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Medieval Ut pictura poesis: Rhetoric, Aesthetics, and Monstrosity in a Twelfth-Century Illustrated Horace[1]

Ut pictura poesis medieval: retórica, estética y monstruosidad en un Horacio ilustrado del siglo xii

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Abstract
A little-known, but extensively illuminated twelfth-century manuscript of Horace's poetical works, among them the *Ars poetica*, provides an occasion to reexamine interrelationships among rhetoric, the monstrous, and the grotesque in Romanesque art within the context of the poet's theorization of aesthetic norms and ideals. While hardly paradigmatic, the manuscript's numerous historiated initials nonetheless provide insight into how the myriad monstrous forms of medieval art were read by monastic audiences and, no less, how they can be interpreted today.

Keywords: Horace, *Ars poetica*, grotesque, monsters, the monstrous, historiated initials, mythology, antiquity.

Resumen

Un manuscrito del siglo xii, poco conocido pero ricamente iluminado, contiene las obras poéticas de Horacio, entre ellas el *Ars poetica*. Este códice ofrece una excelente ocasión para reexaminar las interrelaciones entre la retórica, lo monstruoso y lo grotesco en el arte románico dentro del contexto de la teorización del poeta de las normas estéticas y sus ideales. Aunque no resulten paradigmáticas, las numerosas iniciales historiadas del manuscrito proporcionan una idea de cómo deben ser leídas por las audiencias monásticas originales y, también, cómo pueden ser interpretadas hoy.

Palabras Clave: Horacio, *Ars poetica*, grotesco, monstruos, monstruosidad, iniciales historiadas, mitología, Antigüedad.

[1] To the various friends who kindly read this essay or offered advice, among them Barbara Shailor, Richard Tarrant, and the pair of anonymous readers, my thanks for their valuable suggestions.

The medieval and the monstrous, one could say, are joined at the hip. Defined by difference, the monstrous provided—and still supplies—a measure of what it meant to be mortal. Whether in terms of heaven and hell, the central and peripheral, the rational and irrational, the familiar and the wondrous, the natural and the miraculous, the human versus the animal, the male versus the female, the pure versus the obscene, the beautiful versus the ugly, the normal versus the abnormal, and, not least, the human as opposed to the divine, monsters occupied a pivotal place in the medieval imagination: both far away and foreign, yet intimate and inalienable, establishing what could be considered typical in terms of what was abberant and eccentric.[2]

No work was more central to medieval appreciations of the monstrous as both an aesthetic and moral category than Horace's *Ars poetica*. Widely read in the Middle Ages in what by any measure is an enormous number of copies, the work nonetheless presents a paradox: despite its focus on the power of the imagination, hardly any of the extant manuscripts are illustrated, and of those, even fewer in a systematic fashion.[3] Over and beyond the fact that the vast majority of these copies served as school books in which images and historiated initials played no role, it is as if the strictures that the poem sought to place on the free exercise of the imaginative faculty enforced a taboo on monstrous visualizations that would have violated its stipulations regarding morality and decorum.

A Monstrous Manuscript

It is, therefore, that much more interesting to find a manuscript, that, aside from its having been inventoried, has found no place in modern discussions of the discourse surrounding Horace's immensely influential work, and in which an extensive programe of illustration engages directly with the aesthetic and ethical issues raised by the poem.[4] The manuscript in question is a now incomplete copy of Horace's works of southwestern French or northeastern Spanish origin dating to the first half of the twelfth century (Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya,

[2] For recent overviews with extensive bibliography, see A. S. Mittman and S. M. Kim, "Monstrous Iconography," in C. Hourihane, (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, London/New York, 2017, pp. 518-533. S. C. M. Lindquist and A. S. Mittman, *Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, Wonders*, New York, 2018.

[3] For the typical presentation of Horace's poems in medieval manuscripts, see B. M. Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux xie et xiie siècles*, 4 vols., Paris, 1982-2009, vol. 4/2, pp. 162-164.

[4] Apart from a brief catalogue description on-line, which includes bibliography (http://cataleg.bnc.cat/search~S13*cat?/.b2260779/.b2260779/1%2C1%2C1%2CB/marc~b2260779, accessed 18.11.2018), the manuscript remains essentially unpublished apart from its inclusion in several exhibition catalogues in which it receives cursory treatment; these publications include P. Bohigas, "Les manuscrits à miniatures de la 'Biblioteca Central' de Barcelone (ancienne 'Biblioteca de Catalunya')," *Librarium: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft = revue de la Société Suisse des Bibliophiles*, 7 (1964), pp. 39–58; Id., "Les derniers temps de l'enluminure romane en Catalogne: la transition au gotihque", *Les Cahiers de Saint Michel de Cuxa*, 5 (1974), pp. 33-43, esp. 39-40; and J. de Puig, *Bibliophile Kostbarkeiten aus der Biblioteca de Catalunya*, Karlsruhe, 1986, pp. 18-19 and 24-27 (cat. no. 3). *Horaci, Odes i èpodes*, text revisat i traducció per J. Vergés, Barcelona, 1978-1981, vol. 1, pp. 31-32, offers a brief discussion, including a comparison of the initials to those in the famous *Moralia in Iob* from Cîteaux. Although the initials offer some points of comparison, there can, however, be no question of the manuscript having originated, as the author suggests, in Burgundy. What evidence of provenance exists, including a notarial document from Ripoll, bound into the back cover and dated 31 August, 1353, and another document referring to abbots of the

Ms. 1845).[5] (Fig. 1) In its current condition, the manuscript joins to the *Ars poetica* many of the Odes and Epodes, but none of the Satires or other Epistles, let alone the *Carmen Saeculare*.[6] Yet to judge by the degree of decoration accorded what survives, the *Ars* was considered the most important of Horace's works. Not only is the historiated *H* that opens the *Ars poetica* the largest surviving initial, it is immediately unsettling, even disturbing. Even before the monastic reader began to read the verses that the image illustrates, he would have found himself confronted by a text that itself had been deformed by an artist's intervention, an uncanny compound of word and image not unlike the unnatural, monstrous mixture of animal and human that Horace holds up as the object, indeed, the embodiment of ridicule. Not by accident, "Humano" stands as the first word of Horace's prescriptive poem.[7] A human being, however,

Fig. 1. Grotesque. Horace, Ars poetica, northwestern Spain or southwestern France, 1100-1150. Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1845, f. 63v (photo: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya)

Samsó family associated with San Salvador de Breda, suggests an origin in northern Spain. Another document refers to abbots of the Samsó family and the church of San Salvador de Breda.

[5] The principal hand, a late Carolingian script in an agenda format that incorporates numerous elegant features such as florid majuscule letters and ligatures, cannot with certainty be characterized as Spanish, although there are some elements such as the backward leaning majuscule *S* that are consistent with such an origin. The third (and sloppiest) of the glossing hands, however, displays many Spanish features, including the long cross-stroke of the Tironian *et*, the omission of the letter *h* (as in *Oratius* for *Horatius*), the "pinched" letter *q*, and, again, the backward-leaning *S*. For her advice on paleography, I am very grateful to B. Shailor.

[6] The manuscript contains the four books of the Odes (identified as *Carmina*), the *Ars poetica*, and the first eleven *Epodes*, of which the last is incomplete, breaking off "Nunc glorantis quamlibet mulierculam … //"; whether the manuscript originally contained the *Carmen Saeculare* or any of the Satires and Epistles cannot be determined.

[7] B. Frischer, *Shifting Paradigms: New Approaches to Horace's* Ars poetica, American Philological Association: American Classical Studies, 37, Atlanta, GA, 1991, pp. 68-85, argues on the basis of a comparison of the introduction with Vitruvius' polemic against monsters that the poem is, in fact, be a parody.

is not what first attracts our attention. Rather, in an act of involuntary voyeurism, our eyes are drawn to the gigantic, grotesque creature with the head of a woman, the neck of a horse, a feather-covered body, and the tail of a fish whose compound body constitutes the leftmost upright of the majuscule *H*, so large that it has erroneously been described as a miniature.[8] The contrast between the human and the monstrous builds on several other oppositions, both explicit and implicit: the first, between text and image, the second, between male and female. Whereas the monster is explicitly identified as female, not only by her head, but also by her feathered body and fish tail, which associate her with the mythological figure of the alluring Siren, the human that opens the poem, like the poet and his addressees, remains, in keeping with one of the word's meanings in Latin, implicitly identified with an educated, cultured and unmistakably male elite.[9] What the poem presents is less an opposition than a norm and its deformation.

In combining frontal and profile views, the monster activates various lines of vision.[10] The creature's frontality, accentuated by her long arms dangling at her side in a repetition of the two towers that form the uprights of the letter, forces us to come face-to-face with her nakedness: both her pendulous breasts (a stereotypical indicator of ugliness and the physical decrepitude that comes with old age) and, still more startling, her genitalia, marked by the convergence of the heightened lines that define her legs and lower abdomen.[11] Within a medieval framework, ugliness implies (if not exclusively) moral turpitude; questions of rhetorical modes cross over into issues of ethics.[12] Our own voyeurism is acted out by the man to the right, whose bent-over body forms both the lower right upright of the letter as well as its crossbar.

[8] In *Bibliophile Kostbarkeiten*, 26–27, and in the on-line catalogue description, which also makes the untenable suggestion that the images are based on a late-Roman prototype (*inspirades en algun model tardoromà*). Historiated initials of the kind found in the manuscript only enter the repertory of manuscript illumination in the eighth century.

[9] L. Holford- Stevens, "Sirens in Antiquity and the Middle Ages", in L. P. Austern and I. Naroditskaya (eds.), *Music of the Sirens*, Bloomington, IN, 2006, pp. 16-51.

[10] For frontal and profile views as vehicles of ridicule, see U. Haastrup, "Zannermasken und -figuren im Profil und en face", in K. Kröll and H. Steger (eds.), *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht: Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, Rombach Wissenschaft – Reihe Litterae, 26, Freiburg i. Br., 1994, pp. 313-334.

[11] For pendulous breasts as a trope for a crone in antiquity, see P. Simons, "The Crone, the Witch, and the Library: The Intersection of Classical Fantasy with Christian Vice during the Italian Renaissance", in M. Rose and A. C. Poet (eds.), *Receptions of Antiquity, Constructions of Gender in European Art, 1300–1600*, Classical Studies 3, Leiden, 2015, pp. 264-304, esp. 292, with discussion of Horace: Epode 8.7–8: *mammae putres /equina quales ubera*, an attribute that, as she points out, was commonly associated with witches. See also J. M. Ziolkowski, "The Obscenities of Old Women: Vetularity and Vernacularity", in J. M. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, 4, Leiden, 1998, pp. 73-89; and P. Bettella, *The Ugly Woman: Transgressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, Toronto, 2005.

[12] See P. Delhaye, "Grammatica et Ethica au xiie siècle", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 25 (1958), pp. 59-110, cited by J. M. Ziolkowski, "Avatars of Ugliness in Medieval Literature", *Modern Language Review*, 79 (1984), pp. 1-20. As noted by R. H. Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, Chicago, 1991, pp. 89-90, "The uniqueness of Christianity has to do … simultaneously with a gendering of the flesh as feminine, an esthetization of feminity, and a theologizing of esthetics." I leave to one side the tradition of apophatic theology in which the ugly and monstrous could signify a realm of divine unlikeness, beyond the realm of resemblance; see P. Michel, *"Formosa deformitas": Bewältigungsformen des hässlichen in mittelalterlicher Literatur*,

Pointing with one enlarged (one is tempted to say, engorged) hand towards the brown dot that indicates the female monster's pudenda, he looks back over his shoulder to draw it to the attention of his two companions, whose acrobatics underscore the monster's stature as a giant. Precariously perched on the first man's rump, the two engage in a lively discussion. The foremost among them looks back towards his interlocutor, echoing the sideways stare of the monster. The compound creature does not simply direct her gaze (and ours) towards the text; she herself forms part of the poem (and by all indications was drawn by the same scribe who copied the manuscript). At one level simply an example of word illustration—the literal illustration of metaphor (*imagines verborum*) that constituted a staple of psalter illustration—the monstrous woman activates the text and make it dangerous in ways that transgress its status as either a set of rules on poetic composition or a guide to good grammar.[13] If *poiesis* (ποίησις) is understood as a creative act by which something that previously did not exist is brought into being, then the monster presents a powerful example of the possibilities and perils associated with human creativity. The reader of Ode I.17, could well have made the connection with the sorceress Circe, whom Horace refers to (ll. 16-19) as "lovesick for the same man" as Penelope. In the manuscript in Barcelona, the adjacent gloss observes: *Item, duae Penelope et Circe solebant homines commutere in quamcumque figuram uolebant*, "Item, both Penelope and Circe used to change men into whichever figure they wanted." By this measure, the illuminator of the manuscript was himself a sorcerer.

