a miniature of two registers almost identical with that in British Museum, Royal 19 D.I., except that in the lower register the cage and the horse have been redrawn in ink, giving Bucephalus three very distinct horns, as in the Redaction I text.

3. At the foot of the page a delicate pen-drawing has been added in Florentine fifteenth-century style showing Alexander as a young Florentine nobleman riding Bucephalus, with three long forward-pointing horns, towards Philip crowned and wearing a knee-length robe, followed by three young courtiers, one of whom carries a hawk.



This added drawing is the only picture of the riding of Bucephalus found in the manuscripts of the *Old French Prose Alexander*. The other first redaction manuscripts are similarly illustrated.

Turning now to the illustrated manuscripts of Redaction II we begin with B. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 C.1 (figure 17). this has almost exactly the same iconography as R2, British Museum, Royal 19 D.I., a two register miniature with above, Philip seated, and a groom kneeling, leading Bucephalus. Bucephalus, as in the text of Redaction II, has only two horns. Below, Alexander stands, and takes the horns of Bucephalus who kneels in his cage. The remains of the malefactors on which he has been fed lie on the ground at his feet.

The *Historia de Preliis II* manuscript from which Immanuel ben Jacob (Bonfils) of Tarascon translated his Hebrew Alexander-book *Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni*, Book of the deeds of Alexander of Macedon, including in his text translations of the tituli and brief descriptions of the illustrations of his source, contained two scenes from the Bucephalus sequence. In manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat. Hebr. 750 of Bonfils's translation they are mentioned on fols. 85 r° and 85 v°.

1. Fol. 85 r°. A picture of the men leading the horse to King Philip as a gift.

2. Fol. 85 v°. A picture of Alexander riding the horse and ascending the chariot, sword in hand.



Comment le cheual qui sappelloit buchifal
qui mengoit la gent sagenoilla deuant alixandre
par le cheual et il ne dura
pas longuement apres
que alixandre qui estoit
moult proux et hardi et trop
saige de son aige vng jour
passoit par deuant le lieu
ou le cheual estoit encloz
et vit gesir deuant lui des
piez des mains de ceulx
que il auoit mengies donc
il se donna trop grant merueille si mist sa main de
dens les treillez pour aerdre le cheual par les
cornes et le cheual estendi le col et ploya les genoiz
et senclina vers alixandre et le regarde Et alixandre
qui congneut la voulente du cheual ouuri les por
tes de la cage et entra dedens et comenca a froter le
cheual sus le dos et tout auyco le chien blandist so
seigneur aussi se humilioit le cheual vers alixandre
Quant alixandre vit ce si lui osta les chames et mon
sus et sen vint cheuauchant par my la court Quant
le roy phe le vit si dist filz alixandre or congnoiz ie
tous les respons de dieu en toy Car or saige bien que
tu doiz regner apres ma mort Alix. lui dist pere
puis que ainssi doit estre donne moy cheuaulx
et hernoiz et demers et gent donc je puisse desormais
deffendre nre regne le roy phe lui respondi pre
mes cheuaulx et xl. m. cielles der et telz gens comme
tu vouldras





These are clearly the usual scenes of the Presentation of Bucephalus to Philip and Riding of Bucephalus by Alexander, and presumably the iconography was the standard one. The reference to Alexander mounting the chariot is obscure, as no such episode occurs at this point.

In 1947 in his important work on methods of book-illustration in antiquity and the Byzantine period, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Kurt Weitzmann called attention to the Venice manuscript, Biblioteca Marciana Gr. 479 of the «Treatise on hunting», the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (figure 1), already mentioned.

The manuscript, of the early eleventh century, is a product of the «Macedonian Renaissance» in Byzantine art, a period when, under the Macedonian dynasty, artists, particylarly in book-illustration and ivory carving, returned to classical models and classical subjects in the illustration of such works as the Pseudo-Oppian under discussion contains, besides the miniatures with which we are concerned, elements extracted from illustrated stories of the Medea and Theseus, the *Physiologus* and, more relevant to its text, ancient treatises on hunting.

Pseudo-Oppian devotes a couplet to Bucephalus:

> ἵππος ἐνυαλίοιο Μακηδονίου βασιλῆις
> Βουκεφάλας ὅπλοισιν ἐναντία δηριάασκεν.
>
> Book I, II, 229-230.

«Bucephalas, the horse of the warrior king of Macedon, fought against armed men».

To illustrate this passage, the artist of Marciana Gr. 479 borrows three pictures from the late antique Pseudo-Callisthenes picture-cycle, ignoring the text, as none of them shows the horse fighting armed men at all.

The first of these pictures, on fol. 8 r°, shows the standard iconography of the Presentation of Bucephalus to Philip. The ox-head brand is clearly visible on the white horse's flank. The animal is otherwise normal (figure 1).