Applied to initials such at that prefacing the *Ars poetica* in the manuscript in Barcelona, the designation "historiated" can be quite misleading. Unlike such initials in, for example, a Bible, which relate in condensed or episodic pictorial form the narrative of each successive book, in this case no story is being told, and it would be a mistake to interpret the initial in narrative terms. What we witness is not the story of an encounter between three men and a monster. At best, the initial presents a mode of indirect speech, in which the left-hand side, i.e., the monster, takes the place of the modern speech bubble.[14] Medieval images often are best construed as visualizations of speech, and hence, in some respects, as the pictorial equivalent of the speech acts that they incorporate, a translation by which they lend the words to

Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik, 57, Bonn, 1976; also C. Geisthardt, "Die Potenzialität des Monströsen: Zum medialen Verhältnis von impliziter Poetik und Text im *Wilhelm von Österreich* von Johann von Würzburg", in G. Gebhard, O. Geisler, and S. Schröter (eds.), *Von Monstern und Menschen: Begegnungen der anderen Art in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, Bielefeld, 2009, pp. 31-46. Also omitted here is the tradition of so-called "Roman pictures", given that, as noted by N. F. Palmer, " 'Antiquitus depingebatur': The Roman Pictures of Death and Misfortune in the Ackermann aus Böhmen and Tkadlecel, and in the Writings of the English Classicizing Friars", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 57-2 (1983), pp. 171-239, esp. 178, their non-visual quality is one of their distinctive features.

[13] C. G. Wood, "The Utrecht Psalter and the Art of Memory", *Revue d'art canadienne*, 14 (1987), pp. 9-15; L. F. Sandler "The Images of Words in English Gothic Psalters (The Saunders Lectures 1997)", in B. Cassidy and R. M. Wright (eds.), *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, Stamford, Lincolnshire, 2000, pp. 67-86; F. Heinzer, *Wörtliche Bilder: Zur Funktion der Literal-Illustration im Stuttgarter Psalter (um 830)*, Wolfgang Stammler Gastprofesseur, 13, Berlin/New York, 2005; and H. Manuwald, "'Eine blühende Nachkommenschaft und ein hürdenehmender Steuerberater': Zur medialen Struktur und Funktion von Wortillustration", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 92 (2010), pp. 1-45.

[14] For speech bubbles in medieval manuscripts, see W. Cahn, "Représentation de la parole", *Connaissance des arts* 369 (1982), pp. 82-89.

which they are attached effects of power and presence.[15] Of this phenomenon, the *Te igitur* initials in early medieval sacramentaries offer perhaps the best example: by translating into a Crucifixion the *T* of the first words of the Canon of the mass, the initials body forth the miracle of transubstantiation that would otherwise remain invisible, lending it a palpable weight and presence.[16] Although it stems from a different sphere, the initial prefacing the *Ars poetica* in Barcelona permits the reader not simply to imagine but also to see the picture evoked by the poem's opening lines. To paraphrase the poet's address to the Pisos, the book has become "perfectly like such a picture." In effect, such initials perform a kind of reverse ekphrasis. Rather than evoking a picture in words, they lend words concrete pictorial form. In addition to conveying information, they are intended to be efficacious. Yet even this characterization proves insufficient: in the initial, both the monster (that which is described) and the three men (those who speak among themselves, but also to the reader) constitute part of the words that are spoken and illustrated. The words become flesh; their figures, in turn, constitute the body of the letter, its forms no less mobile than a sentient creature, and its meaning no less prone to metamorphosis.

Attention to the initial opening the *Ars poetica* as a depiction of indirect speech, which permits a distinction between the person speaking and the content of his speech, takes us some way toward understanding its structure. What we see, however, is in fact still more complicated. Considered as a whole, the incongruous grouping figures, not two, but three separate if interrelated subjects, which can be distinguished in the manner that one might diagram a sentence. The first takes the form of the bent-over man, who holds an open book in his hand. This man is the author, Horace himself. The second takes the form of the two men immediately above him, his friends (the Pisos), to whom his poem is addressed. The third is the monster, the poem's point of departure and the object of the author's discourse. To the extent the initial has a single subject, it is not simply the opening verses of the *Ars poetica*, but rather, the origin and reception of the poem itself, the process and means by which it circulates.

Due to the manner in which the letter is constructed, the poet's words, in the form of the book he holds in his hand, are connected to his readers, a process that involves an appeal not just to the ear or even to the written word, but also to sight, in this instance, the imagined monster so vividly described in the very first lines of the poem. Given that the image of which Horace forms a part represents the very first letter of his text, his deictic gesture draws our attention, not just to the monster, but also, paradoxically, to himself or at least to the opening of his own poem as the potential embodiment of the very vice of monstrosity he sets out to decry.[17] The themes of metamorphosis and monstrosity crop up at several other points in the poem. Urging consistency in subject matter and presentation (ll. 29–30), the poet observes that "the man who tries to vary a single subject in monstrous fashion, is like a painter adding

[15] See J. F. Hamburger and N. F. Palmer, *The Prayer Book of Ursula Begerin*, 2 vols., Zürich-Dietikon, 2015, pp. 58-62.

[16] See R. Suntrup, "Te igitur-Initialen und Kanonbilder in mittelalterlichen Sakramentarhandschriften", in C. Meier and U. Ruberg (eds.), *Text und Bild*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 278-382; and B. Kitzinger, "Illuminierte Wandlung: Te igitur-Initialen und Kanonbilder", in U. Surmann and J. Schröer (eds.), *Trotz Natur und Augenschein: Eucharistie – Wandlung und Weltsicht*, Cologne, 2013, pp. 117-123.

[17] M. Citroni, "Horace's *Ars poetica* and the Marvellous", in P. Hardie (ed.), *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 19-40.

a dolphin to the woods, a boar to the waves." Elsewhere, (ll. 185–187), as part of a passage distinguishing between what should be portrayed on or off stage (and hence, presented to the eye or to the ear), the author declares that "Medea is not to butcher her boys before the people, nor impious Atreus cook human flesh upon the stage, nor Procne be turned into a bird, Cadmus into a snake." The *Ars* concludes (ll. 453–476) with a description of a mad poet ("a leech that will not quit the skin, till satiated with blood") matching that at the beginning of an inept poet; taken together, the poem's head (the beginning) and the foot (the end) themselves combine, if in a mock manner, to produce a monstrous whole, a hybridization of the human and the bestial.[18]

The Painter's Poetic Licence

Horace's stated purpose was to proscribe or at least ridicule the monstrous, yet, paradoxically, his opening lines succeeded in creating a monster that would continue to haunt the cultural consciousness of the European imagination for the better part of two millennia. In the manuscript in Barcelona, the large initial at the head of the *Ars poetica* has the effect of bringing this tension to the fore. In effect, the initial demonstrates the poem's opening proposition (ll. 6–9): "Believe me, dear Pisos, quite like such pictures would be a book, whose idle fancies shall be shaped like a sick man's dreams, so that neither head nor foot can be assigned to a single shape." In effect, to look at the initial is, in keeping with the poem's proposition, to indulge in a nightmarish vision. In addition to juxtaposing poem and picture and, in the spirit of *ut pictura poesis*, suggesting an equivalency between, or, by virtue of its being an initial and not a miniature, identity among them, the initial lends credence to the imagined answer of the poet's interlocutors: " 'Painters and poets,' " you say, " 'have always had an equal right in hazarding anything' " (ll. 9–10). Horace answers the imagined question: "We know it: this license we poets claim and in our tum we grant the like; but not so far that savage should mate with tame, or serpents couple with birds, lambs with tigers." (ll. 11–13). Horace grants poets some degree of freedom, but in the end pleads for decorum.

Medieval readers offered a different set of answers to the fictional question. Sometimes they affirmed the first part of the proposition (*pictoribus atque poetis quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas*), asserting that painters enjoyed the same freedom as poets to attempt anything.[19] Among these authors can be counted the Florentine author and painter, Cennino Cennini, who, probably drawing on an intermediary source, paraphrases Horace in citing centaurs as an example of fantasy and artistic license.[20] Perhaps more surprisingly, William

[18] As observed by A. Laird, "The *Ars Poetica*", in S. Harrison (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 132-143, esp. 137-138.

[19] A. Chastel, "Le *dictim Horatii: quidlibet audendi potestas* et les artistes (XIII^e–XVI^e siècle)", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscription et Belles-Lettres*, 121/1 (1977), pp. 30-45. See also U. Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, H. Bredin (trans.), New Haven, 1986, p. 101.

[20] See C. Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, P. Thompson (ed.), New Haven, 1932, p. 2: *E con ragione merita metteria in second grado all scienzia, e choronaria di poesia. La ragione e questa: che'l poeta ellibero do potere comporre elleghare insieme, si e non, come gli place secondo suo volonta. Per la simile al dipintore data e liberta potere conporre una figura ritta, a sedere, mezzo huomo, mezza cavallo, si chome gli piace, secondo suo fantasia.* On

Durandus (ca. 1230–1296) declares in the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*: "But the diverse stories of the Old and New Testament can be depicted according to the wishes of the painter, for 'both painters and poets have always had equal power to do what they dare'".[21] At a far earlier date, Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530–600/609 C.E.) had invoked Horace's famous lines, not to justify artistic autonomy or grotesque subject-matter but rather his particular method of composition, a mixture of text and image in the form of the *carmen cancellatum* or gridded picture, a type of *carmen figuratum* or picture poem.[22] Introducing an acrostic poem in the tradition of the Constantinian court poet, Publilius Optatianus Porfirius, Fortunatus describes how he came to choose its unusual, indeed, monstrous fusion of text and image: "As I was hesitating to decide, in my inertia the words of Pindaric Horace came to mind: 'Painters and poets have always enjoyed equal sanction to dare anything.' In pondering the verse, I wondered, if each artist intermingles whatever he wants, why should not their two practices be intermingled, even if not by an artist, so that a single web be set up, simultaneously a poem and a painting"?[23] (Fig. 2) Fortunatus effectively provides a justification for the mixing of text and image that from the Carolingian period onward was to become one of the hallmarks of medieval art. What has changed since the beginning of the first Christian millennium is the way in which a literary text is presented to its readers. Whereas Horace intended his poems for recitation (and, on at least one occasion, for musical performance) and, hence, for the ears of his listeners, Fortunatus assumes that his readers, in this case, Syagrius, bishop of Autun, will be able to see as well as hear his words.[24]

In insisting that the tame should not consort with the bestial, Horace refers not only to the subject of representation, but also to the mores of his readers: to indulge such fantasies is oneself to become uncivilized. Horace links questions of rhetorical and representational

Cennini's understanding of *fantasia*, see M. Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts" *Viator*, 8 (1977), pp. 347-398, esp. 368-369; see also R. Lee, "*Ut pictura poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting", *Art Bulletin*, 22 (1940), pp. 197-269, esp. 199, n. 14; and K. Friis-Jensen, "Commentaries on Horace's *Art of Poetry* in the Incunable Period", *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1995), pp. 228-239, esp. 228-229 [Reed. in K. Friis-Jensen, *The Medieval Horace*, K. M. Fredborg, M. S. Jensen, M. Pade, and J. Ramminger (eds.), Rome, 2015, pp. 151-158].

[21] Book I.3.22: *Sed et diversae historiae iam novi quam veteris testamenti pro voluntate pictorum depinguntur: nam pictoribus atque poetis quaelibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas*; for the translation, see *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, T. M. Thibodeau (trans.), New York, 2007, p. 39.

[22] See U. Ernst, *Carmen figuratum: Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Urpsrüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Pictura et poesis, 1, Cologne, 1991.

[23] Epistle VI.7; see Venantius Fortunatus, *Poems*, M. Roberts (ed. and trans.), Cambridge, MA, 2017, kindly brought to my attention by D. Ungvary. For further discussion, M. Graver, "*Quaelibet Audendi*: Fortunatus and the Acrostic", *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974–2014)*, 123 (1993), pp. 219-245, and, for context, M. Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus*, Ann Arbor, 2009. On Optatian, see most recently M. Squire and J. Wienand (eds.), *Morphogrammata / The Lettered Art of Optatian: Figuring Cultural Transformations in the Age of Constantine*, Morphomata, 33, Paderborn, 2017.

[24] See R. J. Tarrant, "*Lyricus vates*: Musical Settings of Horace's *Odes*", in *Reception and the Classics*, W. Brockliss et al. (eds.), Yale Classical Studies, 36, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 72-93, and, for the performance of the *Carmen Saeculare*, D. C. Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*, Cambridge-New York, 1998, pp. 28-38.

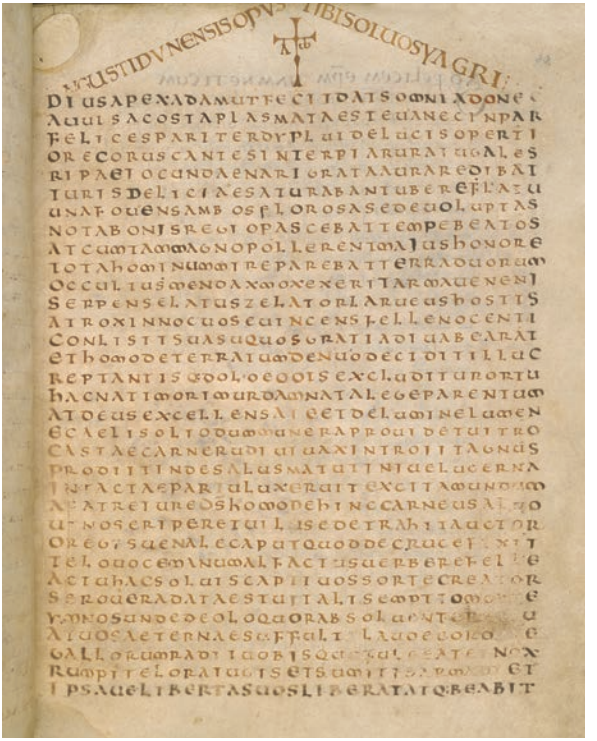

Fig. 2. Venantius Fortunatus, Orléans?, 900–25. London, British Library, Add. MS 24193, f. 30r (photo: © British Library Board)

decorum to problems of ethics. *Vituperatio vetulae*, invective against an old hag and her moral depravity was a genre unto itself, as was the rhetorical figure of the *effictio ad vituperium*, the vituperative or critical character sketch (Gr.: *karakterismos*) that usually proceeded, as does Horace's description of the monster at the head of the *Ars poetica*, from top to toe.[25] Although Horace could engage in invective, his poems, in particular his political poems, more often cultivate its opposite, encomium. Invective per se was more closely associated with poets such as Catullus, Persius, and Juvenal.[26] In the manuscript in Barcelona, however, one set of glosses indicates that vituperation was of primary concern to one of its earliest readers. These glosses, which are placed in systematic fashion adjacent to the rubric and opening lines of many, if not all, of the poems begin for the most part with some variant of the formula: *Hic uituperat* …, "Here he (Horace) censures or blames …" Others begin *Hic increpat* …, "Here he rebukes, protests or complains …".[27] Other glosses, of which, excluding corrections, there are at least three sets (possibly four, if one does not assign the interlinear glosses to one of the marginal hands), address metrical

[25] Bettella, *The Ugly Woman*, p. 17. See also M. Liborio, "L '«effictio ad vituperium»: le funzioni del brutto", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, sezione Romanza», XXVII (1985), pp. 39-48; and K. P. Aercke, "Loathly Ladies' Evil Tongues: 'Les yeux et les oreilles sont les avenues de l'âme'", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88 (1987), pp. 48–54.

[26] See, e.g., M. Roller, "Politics and Invective in Persius and Juvenal", in *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal* S. Braund and J. Osgood (eds.), Oxford, 2012, pp. 283-311. See also A. Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter: Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic*, Princeton, [1996] 2015; T. S. Johnson, *Horace's Iambic Criticism: Casting Blame (Iambikē Poiēsis)*, Mnemosyne: Supplements 334, Leiden/Boston, 2012; A. Richlin, "Invective against Women in Roman Satire", *Arethusa*, 17-1 (1984), pp. 67-80; and D. Wray, *Catullus and the Poetics of Roman Manhood*, Cambridge/New York, 2001.

[27] Epode 11 breaks off *Nunc glorantis quamlibet mulierculam //* at the bottom of f. 78v. The glosses are most extensive in the *Carmina* (although tapering off towards the end), almost absent from the *Ars poetica*, and intermittent in the *Epodes*. For medieval commentaries on the *Ars poetica* dating to the period of the manuscript in Barcelona, see

matters, points of grammar, and simple issues of content (e.g., the explanation of mythological references), a conventional approach in keeping with some of the standard commentaries.[28] In this particular copy, however, grammatical and explanatory glosses are in the minority.[29]

Comparison of the ethical gloss in Barcelona with the widely circulated pseudo-Acronic gloss, dated to the ninth century and attributed in the Middle Ages to Helenius Acron or Acro, a Roman grammarian, probably of the third century C.E., reveals their distinctive nature.[30] Regarding the catalogue of monstrous traits that opens the *Ars*, this commentary simply provides a catalogue of creatures and their traits.[31] Karsten Friis-Jensen has remarked that "such moralizing as can be found" in glosses "is often rather discreet" and that only after 1100 do commentaries occasionally turn Horace into a monk.[32] If so, then the manuscript in Barcelona, which dates to precisely this period, would represent one salient (and unpublished) example. In contexts, however, in which verses were lifted from Horace and assimilated to a larger

K. M. Fredborg, "The *Ars poetica* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: From the *Vienna Scholia* to the *Materia* Commentary", *Aevum*, 88 (2014), pp. 399-442; and Ead., "Interpretative Strategies in Horatian Commentaries from the Twelfth Century: The *Ars poetica* in the Carolingian Traditions and their Twelfth-Century Developments", *Interfaces*, 3 (2016), pp. 46-70.

[28] Each set of glosses is fairly consistent in content, with one addressing matters of meter, another, matters of content, and the third, of principal interest here, offering moral glosses.

[29] For the use of Horace's poems in the classroom context, see K. Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries on Horace", in *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship: Proceedings of the Second European Science Foundation Workshop on the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, The Warburg Institute, 27–28 November 1992)*, eds. N. Mann and B. M. Olsen, Mittelateinische Studien und Texte, 21, Leiden/New York, 1997, pp. 51-73 [Reed. in K. Friis-Jensen, *The Medieval Horace*, pp. 159-172]; Ead., "The Reception of Horace in the Middle Ages", in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, S. Harrison (ed.), Cambridge, 2007, pp. 291-304 [Reed. in K. Friis-Jensen, *The Medieval Horace*, pp. 189-198]; and R. Copeland, "Horace's Ars poetica in the Medieval Classroom and Beyond: The Horizons of Ancient Precept", in F. Grady and A. Galloway (eds.), *Answerable Style: The Idea of the Literary in Medieval England*, Columbus, OH Press, 2013, pp. 15–33. See also S. Reynolds, "Glossing Horace: Using the Classics in the Medieval Classroom", in C. A. Chavannes-Mazel and M. M. Smith (eds.), *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use. Proceedings of The seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Leiden, 1993*, Los Altos Hills, CA, pp. 103-117; and Ead., *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 27, Cambridge, 1996, who remarks, p. 150, on the fear of moral contamination that came with the study of classical texts.

[30] For this commentary, see *Pseudacronis: Scholia in Horatium Vestutora*, ed. O. Keller, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1902–1904).

[31] *Ista pictura ita multiplex est quod constat ex gressibili, volatili, aquatili; gressibili ubi dicit hominem et equum; volatili ubi dicit plumas; aquatili ubi dicit piscem quem nullomodo sibi convenerit; etiam in eodem loco vis quedam ostenditur quia talia vult coniungere, idest gravem figuram cum humili; quod notatur per caput et pedem quod non potest fieri nisi per mediocrem et hoc cum racione per humanum caput gravis intelligitur, per cervicem equi mediocris, per piscem humilis, per membra undique collata varietas sententiarum non choerencium, per plumas colores. ... caput gravis intelligutur, per cervicem equi mediocris, per piscem humilis per membra undique collata varietas sententiarum non choerencium, per plumas colores.* Cited here after C. Villa, "'Ut poesis pictura': Appunti iconografici sui codici dell 'Arts Poetica'", *Aevum* 62 (1988), pp. 186-197, esp. 189.

[32] The large literature on glosses to Horace can hardly be summarized here. See Friis-Jensen, "The Reception of Horace", p. 294. See further B. M. Olsen, "La popularité des textes classiques entre le ixe et le xiie siècle", *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 14-15 (1984-1985), pp. 169-181, including, p. 177, a tabulation of extent manuscripts by author and century, as well as the older, but still useful work by M. Manitius, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter (bis 1300)*, Göttingen, 1893; and F. Klingner, "Über die Recensio der Horaz-Handschriften", *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Zürich, 1964, pp. 455-518.

argument, the intent was almost always moralizing; the classical poet became, as he has been called, "Horatius ethicus".[33]

In the Barcelona codex, the initial to the *Ars* extends the ethical concerns expressed in the glosses to perhaps the most burning question of all: idolatry, in which the matter of getting representation right also becomes a matter of right and wrong. By virtue of initial's construction, the poet does not simply point out the imagined freak of nature that his poem describes, he appears to bow down before a giant idol of his own making, thereby forming in conjunction with the monster a minuscule *h*, the first letter of the poem's first word, *Humano*. It is as if there were a majuscule *H* for the monster and a smaller one for the humans who gawk at her. The man's proskynesis constrasts with the upright posture of the early Christian saint, Saturnin (or Sernin) of Toulouse, one of the so-called "apostles to the Gauls", as he is depicted in the Pamplona Bible, dated 1197, in which he refuses to honor the idol in the Roman temple by which he had to pass each day on his way to church, an act for which he was condemned to death by being dragged about town by a bull.[34] (Fig. 3) In the drawing in Amiens, the simian idol's limp arms, not unlike those of the monster in the Horace, signify its powerlessness and inability to act, in short, its status as dead matter. In turn, the ex post facto erasure of the mouth appears to refer to the saint's legend, according to which the priests of the temple attributed the silence of their god to Saturnin's presence.[35]

An illustrated book of poetry, let alone an illustrated book of Horace's poems such as the manuscript in Barcelona, inevitably resonates with the concept of *ut pictura poesis* as elaborated in the *Ars poetica* (ll. 361–365): "A poem is like a picture: one strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand; another, the farther away. This courts the shade, that will wish to be seen in the light, and dreads not the critic insight of the judge. This pleased but once; that, though ten times called for, will always please." As observed by Wesley Trimpi, Horace here echoes Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, Book III, chapter 12 (3.12.5, 1414a7–14), where, in order

[33] M.-B. Quint, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Horaz-Rezeption*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie 39, Frankfurt a. M, 1988, p. 123. See also K. Friis-Jensen, "*Horatius liricus et ethicus*: Two Twelfth-Century School Texts on Horace's Poems", *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 57 (1988), pp. 81-147 [Reed. in K. Friis-Jensen, *The Medieval Horace*, pp. 13-50], as well as M. Bernardi, *Orazio: tradizione e fortuna in area trobadorica*, Biblioteca di Studj Romanzi, 3, Rome, 2018, pp. 255–273. To the extent that the vast majority of medieval glosses on Horace remain unpublished, it is difficult to generalize. For one moralizing gloss, see T. Chronopoulos, "The Ethics of Horace: A Twelfth-Century Schoolroom Commentary on Horace's *Odes*", *Viator*, 46 (2015), pp. 61-94, in which (n. 69), examples are given of individual glosses that employ a rhetoric of vituperation comparable to that found in Barcleona, ms. 1845. Cf. also the *accessus* included in *Accessus ad auctores: Medieval Introductions to the Authors (Codex latinus monacensis 19475)*, S. M. Wheeler (ed. and trans.), Kalamazoo, MI, 2015, p. 97: "In this book [*Epistles*] he is not a derider as in the *Odes*, nor is he as reproachful as he is in the *Sermones*, and he is not introductory as in the *Poetria*, but proposes to deal firmly and seriously with the implanting of virtues and the improvement of manners."