The second miniature, on fol. 8 v° above, shows Bucephalus standing in his cage. The horse is again white with the ox-head brand. The cage having diagonally crossed bars, is set in the middle of a stone wall.

We have seen a few traces of this picture of Bucephalus alone in his cage in surviving Alexander-books, e.g. Leningrad, Academy of Sciences 76, of the Church Slavonic *Chronograph Aleksandria* shows Bucephalus caged by Philip's orders behind the same diagonally crossing bars as in this picture in Marciana Gr. 379. These diagonal bars are evidently a primitive feature which is preserved also, as we have seen, in the picture of the Taming of Bucephalus in the earliest manuscript of *Historia de Preliis 12*, Paris, Bibl, Nat. nouv. ac. lat. 174, fol. 4 v° of the mid-thirteenth century.

The third Alexander scene in Marciana Gr. 479 appears immediately under the second on fol. 8 v°. It shows Alexander crowned and with flying cloak riding a branded Bucephalus in pursuit of Darius, crowned and armed, with a charioteer whipping up his two horses. Darius turns back to face Alexander who is armed only with a long lance. The chariot is shown from the side with a convention which shows both wheels as if seen from above. We shall examine this picture later.

In his critical study of 1947, Weitzmann correctly recognised that the three Bucephalus pictures in Marciana Gr. 479 are borrowed from an illustrated Pseudo-Gallisthenes. At that time he had no comparative material available, and his identification of the source is based entirely on the text, quoted from Kroll's edition.

Four years later, in *Greek Mythology in Buzantine Art*, Weitzmann returned to the study of these pictures. This time he published Oxford, Bodleian, Barrocci 17 fol. 9 v° (figure 8) for comparison with the picture of Bucephalus in his cage on fol. 8 v° of Marciana Gr. 479. The comparison is in fact not valid, as the picture in Barrocci 17 represents the taming of Bucephalus by Alexander. Weitzmann identifies the figure wrongly as Philip. The horse has disappeared, all but one forefoot, and the cage has been heavily redrawn in ink with vertical

and horizontal bars. It is impossible to say if the bars were arranged diagonally before the redrawing took place.

Only one of the hundred and sixty-five manuscripts of Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* has a full cycle of illustrations. This is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiane C 246 inf., an Italian manuscript of the early fourteenth century which preserves its picture-cycle, in a medievalised form, apparently complete. There are miniatures on sixty-eight out of one hundred and twenty-eight pages, and the total number of subjects, including maps, is in the region of two hundred and sixty.

Wittkower has pointed out the resemblance of this manuscript, allowing for stylistic medievalisation, to the ninth century Cosmas Indicopleustes in the Vatian, which is regarded as a copy of a sixth century model. The Ambrosiana Solinus has figures placed on the bare page without background and largely unrelated to one another, like the Vatican Cosmas. A possible indication of early date is the omission of Paris, which became the capital of France only on the accession of the Capetian dynasty in the tenth century, in the map of Gaul on fol 30 r°. It seems then possible that a model of the sixth century or earlier lies behind the fourteenth century Ambrosian manuscript (figure 18).

Fol. 18 v° illustrates chapter IX «De Macedonia». Alexander is frequently mentioned by Solinus, particularly in that chapter, and the text was drawn on, to supply additional marvels and monsters by authors of Alexander-books in the Middle Ages. The picture, in fourteenth century North Italian style, shows, above, left, a king crowned and seated on a backless throne holding a sceptre in his right hand. He is inscribed «alexander macedo rex regum». Facing the king is a large horse with a pair of horns like an ox. He is inscribed «buciphas equus alexandri». Between the king and the horse there kneels a small naked figure of a man who looks back at the horse while the king grasps his right wrist with his left hand.

It is clear that we have here a rather unintelligent adaptation of the first scene in the Marciana Pseudo-Oppian, the Presentation of Bucephalus to Philip, with Philip misinterpreted as Alexander, the groom replaced by the small naked figure, and Bucephalus distinguished with a pair of ox horns, following the text of Solinus:

> ... seu quod de fronte eius quaedam corniculorum protuberabant minae,

instead of the original, and correct, ox-head brand on the animal's flank. It is of course not possible to ascertain the date when this borrowing from the Pseudo-Callisthenes picture-cycle to illustrate Solinus was made, but it is likely to have been as early as the rest of the Solinus picture-cycle.