[34] F. Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, 2 vols., New Haven, 1970; G. Bartz, G. Hägele, and L. Karl, *Die Pamplona-Bibel: die Bilderbibel des Königs Sancho el Fuerte (1153-1234) von Navarra. Universität Augsburg, Sammlung Oettingen-Wallerstein, Cod. I.2.4°15. Kommentarband zum Faksimile*, Simbach am Inn, 2005; and M. S. de Silva y Verástegui, "La Biblia del rey Sancho el Fuerte de Navarra (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 108), de 1197", *Príncipe de Viana*, 73/256 (2012), pp. 427-469.

[35] See J.-Cl. Poulin, "Saturninus, hl. (frz. Saturnin, Sernin), 1. Bischof und Patron von Toulouse († um 250)", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols., Munich/Zürich, 1995, vol. 7, col. 1401.

Fig. 3. Saturnin (or Sernin) of Toulouse refusing to honor the idol. Pamplona Bible, 1197. Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 108, f. 241r (photo: IRHT)

to distinguish deliberative, judicial, and epideictic rhetoric from one another, the philosopher compares, not painting and poetry, but rather painting and rhetoric: "Now the style of oratory addressed to public assemblies is really just like scene-painting. The bigger the throng, the more distant is the point of view: so that, in the one way and the other, high finish in detail is superfluous and seems better away. The forensic style is more highly finished".[36] Whereas deliberative or legislative rhetoric seeks to exhort or dissuade, forensic rhetoric seeks to accuse or defend, and epideictic rhetoric, to praise (*laus*) or to blame (*vituperatio*). In contrast to the first, which addresses the future, and the second, which addresses the past, the third addresses the present. Horace, following Aristotle, does not pass judgment on whether one mode is better than the other; each is fitted to its function. In the Middle Ages, however, the contrast

[36] W. Trimpi, "The Meaning of Horace's *Ut Pictura Poesis*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), pp. 1-34. Trimpi elaborates his analysis in two further publications: "The Quality of Fiction: The Rhetorical Transmission of Literary Theory", *Traditio*, 30 (1974), pp. 1-118, and "The Early Metaphorical uses of **ΣΚΙΑΓΡΑΦΙΑ** and **ΣΚΗΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ**", *Traditio*, 34 (1978), pp. 403-413.

between the deliberate and forensic modes, between the distant view and close-up scrutiny, was translated into ethical terms: the former failed because it failed to allow for inspection and, by extension, introspection. A rhetorical distinction became a moral discrimination rooted in a set of morally charged oppositions: outer vs. inner, fiction vs. history, distortion vs. truth, and, most consequentially for the history of art, color (*colorito*), associated with the body and the senses, and line (*disegno*), associated with the mind and idea.[37] What one painted and, no less important, how one painted it, became a matter of morals.

Reading in the Cloister

These very questions, namely, whether to work in words or images, and how to regard the results, impinge on the reading of the illustrated *Ars poetica*. The initial prefacing the text not only represents the interrelationships among author, poem and audience, it also compels the reader to confront and contemplate them in ethical terms. The initial poses the question that had tormented Christian commentators from the time of Tertullian and Jerome: how to read the classics, in this case, Horace, without undergoing the risk of moral contamination?[38] How to look at this initial, a studied visualization of a monstrous image conjured up by an untamed, even perverse, imagination, and draw the correct conclusion, namely, that such images should be rejected?

This, in effect, is the same question posed by the most famous of the *Ars*' medieval readers, Bernard of Clairvaux, who in his *Apologia ad Guillelmum* evokes Horace to decry the use of monstrous images in the sculpted capitals that ring monastic cloisters (or, as some have argued, the initials in early Cistercian manuscript illumination).[39] The passage is so well-known that it hardly bears reproducing. To reread it, however, side-by-side with the manuscript in

[37] See E. Panofsky, *Idea: Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1924, trans. as *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, New York, 1968. For the Middle Ages, to which Panofsky gives relatively short shrift, see the supplement and corrective provided by W. Hübener, "*Idea extra artificem*: zur Revisionsbedürftigkeit von Erwin Panofskys Deutung der mittelalterlichen Kunsttheorie", in L. Grisebach and K. Renger (eds.), *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt a. M., 1977, pp. 27-52. From the vast literature on the concept of *disegno*, I cite only R. Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne,* Cambridge, 1997, pp. 29-72, and C. Pace, "Disegno e colore", in *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York: Grove, 1996, vol. 9, pp. 6-9. M. Poirier, "Pietro da Cortona e il dibattito disegno-colore", *Prospettiva*, 16 (1979), pp. 23-30.

[38] See H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Christian Writers*, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis: Årsskrift, 64/2, Göteborg, 1958; N. Adkin, "Jerome's Vow "Never to reread the Classics": Some Observations", *Revue des études anciennes*, 101 (1999), pp. 161-167; and R. Schnell, "Die Rezeption der Antike", in H. Krauss (ed.), *Europäisches Hochmittelalter*, Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, 7, Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 217-242.

[39] To what extent Bernard's verbal construction of monstrosity actually matches extant examples has been the subject of debate; see C. Rudolf, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art*, Philadelphia, 1990, and A. M. Kosegarten, "Remarks on some Medieval Descriptions of Sculpture", in M. Haines (ed.), *Santa Maria del Fiore: the Cathedral and its Sculpture. Acts of the International Symposium for the VII Centenary of the Cathedral of Florence, Florence, Villa I Tatti, 5–6 June 1997*, Villa I Tatti Series, 18, Fiesole/Florence, 2001, pp. 19-46. See also C. Gilbert, "A Statement of the Aesthetic Attitude around 1230", *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts*, 13/2 (1985), 125-151, Cfr. G. Boto, "Representaciones románicas de monstrous y seres imaginarios: Pluralidad de atribuciones funcionales", in *El mensaje simbólico del*

Barcelona, which was written during Bernard's lifetime, helps place the manuscript's illumination in the proper light:[40]

> But in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read—what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? The striped tigers? The fighting soldiers? The hunters blowing horns? You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back; here a creature which horned in front is equine behind In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God. Good God! If one is not ashamed of the absurdity, why is one not at least troubled at the expense?

As has often been observed, Bernard's scrutiny of such images—exactly the kind of close observation forensic rhetoric required—betrays, beyond close study, deep fascination, even obsession. The drama enacted in the initial lends form to nightmare visions of pollution and temptation.[41] One can almost imagine that the three men in the initial who gawk at the monstrous woman are the brethren who, distracted by such curiosities, neglect their reading, putting their books aside as does Horace in the image, thereby falling prey to the very vice his poem derides. To look at the poem's very first letter before one has begun to read is, in effect, to lower oneself in the manner of the poet, who, at least as depicted, aligns himself with the monster's lower half and, in particular, her genitalia.

The question of how to approach pagan literature, Horace's *Ars poetica* included, was one of which any monastic reader would have been acutely aware. Historians of medieval rhetoric are at pains to point out that the way in which Horace was read in the Middle Ages differed from the manner in which he was approached in Antiquity. For Horace's readers Latin was a living language, a vernacular. In the Middle Ages, Horace lived on, but under very different conditions in which Latin had to be acquired, a protracted, even painful process, at least to judge from the many images of Grammar personified, in which she holds in her hands a switch with which to beat her students.[42] As Rita Copeland has observed, in the post-Antique period, Horace paradoxically only became "classical" in a qualitative as well as historical sense

imaginario románico, Aguilar de Campoo, 2007, pp. 78-115, esp. pp. 87-88, and K. Doyle, "Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia as a Work of Medieval Rhetoric", in *Liber amicorum Paul Crossley*, 2 vols., ed. Z. Opačić, Turnhout, 2011, vol. 2 (*Architecture, Liturgy and Identity*), Turnhout, 2011, pp. 95-101.

[40] Translation from Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance"*, p. 106.

[41] Th. E. A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa", *Art Bulletin*, 83 (2001), pp. 402-436. See also K. Ambrose, *The Marvelous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013, 106, who speaks of monsters as "the hallucinatory complement of the transgressions of mythology and sacred violence." On the origins of historiated capitals, see also W. Sauerländer, "Die gestörte Ordnung oder 'le chapiteau historié'", in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12./13. Jahrhundert*, H. Beck and K. Hengevoss-Dürkop (eds.), 2 vols., Frankfurt a. M., 1994, pp. 431-456.

[42] See L. Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c. 1100-1220*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2016, pp. 37-39 and 46-52.

once he was translated into modern vernaculars.[43] For medieval readers, his corpus served, above all else, as a pragmatic classroom aid and, as Copeland puts it, a "fixture of the grammatical curriculum."

Horace, however, and, in particular, the opening of the *Ars poetica* posed more than grammatical challenges. As articulated by Caroline Bynum, Bernard's own fascination with the monsters in the cloister, which in turn brought Horace to his mind, gave expression to his (and his era's) deeper concern with mixtures and impurities of all kinds, moral and philosophical as well as rhetorical[44]. The *Apologia* shows him both appalled by, yet also irresistibly drawn to mutable, monstrous forms. Bynum draws an instructive distinction between metamorphosis, which, in her terms, remains a narrative process, in contrast to hybridity, which is based on paradox, resists change, and represents a double being[45]. In Bynum's words, a hybrid is "a double being, an entity of parts, two or more. It is an inherently visual form. We see what a hybrid is; it is a way of making two-ness, and the simultaneity of two-ness, visible."[46] The very word monster derives from the Latin "to show" (*monstrare*).[47] This showing in turn involves a process of corporealization[48]. This making visible is precisely what the initial in Barcelona accomplishes. The hybridity in question, however, is more than that of the monster herself. It extends to embrace the divide between the author and his text, between them both and the poem's readers, and, not least, between the text and its illustration, to which, however, it remains joined at the hip by virtue of the letter *H* (Humano), which constitutes an inseparable part of the text it supplements.

If for Horace rhetorical mixtures represented a stylistic obscenity, for Bernard, they embodied the fallen nature of humanity itself. As Bernard was at pains to point out, whether writing about the exalted humanity of Christ or his own fallen humanity, humankind itself represents a hybrid, in keeping not only with the doctrine of the Incarnation, but also with the ancient notion, most influentially articulated by Plato in the *Timaeus* (90A) that man is an inverted tree (*arbor inversa*)[49]:

> And concerning the most sovereign form of soul in us we must conceive that heaven has given it each man as a guiding genius—that part which we say dwells in the summit of our body and lifts us from earth towards our celestial affinity, like a plant whose roots are not in earth, but in the heavens. And this is most true, for it is to the heavens, whence the soul first came to birth, that the divine part attaches the head or root of us and keeps the whole body upright.

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[43] R. Copeland, "Horace's *Ars poetica* in the Medieval Classroom and Beyond: The Horizons of Ancient Precept", in Grady and Galloway (eds.), *Answerable Style*, pp. 15-33.

[44] C. W. Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, New York, 2001, in particular, chapter 3: "Monsters, Medians, and Marvelous Mixtures: Hybrids in the Spirituality of Bernard of Clairvaux", pp. 113-162.

[45] Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, p. 29.

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 30.

[47] See, e.g., L. Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages*, New York/London, 2005, p. 3: "Monsters, in fact, are so called as warning, because they explain something of meaning, or because they make known at once what is to become visible."

[48] S. A. Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body*, New York/London, 2010, p. 2.

[49] A. B. Chambers, "'I Was But an Inverted Tree': Notes Toward the History of an Idea", *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), pp. 291-299.

By this measure, the monster represented the world upside-down, a descent from the fully human (the head) to the bestial (the tail). In his tract On Charity, Innocent III allegorizes Horace's composite creature to spell out the wages of sin.[50] Having quoted the critical line from the *Ars poetica* ("If a painter should wish to unite a horse's neck to a human head, and spread a variety of plumage over limbs of different animals taken from every part of nature, so that what is a beautiful woman in the upper part terminates unsightly in an ugly fish below"), Innocent spins a variation on Horace's monster to warn his reader that if his end (the tail, i.e., his death) does not match his beginning (the head, i.e., his birth), he will generate a moral monster by passing through a middle represented by the belly of a goat (i.e., lust), finally ending as a rapacious wolf. Rather than an ordered poem, Innocent's concern is an ordered, regularly arranged life.

Innocent III was hardly the only student of Horace to deploy the opening lines of the *Ars poetica* in moralizing manner. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156) harnessed the opening lines of the *Ars poetica* to characterize a dishonest man as one who "unites to a human head a horse's neck and the feathers of a bird".[51] In the Toledan Collection, commissioned and in part authored by Peter, which incorporates the first Latin translation of the Koran, the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, a polemical summary of Muslim beliefs, draws on the same source to characterize Islam itself as a monstrous medley of contradictory beliefs: "and thus utterly monstrously, as he says, he [Muhammed] joined to 'the human head a horse's neck and the feathers' of birds".[52] Muhammed himself was thought to have borne from birth a mark, interpreted in the Islamic tradition as a sign of prophetic calling, but in the medieval West seen as a monstrous sign identifying him with the Beast of the Apocalypse.[53]

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[50] *Libellus de eleemosyna*, *PL* 217, col. 760A: *Diabolus quandoque hominem irritat ad bonum, ut de bono gravius malum eliciat. Con-tra hunc daemonis insultum valet perseverantia, ut de bono fine bona claudantur initia. Bona enim inchoare, et malo fine concludere, est monstruosa confingere. Illa enim ac-tio chimaera est, quae initium habet a ratione, finem vero a sensualitate. Cum enim sic agitur: humano capiti cervicem pictor depingit equinam, et sic varias inducit infructu-osas que plumas. Cave ergo, o homo, ne actio tua monstra pariat, neque gignat praestigia. Enormis enim fructus viventis, si capiti non respondeat finis. Sunt enim quidam, quorum vita monstrum mirabile est, quorum initium bonum quasi caput hominis prae-tendit: medium vero in luxuriam descendens ventrem caprae praetendit: ad ultimum in rapacitatem devians lupae pedes ostendit. … O homo, per perseverantiam brevitatem vitae redimis, nullum tempus incassum transire permittis. Compositae mentis est posse consistere in bono, et in bono morari.*

[51] *Epistulae* 111, in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, G. Constable (ed.), Harvard Historical Studies, 78, Cambridge, MA, 1967, p. 297, line 23: *Et ne est toto inhonestus proderetur, studium elemonsinarum, et quaedam opera misericordiae commendat, orationes collaudat, et sic undique monstuosus, ut ille ait, humano capiti equinam cervicem, et plumas avium copulat.* Cited by Dale, "Monsters", p. 130, without, however, the source in Horace being identified.

[52] See J. Kritzek, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, 1964, p. 208: *et sic undique monstruosus, ut ille ait, 'humano capiti cervicem equinam, et plumas' aviam copulat. … Dehinc processu temporis et erroris, in regem ab eis quod cocupierat, sublimatus est.* Translation from M. Uebel, "Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saracen Alterity", in J. J. Cohen (ed.), *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, Minneapolis, MN, 1996, pp. 264-291, esp. 276. See also G. Boto, "Marginalia o la fecundación de los contornos vacíos", in J. Yarza Luaces, *La Miniatura Medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Murcia, 2007, n. 132-135.

[53] See W. Cahn, "The 'Portrait' of Muhammad in the Toledan Collection", in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. E. Sears and T. K. Thomas, Ann Arbor, MI, 2002, pp. 50-60, who notes Peter's use of Horace. See also E. Borrell Vidal, "Mahoma clàssic: Autors clàssics a les Vitae Mahumeti", in *Omnia mutantur:*

Fig. 4. Grotesque. Horace, Ars Poetica, Sermones, Epistulae, and a Life of Horace, with glosses, Germany, 1150–75. London, British Library, Royal MS 15 B VII, f. 3v (photo: © British Library Board)

Used to demonize and bestialize foreigners and practitioners of other faiths—in short, anyone who was Other—Horace's description of a monstrous combination of human and animal elements was also inescapably misogynistic in import. The friends to whom Horace's poem is addressed are male. For them, his description of a woman with a fishtail would have brought to mind treacherous Sirens, who lure the unsuspecting men who succumb to their charms to their deaths.[54] A Siren-like creature, apparently added to the manuscript, fills the space left blank before the *Ars poetica* in a German copy of Horace's works dating the third quarter of the twelfth century. (Fig. 4) More specifically, it would have evoked the Scylla of Virgil's *Aeneid* (3.346–427), whom the poet describes as *pulchro pectore virgo / pube tenus, postremo immani corpre pistrix*.[55] If form is male, then deformation is female. As Ellen Oiliensis has observed, it is not by chance that the first word in Horace's poem, *Humano* is followed by *capiti*: head. Men and women not only represent but also embody polar opposites; whereas men are associated with the head, that is, with the intellect, women embody the lower appetites in which, in the initial, the author, Horace, takes an unseemly, indeed, unmanly, interest. The contrast between head and foot or, in this case, fishtail (drawing on the age-old association of prostitutes with fish) echoes the Ciceronian characterization of the twofold nature of the soul as constituted by reason and appetite.[56] On this reading, Horace's implicit message is that appetites, like horses, must be reined in; animal instincts must be suppressed.

Portals and Pudenda

One essential component of the complex initial for the *Ars poetica* has yet to be addressed: its architecture, which supplements the minuscule *h* formed by the figures with a

Canvi transformació: I pervivència en la cultura clàssica a les seves llengües i en el seu llegat, Barcelona, 2016, vol. 2, pp. 155-162.

[54] M. Kern, "Der gefährliche Mythos vom Singen: Musen und Sirenen in der europäischen Literatur des Mittelalters", *Troianalexandrina: anuario sobre literatura medieval de materia clásica*, 5 (2005), pp. 125-151; J. Leclercq-Marx, "Du monstre androcéphale au monstre humanisé: à propos des sirènes et des centaures, et de leur famille, dans le haut Moyen Age et à l'époque romane", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 45 (2002), pp. 55-67; and Ead., "Los monstruos antropomorfos de origen antiguo en la Edad Media: persistencias, mutaciones y recreaciones", in *II Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, M. V. Chico Picaza (ed.), *Anales de historia del arte*: Volumen extraordinario, Madrid, 2010, pp. 259-274, all with ample bibliography.

[55] As noted by E. Oliensis, *Horace and the Authority of Rhetoric*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 200.

[56] Oliensis, *Horace*, pp. 200-201.

majuscule *H* delineated by the two cylindrical, domed towers, each with a single window, connected by crenellations. Although in the upper half of the initial, the architecture stands out clearly, in the lower half, only small parts of the towers remain visible. The towers serve as frame, backdrop and matrix for the acrobatic assemblage, an aspect accentuated by the colored ground, which serves as a foil for the figurative elements. Whereas in the upper portion, the foursquare disposition of green and ruddy orange (minium?) reinforces the architectonic symmetry of the towers, in the lower section, the diagonal of the diaper pattern, which runs through the center of the composition, almost as if the figure of Horace had a third arm, accentuates his role as a fulcrum mediating between, on the one hand, the monster positioned at lower left and, on the other, his addressees at the upper right.

Fig. 5. Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel. Munnio and Dominico, Silos Beatus, northern Spain, 1091–1109. London, British Library, Add. MS 11695, f. 266r (photo: © British Library Board)

The initial's architecture adopts an immediately recognizable form. Suggestive in some respects of an early medieval church façade, it represents a city gate of a type that from pre-Greek and Roman antiquity had been associated with rulership, the forms of which were later assimilated into church façades[57]. Familiar from coins and seals, including some imperial *bulla* of Charlemagne, as well as from actual monuments, the city gate served tout court as an emblem of imperium, combining and conflating references to *urbs* and *orbis*. A powerful example of this iconography occurs in the Silos *Beatus*, dated ca. 1100 and thus more or less contemporary with the Horace in Barcelona, in which Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel is appended to the Apocalypse *per se*.[58] (Fig. 5) The

[57] E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, 30, Princeton, 1956. See also G. Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. with introduction by K. Wallis; afterword by H. J. Böker, New York, 2005, pp. 88-95.

[58] See most recently A. Boylan, "The Silos Beatus and the Silos Scriptorium", in T. Martin and J. A. Harris (eds.), *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 26, Leiden/Boston, 2005, pp. 173-205, and, in the same volume, Á. Franco, "Observations on the Illustrations of the Silos Beatus Manuscript", 207–233. See also J. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus, A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 4: *The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, London, 2002, pp. 31-40.

proud King Nebuchadnezzar towers above the prophet, his body more or less of a piece with the two-towered façade that frames him. Just as Daniel points to the king in a pronounced deictic gestures, so too Horace draws attention to the giant-like monster who towers over him. No less relevant are other images from Beatus manuscripts, in particular, those representing the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, recounted in Daniel 2, in which the great statue seen by the king in his dream, often identified as an idol, itself takes the form of a monster assembled of disparate parts made of various materials: gold, silver, brass, iron and clay (Dn 2:31).[59]

Fig. 6. The Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Oveco, Valcavado Beatus, Palencia, 970. Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, Ms 433 (ex ms. 390), f. 195v (photo: after facsimile)

Just as the initial juxtaposes the poet Horace with a representation of the content of his poem, so too a page in the Valcavado Beatus (Santa Cruz Palace), copied by the monk Oveco in 970, juxtaposes the king asleep in his bed with an image of the content of his dream, at the lower left, the giant statue in its composite state just before it is dashed to pieces by "a stone cut out of a mountain without hands", to the right, the body fragments into which it devolves: "the head of … fine gold, the breast and the arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass: And the legs of iron, the feet part of iron and part of clay" (Dn 2:32–33).[60] (Fig. 6) There is no question of such images having served as sources for the artist of the manuscript in Barcelona, who clearly had read the poem closely. Nonetheless, the underlying concept is the same: a vision of a terrifying composite monster, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, literally the stuff of a nightmare portending death and decline, in that of the Horace, a no less petrifying vision of sexual depravity and monstrous appetites.

One could argue that the illuminator resorted to using a gate simply because its form evoked the letter of which he was in need. As previously noted, however, the resonance

[59] See J. Grillo, "Worship and Idolatry in the Book of Daniel through the Lens of Tertullian's *De idololatria*", in N. MacDonald and K. Brown (eds.), *Monotheism in Late Prophetic and Early Apocalyptic Literature*, Studies of the Sofja Kovalevskaja Research Group on Early Jewish Monotheism, 7; Forschungen Zum Alten Testament, 2nd series, 72, Tübingen, 2014, pp. 247-262.

[60] *Beato de la Universidad de Valladolid. Códice originario del monasterio de Valcavado (Palencia).* Año 970, ed. J. A. Fernández Flórez et al., Madrid, 2000.

Fig. 7. Entry into Jerusalem, Lectionary, Salzburg, ca. 1070–1090. New York, P. Morgan Library and Museum, MS. M.780, f. 26r. Purchased on the Lewis Cass Leyard Fund (photo: P. Morgan Library & Museum)

between the form of the monster's body, which is framed by its long, dangling arms, and that of the gate itself, seems more than coincidental. The resonance takes on an altogether different tenor when one considers that the gate effectively doubles the opening in the monster's body, to which the depicted Horace draws the reader's attention. A multiple metonymy is in play. The opening in the city's defenses signifies the opening in the beast-woman's body, exposed for all to see. By extension, the male reader is asked to penetrate the body of the text, which is gendered female; the initial represents and gives corporeal form to the opening of the poem.