Quiedomi quondam pp quoque mig
donia erat terra aut piereu so
solu uel emathiu. nec oe un
uiformi uocabulo macedonica
res e. Et particiones que spalit
ana se uigebantur. macedoniu
noi contribute fte e corp unu. Ig
macedoniam pcing tcius limes.
Cheridiana thesalie epyrote te
nent. A uespali plaga clat clar
e et illiri. Qua septentrione tondit
peonia ac pelagonia ptegitur
atri balis montanis excessibus
aquilonis frigori abiecta. Inte

We turn finally to the last of the Alexander pictures in Marciana Gr. 479 (figure 1) Alexander on Bucephalus pursuing Darius in his chariot. In both his studies of the problem Weitzmann contents himself with identifying the subject as Alexander's pursuit of Darius after the unnamed battle in Pseudo-Callisthenes which is to be identified with Gaugamela. In this he is certainly right as the text clearly mentions Alexander riding Bucephalus inpursuit of the Persian king, whereas in the earlier battle, also unnamed but clearly that of Issus, Darius abandons his chariot and is pursued on horseback, and Bucephalus is not named. The moment illustrated is ed. Kroll p. 86 11, 10-12:

> πολλῶ δὲ Περδῶν ὀλεθρίως τελευτώντων ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔστρεφε τὰς ἡνίας τοῦ ἰδίου ἅρματος καί πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν εἰς φυνην ὥρμα.

After many of the Persians had been killed, Darius turned the reins of his own chariot and the whole crowd of Persians fled. A previous sentence shows Alexander leading the pursuit on Bucephalus Kroll, p. 86, 11. 4-5:

> τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων προῆνεν °ο 'Αλέξανδρος ἐγκαθίσας τὸν Βουκέφαλον ἵππον.

Alexander riding the horse Bucephalus led on the Macedonians.

This picture has an interesting pedigree. Weitzmann suggests that it is a simplified version of a more complex composition, and this is in fact the case (figure 19).



MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF THE ISSUS
(POMPEII)

The famous mosaic battle picture from the Casa del fauno in Pompeii, showing Alexander attacking and Darius turning in flight is supposed to represent the battle of Issus. Its source is clearly a monumental painting, and this has been variously attributed, the most likely artists being Philoxenos of Eretria and a woman artist, Helena daughter of Timon the Egyptian. The long-standing controversy over the authorship of the painting does not greatly concern us, but its date is very generally placed in the last quarter of the fourth century BC, within a few years of Alexander's death, and this is significant (figure 20).



MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF THE ISSUS
(DOMED)

If now we take a photograph of the mosaic and black out all the elements in the picture which do not appear in the Pursuit of Darius scene in the Marciana Pseudo-Oppian, all the confusion of struggling horsemen in foreground and background, leaving only Alexander, Darius in his chariot, with his charioteer whipping up his team and the four excited horses drawing the chariot, we are left with a picture which is remarkably close to that of the Byzantine manuscript.

In the fourteen hundred years intervening between the painting of the picture and that of the manuscript, a number of minor iconographic changes have inevitably occurred. In the damaged state of the mosaic, the flank of Alexander's horse has disappeared with any sign of the ox-head brand which may have appeared on it. Alexander has in the miniature acquired Byzantine royal robes, crown and a flying mantle but his attitude, his thrust with the lance and the attitude of the horse are as in the mosaic. The four horses drawing Darius's chariot

have been simplified to two. Darius has acquired a shield and spear and the chariot has taken on a curious elongated form with a convention of showing it from the side with the wheels seen as it from above; but the attitudes of the king and charioteer remain the same in the Byzantine miniature as in the mosaic. The horses have also been simplified to a plain side view from the difficult half full-face position in the mosaic. I suggests, however, that the iconographic relationship between the two pictures is reasonably convincing.

Another monument supports my argument. In 1883 Heinrich Heydemann published a drawing of a South Italian vase painting of the late fourth or early third century, which he identified as showing Alexander pursuing Darius III. The vase, from Ruvo in Campania, is, or was, in the Naples Museum but was not available when I tried to examine it forty-five years ago. Heydemann also published a second version of the same picture from a fragment of a vase which has not been identified and appears to be lost.



The Naples vase (figure 21) is particularly interesting for our enquiry as it shows exactly the king of simplified version of the elaborate battle scene stage between it and the Byzantine miniature in the Marciana manuscript. Essentially the scene is already reduced to the three figures present in the miniature. Alexander, left, attacks Darius with a similar thrust of his long sarissa, but wears a helmet and has a flowing mantle as in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature. Darius in his chariot turns back towards Alexander raising his right hand while gripping the chariot rail with his left. The charioteer holds the reins. He has no whip but holds a spear instead. Both he and Darius wear Phrygian caps. The four horses which draw the chariot are in a more usual position than in the mosaic. The battle is reduced to a single Persian, left, attacking a Greek, right, with an axe. This group is placed in front of the chariot.

The second vase is in two fragments. The decoration is in two registers. In the upper register are five gods, Zeus, Athene, Apollo, Hera and a damaged and unidentifiable female figure. Below is the pursuit of Darius by Alexander, virtually identical with that on the Ruvo amphora, but the fight between the Greek and the Persian on the right, shows the Greek, right, about to strike down the Persian, left, who has dropped his axe.

I feel this shows rather neatly how an iconographic theme may be simplified even from an elaborate monumental composition and then persist virtually unchanged for many hundreds of years.

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