If such a reading seems farfetched, then it is worth considering that in medieval misogynist verse, terms such as *porta* (gate) and *janua* (a double-doored entrance) were used to describe female genitalia.[61] According to Tertullian, woman was quite simply "the devil's

[61] R. E. Pepin, "The Dire Diction of Medieval Misogyny", *Latomus* 52/3 (1993), pp. 659-663, esp. 660.

gateway": "You are the devil's gateway: you are the unsealer of that (forbidden) tree: you are the first deserter of the divine law: you are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man".[62] The passage comes from the beginning of the very first chapter in Tertullian's tract, *On the Dress of Woman*.[63] In addition to bringing to mind such invective, the initial's architecture further evokes the archetypal scene of entry at a city gate, Christ entering Jerusalem (Lc 19:28–40), itself modelled on representations of imperial *adventus*.[64] In an only slightly earlier miniature of the Entry in a lectionary from Salzburg, itself modelled on a Byzantine ivory of the same subject, the analogies become apparent. (Fig. 7) Surrounding the scene is an architectural frame marked, as in the initial, by two towers, in this case, each with an open door and a line of battlements, which open above Christ's head to form a semicircle suggestive of an honorific baldachin. Overall, the frame suggests both a church façade and hence the ecclesiastical framework within which sacred history of which this particular narrative episode forms a part unfolds, and the fortified gate through which Christ entered the city of Jerusalem (a type of the Heavenly Jerusalem into which believers shall be granted entry in the fullness of time). In the initial to the *Ars poetica*, the figure of Horace bending over assumes the place occupied in the Entry by man at the lower right who spreads his "clothes underneath in the way" (Lc 19:36); the two men at the upper right, that of the onlooker who has clambered high into a tree so as better to see. An image of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem may well have served the illuminator as a model. If so, the initial offers not a portal to heaven but rather, potentially, a pathway to hell.

Horace and the Historiated Initial

Of the over 800 extant manuscripts of Horace's works that survive from the Middle Ages, a vast number by any measure, only a tiny number receive figural decoration of any kind. The initial prefacing the *Ars poetica* is but part of a more ambitious program of decoration that, to the best of my knowledge, makes the manuscript the most extensively illuminated copy of Horace's works prior to the Renaissance.[65] Most of the initials in the manuscript take the form of what normally (and too innocuously) would be called "decorative" letters and

[62] Cited by R. H. Bloch, "Medieval Misogyny", *Representations* 20 (1987), pp. 1-24, esp. 11. See further Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*, pp. 65–91.

[63] In *De contemptu mundi* by Bernardus Molanensis (Morlaix), also known as Bernard of Cluny, a poem of 3000 verses written during the first half of the twelfth century, the poet, marshalling a torrent of misogynistic vituperation, some drawn from Juvenal, writes: *Pars ea frangitur, ista resolvitur ordine torto. … / Corpora perdita, tritaque semita, publica porta. / Luxuries viget, impietas riget, undat iniquum; / Inquinat omnia turba nefaria, grex meretricum. … / Horrida noctua, publica janus (janua), dulce venenum*. See *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, T. Wright (ed.), London, 1872, vol. 2, pp. 43-73, esp. 55.

[64] See E. Dinkler, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen im Anschluß an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment, mit einem epigraphischen Beitrag von Hugo Brandenburg*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 167, Opladen, 1970; and E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1958, pp. 71-76.

[65] It is certainly more elaborately illustrated than any of the manuscripts discussed by Villa, "'Ut poesis pictura'", which, while the manuscript in Barcelona unmentioned, nonetheless remains, to the best of my knowledge, the fullest treatment of the topic.

can be divided into several categories: white-vine initials, some of which include the biting heads of dogs or other animals (47), followed in frequency by zoomorphic initials (12), simple majuscule initials (3), and initials with modest geometric designs (2). Most but not all of these letters, which mark the beginnings of individual poems are placed against particolored grounds. Protean in their forms, in which dogs, serpents and other creatures combine with one another or are devoured by or disgorged from each other in an often violent process of metamorphosis, the zoomorphic initials in particular echo, embody and exemplify the monstrous mixtures that constitute the object of the poet's indignation in the *Ars poetica*. Given that they are found throughout the manuscript, its entire fabric would seem to fly in the face of the poet's aesthetic advice.

Historiated initials are fewer in number, just shy of two dozen (23). Compared, however, to the insignificant number found in the inconsequential percentage of manuscripts of Horace that contain any decoration whatsoever, their use throughout the manuscript in Barcelona underscores its remarkable character.[66] Most comparable to the opening of the *Ars poetica* in size, complexity and character is the 10-line initial *M* that introduces the *Carmina* with the dedication to Maecenas: "Maecenas, descended from royal lineage, my protection, my fame and my joy …" (Fig. 8) Two men, both upright and looking towards the bifurcated, braided tree at the center, constitute the two uprights of the majuscule letter; the two diagonals that meet at the base of tree take the form of an addorsed goat and hound, each standing on its hindlegs. The lower appendages of man and beast alike are entangled in the vine-like branches at the base of the tree, which look like roots, but which spring from two trunks in the lower left and right corners of the composition before becoming fully entwined along the central axis. The man on the left, who holds an open book in his right hand and clasps the left foreleg of the goat with his right, represents the poet, Horace; the man on the right, who wears a chlamys and holds the right foreleg of the hound in his right hand, represents the patron, Maecanas. The way in which even the hound turns its head to hear Horace's poem identifies the poet as akin to Orpheus. Maecenas' garments and his hound identify him as belonging to a higher social class than Horace. In his left hand, Maecanas holds a spear, the shaft of which coincides with the right-hand border of the initial; beneath the tip, with marks the upper right corner, flies a pennant that extends into the space to the right occupied by the rubric. Accompanied by his hound, the man to the right could be taken for "the huntsman, without a thought for his young wife, [who] stays out beneath the freezing sky if a deer has been sighted by the faithful hounds, or a Marsian boar has broken through the fine-spun net." (ll. 26–28), one of the many figures with whom the poet contrasts himself, drawing a comparison between the active and contemplative life that would have resonated with his monastic readers. Wearing the crown of "ivy, the reward of poetic brows", that "puts me in the company of the Gods above" (ll. 29–30), the poet stands in "the cool grove, and the light-footed bands of Nymphs and Satyrs

[66] For a census of medieval manuscripts of Horace, see Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins*, vol. 1, pp. 421-522, and vol. 3/2, pp. 61-78, lists which does not include the manuscript in Barcelona, and the trio of articles by C. Villa, "I manoscritti di Orazio I", *Aevum*, 66/1 (1992), pp. 95-135; Ead., "I manoscritti di Orazio II", *Aevum* 67/1 (1993), 55-103, and Ead., "I manoscritto di Orazio III", *Aevum*, 68 (1994), pp. 117-146. See also Ead., "Censimento dei codici di Orazio", in *Orazio: Enciclopedia oraziana*, P. de Paolis et al. (eds.), Rome, 3 vols. (1989-1998), vol. 1, pp. 319-329.

set me apart from the crowd" (ll. 30–32).[67] The crown of ivy on the poet's head is matched by the crown of yet a third tree trunk that envelops his body before ascending behind his back. Patron and poet are clearly separated, yet they are also inextricably intertwined.

Fig. 8. Horace and Maecenas. Horace, Poetical Works, northwestern Spain or southwestern France, 1100–1150. Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1845, f. 7r (photo: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya)

The poet's addressees appears in a number of other initials in ways that make them interlocutors in dialogue with the body of the text, which stands in for that of the poet.[68] Lyde, the recipient of Ode III.28 (f. 50v), holds in his outstretched arms a lyre forming the cross strokes of the *F* of the first line: "Festo quid potius die …, " "How could I better spend Neptune's feast day?" His tongue loosened by wine, the speaker of the poem, Horace himself, sings "of Neptune … and the -haired Nereids" while "you [i.e., Lyde] will sing with your curved lyre of Latona and the arrows of swift-footed Cynthia" (ll. 10–12). The initial lends Lyde a voice by making his body extend from the capital *L* that marks the introduction of his name at the beginning of the poem's third line to its repetition in the poem's rubric, "AD LIDEN." In similar fashion, the I-initial for *Carmen* I.29, addressed to Iccius, opens with the addressee occupying the body of the first letter of his name, which is also the first letter of the poem: "What now, Iccius? Have you got your eye on the rich treasure of the Arabs? Are you preparing a fierce campaign against the as yet unconquered princes of Sheba, and forging fetters for the fearsome Mede?" (ll. 1–5) The steep incline of the letter, which tilts markedly to the right, leaning into the text, destabilizes the figure and lends embodiment to his desire for glory, which has led him to abandon the pursuit of philosophy ("you, who have collected from every quarter the famous Panaetius' books and the whole Socratic school, are now hell-bent on exchanging the lot for a Spanish breastplate?", ll. 13–15). The young soldier (*puer*) in chainmail with sword and shield, whose spear forms the other half of the letter *A*, introduces Ode III.2 (f. 34v), *Angustam amice pauperiem pati* …, "A youngster should be toughened by the rigors of a soldier's life", better known for the famous line 13: *Dulce et decorum est*

[67] Horace is portrayed wearing a crown of ivy in the full-length portrait placed in the margin of a manuscript copy of his works, dated ca. 1200, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1592, f. 6v, reproduced in *Orazio: Enciclpedia oraziana*, vol. 1, color pl. XXII.

[68] Unfortunately, restrictions on the number of figures permitted for this essay prevent illustration of the all of the historiated initials. I have therefore limited myself to those that are absolutely essential to my argument.

pro patria mori, "It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country".[69] The contrast in sentiment between this poem and that of Ode addressed to Iccius demonstrates the difficulty of identifying the speaker of any given poem with Horace himself. Also gesturing towards the gloss is the man, whether Maecenas or Horace remains unclear, contorted into the shape of the letter *C*, who prefaces *Carmen* 17, *Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?*, which begins (ll. 1–4): "Why do you worry me to death with your grumbling? It is not the gods' will or mine that you should die first, Maecenas, you who are the great glory and keystone of my existence."

In Epode VII (f. 76v), *Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*, on the theme of civil war, Horace addresses his fellow Romans (ll:. 1–2): "Where, where are you rushing to in this evil madness? Why are you drawing swords that have only just been sheathed?" (Fig. 9a) The *Q* of the opening question (*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*) adopts a similar form of address, confronting the reader head on. The two addorsed horsemen, one of whom tramples a foot soldier whose body forms the tail of the letter, aptly capture the dynamic of civil strife: the whole comes asunder. The image represents a brilliant adaptation to the form of the initial of a Roman depiction of a quadriga, perhaps adapted from a mosaic, although in its basic arrangement the composition could also derive from the quadriga depicted on Roman imperial coins or representations of Sol as a *cosmocrator* driving the chariot of the sun across the sky.[70] The visual structure of two figures back to back is one that the illuminator employs elsewhere for initials that are circular in shape, for example, for the exclamation of Ode I.16 (14v): *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*, "O daughter more lovely than your lovely mother!" Interlaced beneath their outstretched arms, the two women's veil's echo the circular form of the larger letter. The consistent use of addorsed forms is more than a formal device that adds implied or suggested action to an otherwise static initial; it introduces a note of tension and opposition into what otherwise would be a straightforward scene.

As if responding to the poet's invocations, other initials make present various gods and personifications to whom the poems are addressed.[71] The wings of Mercury make up the *M* of his name at the beginning of Ode I.10 (11v: *Mercuri, facunde nepos Athlantis*), where, rather than taking flight, the divine messenger rests on a column. (Fig. 9b) Two other squat columns flank him to either side. The anti-heroic image, at odds with Horace's exaltation, perhaps represents a deliberate attempt to bring a pagan god down to earth, in which case the columns might be construed as a reference to idolatry. In Ode I.35 (21v), the poet seeks the support of Fortune (ll. 1–4): *O diua, gratum quae regis Antium*, "O goddess, you who reign over your favorite Antium, ready at hand to raise mortal flesh from the lowest level or to turn an arrogant triumph into a funeral cortege …" (Fig. 9c) Rather than the familiar image of a wheel that lifts up and dashes down those that inhabit its circumference (in effect, enacting the fall of all things that humans idolize), the artist shows *Fortuna* running headlong towards

[69] The gloss reads: *Hic ipse oracius romanos uituperat qui cum filios suos uirtutibus applicare deberent. Denarios suos numerat et solum mihi divicias custodire illos docent. Et dicit, angustam amice.*

[70] See B. Obrist, *La cosmologie médiévale: textes et images*, I. *Les fondements antiques*, Micrologus' Library, 11, Florence, 2004, p. 217; and E. Manders, *Coining Images of Power: Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193–284*, Impact of Empire, 15, Leiden/Boston, 2012, pp. 81-82.

[71] See E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art", *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 4 (1933), pp. 228-280.

Fig. 9a (Epode VII), b (Ode I.10), c (Ode 1.35), d (Ode 1.30). Horace, Poetical Works, northwestern Spain or southwestern France, 1100–1150. Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1845, ff. 76v, 11v, 21v, 28v (photos: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya)

the text, a spinning wheel in her hands.[72] In answer to the poet's petition, the addressee of Ode III.4 (f. 36v), Calliope, the muse of eloquence and epic poetry, appears within the initial seated on a *Faldstuhl*, holding in her hands an instrument that looks less like the lyre indicated by the poem than a viol (ll. 1–4): "Descend from heaven, Queen Calliope, and come, sing a lengthy song with the pipe or, if you prefer, with your clear voice alone, or with the strings and lyre of Phoebus." In the course of the Ode, Horace mentions several brushes with death, including one involving a falling tree (ll. 26–27: I was not destroyed by the rout of our line at Philippi, nor by that accursed tree", an exemplification of the sentiments expressed elsewhere (l. 65): "Power without good sense comes crashing down under its own weight." The same tree makes its appearance in the initial for Ode II.13, a warning against hidden dangers that begins (ll. 1–4; 10–12): "Whoever it was that planted you in the first place did so on an evil

[72] See O. Vassilieva-Codognet, "Aux origines de la roue de Fortune médiévale", *Art de l'enluminure* 61 (juin/août 2017), pp. 42-59; P. Pisani, *L'iconografia della ruota della fortuna*, Verona, 2011; M. Vollmer, *Fortuna diagrammatica: das Rad der Fortuna als bildhafte Verschlüsselung der Schrift "De consolatione philosophiae" des Boethius*, Apeliotes, 3, Frankfurt a. M., 2009; Joerg O. Fichte, Providentia – Fatum – Fortuna, Das Mittelalter 1/1, Berlin, 1996; G. Ruppelt, *Das Rad: Symbol und Mechanik*, Kleine Ausstellungen, 3, Wolfenbüttel, 1992; and E. Meyer-Landrut, *Fortuna: Die Göttin des Glücks im Wandel der Zeiten*, Munich/Berlin, 1997, pp. 37-134.

day, and with an unholy hand he raised you, Tree, to bring harm to his descendants and disgrace to the district. That wretch who set you up on my estate, you damned piece of lumber, yes you, to fall down on your innocent owner's head." In this case, the *I* of "Ille" tilts not towards but away from the text; the initial portrays Horace clutching the trunk of the tree as he seeks to escape from under it. In this case, the addressee of the poet's apostrophe is not a person, but an inanimate object.

Several other initials respond to this rhetorical device by depicting the object that is the focus of the poet's scorn or praise. In so doing, the illuminator resorts to word illustration. At least in this instance, to characterize the depiction of objects within initials as mnemonic devices falls short, in that, despite the relative profusion of illustration in the manuscript, the large majority of poems still lack any figural decoration whatsoever. Rather, the initials serve to heighten emphasis and to add color to any act of interpretation. For example, the initial for Ode III.13, "O fons Bandusiae", depicts the sacrifice of the kid goat promised by the poet (ll. 1–9): "O spring of Bandusia, more glittering than glass, who deserve sweet wine, yes, and flowers as well, tomorrow you will be presented with a kid, whose forehead is swollen with budding horns, marking him out for love and warfare—all in vain; for the offspring of the lustful herd will stain your cool streams with his red blood." (Fig. 10a) In this case, the particolored ground employed for most of the manuscript's initials takes on a representational function: the man on the left-hand side of the initial points to the minium that spills from the initial's lower half and seeps into mouth of the well to denote the blood of sacrifice.

In like fashion, the initial *P* for Epode III (f. 73v) responds to the poem's opening injunction, "Henceforth if anyone with unholy hand chokes the aged throat of his father, let him eat garlic, a plant more deadly than hemlock" (ll. 1–4), by depicting a man ostentatiously pointing out a garlic plant. (Fig. 10b) Whether the man with outstretched arms represents the poet drawing the reader's attention to the potent plant or the murderer condemned to consume it, the initial cleverly portrays both the plant and the "unholy hand." One cannot help but wonder if in this case, the initial is also intended as something of a joke, with the dangling root of the garlic plant attached to the bulb a punning reference on its adverse amatory effects. Horace's middle name was Flaccus (i.e., flaccid, hanging down), and the poet was not beyond punning on the name to suggest sexual impotence.[73] As Walter Ong once pointed out, the study of Latin doubled as a puberty rite.[74]

Offering praise rather than condemnation is the initial *O* for Ode III.21 (f. 46v), which opens (ll. 1–6): *O nata mecum consule Manlio*, "O born with me in Manlius' consulship, whether you bring with you reproaches or fun or quarrels and passionate love or ready sleep, o kindly jar, under whatever epithet you preserve the choice Massic, you deserve to be called forth on an auspicious day", before continuing (ll. 13–16): "You apply a gentle rack to natures

[73] W. Fitzgerald, "Power and Impotence in Horace's Epodes', *Ramus*, 17-2 (1988), pp. 176-191. See also J. M. McMahon, *Paralysin Cave: Impotence, Perception, and Text in the* Satyrica *of Petronius*, Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum, 176, Leiden/Boston, 1998, pp. 183-190.

[74] W. J. Ong, "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite", in W. J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture*, Ithaca, NY, 1971, pp. 113-141, a notion that, as noted by Ziolkowski, "Obscenities", p. 74, could equally well apply to the study of Latin in the Middle Ages.

Fig. 10a (Ode III.3), b (Epode III), c (Ode IV.1), d. (Ode I.33). Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1845, ff. 43r, 52v, 73v, 20v (photos: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya)

that tend to be stiff; you disclose the worries of the wise and their secret thoughts with the help of the cheerful Loosener." The initial shows a man, his arms crossed, holding a wine cup in one hand and pointing with the other to the "faithful jar" hanging from a tree. The initial doubles the demonstrative gesture represented by the poem itself with a deictic indicator of its principal subject. Word illustration can also take the form of an action, not simply a thing. The initial *Q* for the first verse of Ode III.25 (f. 48v), *Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?*, "Where are you hurrying me, Bacchus, full as I am of you?", portrays two men, addorsed, one holding the other by the hair and cutting it with a pruning knife that can be recognized by virtue of its characteristic curved blade. In this case, it appears, the initial playfully lends figural form to a metaphor buried within the poem, in which Horace sings (ll. 3–8) of how, inspired by wine, he will "sing on a momentous theme, that is modern and has never yet been sung by another's lips", that is, in praise of Caesar. Rather than showing Horace drinking or reciting, however, the initial offers something more akin to a rape or rapture, in which the god of wine, holding the pruning knife, appears ready to scalp the poet, perhaps a reference to the poem's final invocation (ll. 14–18): "O Lord of the Naiads and of the Bacchanals who have the strength to uproot tall ash trees with their bare hands, nothing small or in a low style, nothing mortal, shall I sing." In the translation of this passage, the poet takes the place of the uprooted tree and, in light of his imminent death, his song shall not be mortal. Once again, the initial seems

to offer a humorous twist. If the poet is seen as a vine that needs to be cut down to size, then, in contrast to the vainglory of the poem, the initial offers a more ironic perspective.

Not all those poems that begin with an apostrophe open with an initial depicting the addressee. If these initials effectively adopt the visual equivalent of direct speech, permitting the reader to assume the position of the poet and to visualize a vis-à-vis, others employ the equivalent of indirect speech by depicting an action described by the poem. Ode I.30 (f. 20r), "O Venus, regina Gnidi Paphique …", is addressed to Venus, whom the poet implores (ll. 1–4) to "abandon your beloved Cyprus and come across to the pretty shrine of Glycera, who summons you with clouds of incense." The short poem concludes with the imperative (ll. 4–8): "be sure your blazing boy comes hurrying with you, and the Graces and Nymphs with girdles undone, and Youthfulness, which without you has little charm, and Mercury too." Rather than simply portraying the goddess of love, the initial responds to the verses by showing a couple, presumably Horace and Venus herself, kissing and embracing. (Fig. 9d) In this instance, inspiration is given carnal form. Ode IV.1 also addresses the goddess of love, first with a question, then with an imperative (ll. 1–2): *Intermissa, Venus, diu rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor*, "Are you making war again, Venus, after so long a truce? Have mercy, I beg you, I beg you!" In this case, the poet, who claims to be too old for love, does not embrace the goddess, but rather shuns her advances, pointing to the rubric that prefaces the poem, "AD VENEREM DICIT", which is exactly what the initial shows him doing. (Fig. 10c)

Six further initials portray a dialogue between their protagonists. The initial for Ode I.12 (f. 28v) depicts Maecenas embracing Licmnia, his young wife, beneath a tree that forms the second upright of the letter *N*. That for Ode III.7 (f. 40r) shows the poet pointing to the question that forms the first lines (ll. 1–5) of his poem: "Why are you crying, Asterie, for Gyges, a young man of unshakable loyalty?" Overleaf, the initial for Ode III.9 (f. 41r), a dialogue between two lovers, shows the speaker (not the poet) kneeling, and Lydia, whom the speaker has jilted for Chloe, standing, engaged in a dialogue that promises reconciliation. Ode III.16 (f. 44r) also shows two lovers, the woman with arms crossed, the man gesturing to her with his right hand and pointing to his ear with his left. The gesture bespeaks an entreaty to listen; the plea is that of the poet to the lascivious Chloris, who, despite being an crone, continues to seek out lovers. Ode IV.13 (f. 61r) speaks in a similar, if more ribald, vein, beginning: "The gods have heard my prayers, Lyce; yes, the gods have heard them: you are growing old! And you still want to look pretty; you join in the fun and the drinking without any shame, and when you are tight you try to arouse the reluctant sex god with your tremulous singing." Lyce stands to the right, identified as an old woman by the veil over her head. The cup in hands underscores her drunkenness. The man to the left is either the youth upon whom she preys or else the poet who remonstrates with her, more likely the latter in that towards the end of the poem, the speaker identifies himself as one of the lovers of Lyce's, whom, in a backhanded slight, he notes (ll. 20–22) "was the girl who, after Cinara, won my heart, and was a beauty also well known for her delightful skills." As in the *Ars poetica*, the poem invites its readers (ll. 21–28) to laugh at an old hag, also by comparing her to an animal, in this case a cackling crow: "To Cinara the Fates granted just a few short years, but resolved to keep Lyce alive to rival an old crow in her longevity, so that hot-blooded lads might laugh and laugh at the sight of a torch that had crumbled into ashes."

In most, if not all, of these initials, love is portrayed in terms of conflict. This aspect comes to the fore in the initial to Ode I.33 (f. 20v), a poem that, in a manner that would inspire

many a play and opera, invokes a series of lovers star-crossed because the object of their desire loves someone else. (Fig. 10d) "Such", says the poet (ll. 10–12), "is the will of Venus, who, as part of a merciless prank, takes pleasure in harnessing incompatible minds and bodies under her brazen yoke." As if to capture such conflicts, the artist choses to construct the initial, not with two lovers embracing, but rather with a pair of men (rivals?) wrestling with one another. One has his hands around the other's waist; his opponent pushes with one hand against his antagonist's forehead to the point of poking him in the eye. Is part of the message that love is blind in the sense that it pays no need to futility? The most immediate model for the scene is biblical: Jacob wrestling the angel, but similar scenes of wrestling appeared in other contexts, for example, in a copy of Aristotles *Libri Naturales* from Oxford, dating to the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[75]

Just as love could be compared to war, so too, war could be described in terms of love or, more accurately, rape. Ode IV.4, written in praise of the military feats of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus (known as Drusus the Elder), Tiberius' younger brother and Augustus' stepson. The initial illustrates the first of two extended metaphors that compares the Roman hero's conquest of the Vindelici to the eagle of Jupiter who ravished Ganymede (ll. 1–14):

> Like the winged deliverer of the thunderbolt to whom Jupiter, king of the gods, gave kingship over the far-ranging birds, having found him faithful in regard to the flaxen-haired Ganymede at first, youth and his inherited strength pushed him from the nest unaware of the struggles that lay ahead; presently the spring breezes, after removing the storm clouds, taught him, still timid, new and strenuous maneuvers; before long a vigorous impetus sent him hurtling down to attack sheepfolds; now his love of feasting and fighting has driven him against serpents that fight back) … that was how the Vindelici saw Drusus as he marched to war beneath the Raetian Alps.

The metaphor is picked up again towards the end of the poem, where the poet draws a lesson (ll. 29–32): "The brave are born from the brave and good. Their sires' valor comes out in young bulls and horses; ferocious eagles do not father timid doves." The initial neatly divides the vehicle from the tenor of the metaphor. (Fig. 11) On the left, Jupiter's eagle seizes the hapless Ganymede in his talons by his hair; on the right, Drusus vanquishes his opponent, who stands in pars pro toto for his barbarian tribe. Ganymede's eyes have been scratched out, no doubt because in the Middle Ages, he embodied the sodomitical sin of pederasty.[76] In effect, by attacking the image, the reader assumes the role of Drusus in his battle against barbarians.

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[75] See M. Camille, "Illustrations in Harley MS 3487 and the Perception of Aristotle's *Libri Naturales* in Thirteenth-Century England", in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1985, pp. 31-44; and N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 4, London, 1982-1988, vol. 2: 1250-1285, no. 145.

[76] Of the many studies that could be cited, see I. H. Forsyth, "The Ganymede Capital at Vézelay", *Gesta*, 15 (1976), pp. 241-246; V. A. Kolve, "Ganymede / Son of Getron: Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire", *Speculum*, 73 (1998), pp. 1014-1067, R. Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 2014, pp. 209–236, and, for medieval interpretations of the myth, É. Wolff, "Quelques interprétations antiques et médiévales du mythe de Ganymède", in V. Gély (ed.), *Ganymède ou enchanson rapt, ravisement et ivresse poétique*, Nanterre, 2008, pp. 85-93. In the manuscript, Ode IV.4 remains without any marginal gloss. For medieval responses to Horace's Ode III.20, which also makes mention of Ganyede, see T. Chronopoulos, "Ganymede in the Medieval Classroom: Reading an Ode by the Roman Poet Horace", *Medium Aevum*, 86-2 (2017), pp. 224-248.

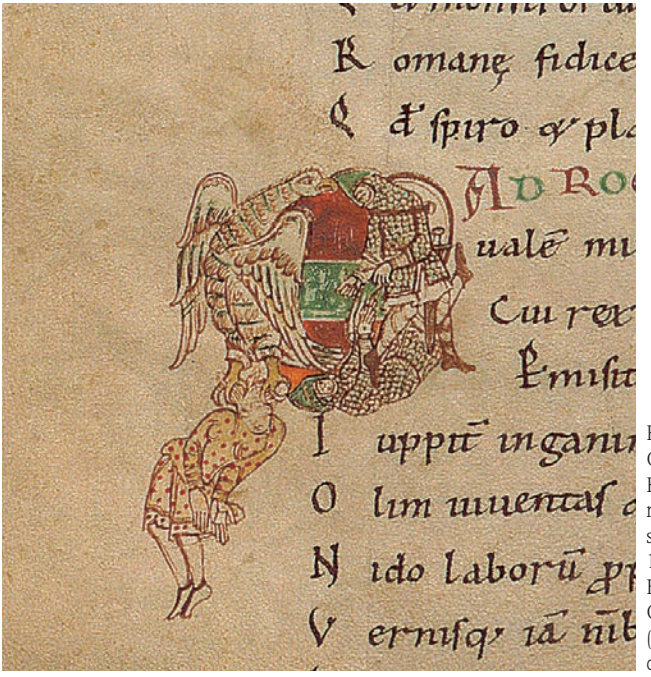

Fig. 11 The Rape of Ganymede (Ode IV.4). Horace, Poetical Works, northwestern Spain or southwestern France, 1100–1150. Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1845, f. 54v (photo: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya)

Now, however, at least in this moment of reader response, situated in the homosocial environment of the monastic classroom, the battle against barbarousness takes the form of attacking the sin of sodomy. When it comes to construing the meaning of the image, however, the targeted vandalism need not be read entirely as ex post facto. No less than the reader, the maker of the image could have been informed by a comparable animus.[77] The left-hand side of the initial, in which the giant bird takes the place of the head of the human "tail" of the letter *Q*, constitutes a monstrous mixture of its own, half man and half beast and as "unnatural" as homosexuality itself in the eyes of its audience or at least its maker.

To judge from extant material, the many initials of the Barcelona Horace make it the most extensively illustrated manuscript of its kind from the early or High Middle Ages. The manuscript, however, offers more than just another chapter in the medieval reception of one its most revered and respected schoolmasters. Despite accompanying the authoritative, even paradigmatic, statement on the aesthetics of the monstrous, the initials comment on the text in a manner no less telling or, in their own way, perverse than the moralizing glosses inscribed in the margins. Like those glosses, the initials invert the logic of *ut pictura poesis* enjoined on the

[77] For a comparable reading of an image of the Horatian witch, Canidia, added to a manuscript, see M. Otter, "Medieval Sex Education, or: What about Canidia?", *Interfaces*, 3 (2016), pp. 71-89. For the erasure of images, see M. Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts", in Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity*, pp. 139-154.

Fig. 12. Ambrose, De officiis (fragment), France, ca. 1120–1140. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, INV33409 recto. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY

reader at the outset of the *Ars poetica*, which encourages its audience, first, to imagine a monstrous image, but then to abjure its literary equivalent. In the manuscript as decorated, however, there is no avoiding the monstrous: Horace's advice (or, more accurately, that proffered by the poem's speaker, perhaps not identifiable with Horace himself) is ignored.[78] The initials, whether those that meld man and beast or those that simply revel in their protean transformations, make of such mixtures, not the aberration, but rather the rule to which the manuscript and, hence, "Horace" along with it, subscribes. Pagan gods (whether Mercury or Venus) appear in the manuscript's pages, but the anthropomorphism of antiquity gives way to an altogether different artistic vocabulary in which human form is subjected to pressures exerted, above all, in literal fashion by the letters of the text. Rather than standing apart from nature, the human participates in a pictorial continuum with the animal and, in the form of the white-vine initials with biting heads, the vegetable. Human form is subsumed to the letter of the text, to the point that, far from eschewing the monstrous, the poem itself becomes a menagerie of monstrous forms.

[78] K. Niehr, "Horaz in Hildesheim. Zum Problem einer mittelalterlichen Kunsttheorie", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 52-1 (1989), pp. 1-24, argues that an aquamanile from Hildesheim responds to Horace's *Ars poetica*. If so, it also effectively ignores the poet's advice by constructing a monstrous compound that runs counter to the poem's prescriptions. As noted by T. A. Heslop, " 'Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries'", *Art History* 9 (1986), pp. 1-11, J. J. G. Alexander, in his review of F. Avril & Y. Załuska, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne, I, vie-xiie siècle*, *Burlington Magazine* 124/955 (1982), p. 635, points to the critical passage in Horace in seeking to shed light on Romanesque composite initials.

A initial cut from a twelfth-century French copy of Ambrose's *De officiis*, dated ca. 1120–1140, exemplifies just how pervasive this vocabulary of the monstrously metamorphic was to become.[79] (Fig. 12) Although not an exact match for the monster Horace describes, the creature that stands rampant in the upper compartment of a large initial *N* springs from the same set of literary and pictorial sources.[80] Half horse and half bird, but with a partly human head, the monster echoes the pose of the man with a Phrygian cap entangled in the vine scroll filling the letter's lower compartment. Indeed, the vine from which the entire letter grows protrudes from the man's mouth, an effect compounded and reinforced by the multiplication of the same motif in the mouths that constitute the letter's serifs. The human, animal and vegetable mingle to the point of inextricability.

Conclusions

As an apparent unicum, the Horace in Barcelona cannot be considered paradigmatic when it comes to medieval attitudes to the monstrous. It nonetheless provides some pointers about how the myriad monstrous forms of medieval art were viewed by monastic audiences and how they might be interpreted today. Just as in medieval exegesis, which could offer readings *in bono* or *in malo* of just about any subject, modern interpreters have differed in their approach. Some insist on giving monsters a moral gloss; their departures from "natural" norms embody the demons of vice, sin and temptation.[81] Read in conjunction with Ambrose's text, however, which opens with a long disquisition on the virtues of prudent speech, it would be a stretch to insist that just as Horace warns against improper poetry, so too, the initial embodies Ambrose's warning against improper or impious speech. Others interpreters, among them Meyer Schapiro and, most recently, Mary Carruthers, suggest a different tack; in Carruther's words: "The goal of such fantastic creatures is not precept-based moral pedagogy. Rather their intention is aesthetic, to create particular sensory experiences." Carruthers continues: "And what experience do they provoke, these scenes of vigorous demonic activity, in the context of claustral study or liturgical prayer? *Varietas*, in the form of laughter (ridiculousness) or fearfulness (devil's torments) or *admiratio* (wonder at what is strange) for the bizarre and unexpected".[82] In this interpretation, which fits the initial cut from Ambrose quite well, monsters both provoke and perform the act of reading itself.[83]

The Horace in Barcelona proposes a somewhat different set of answers, itself a manifestation of *varietas*. At least as staged in the poem, Horace and his friends can laugh at monsters because they defy a horizon of expectations defined in terms of verisimilitude. For the makers

[79] F. Avril, N. Reynaud, and D. Cordellier, *Les Enluminures du Louvre: Moyen Àge et Renaissance*, Paris, 2011, p. 126 (cat. no. 66).

[80] Given the text on the verso of the initial, the *N* introduced the first sentence of Book I: *Non arrograns videri arbitror si inter filios suscipiam adfectum docendi …*

[81] See Dale, "Monsters", with additional bibliography.

[82] M. Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art", in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, New York, 1977, pp. 1-27; and M. Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 147-148.

[83] For an analogous, if hardly identical, approach to the initials of the St. Albans Psalter, see A. Kumler, "Handling the Letter", in K. Collins and M. Fisher (eds.), *St. Albans and the Markyate Psalter: Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century England*, Kalamazoo, MI, 2017, pp. 69-100.

of the manuscript, however, monsters embodied more than literary fictions; whether viewed as parts of God's creation or as manifestations of the demonic, they were real—real enough to warrant, as in the case of the composite initial depicting the rape of Ganymede, being attacked physically.[84] For all their irreality, monsters embodied the opposite of the ideal: they were ugly, grotesque and, within an aesthetic framework, anti-classical.[85] Monsters served as admonitions (from the Latin, *monere*, to warn); In the words of Isidore of Seville, "But omens (*monstrum*) derive their name from admonition (*monitus*), because in giving a sign they indicate (*demonstrare*) something, or else because they instantly show (*monstrare*) what may appear"[86]. In so far as the monstrous had become a moral marker and a prompt to spiritual edification, the values enshrined in Horace's Art had, much like a monster itself, been turned on their head.

In the end, then, our reading of the Horace in Barcelona turns out not to be that different from that offered by its ambitious initial for the *Ars poetica*, which carefully distinguished between the poet (or the persona of the poet), the audience, and subject of his poem as presented in a picture. For the illuminator, the rules regarding topical coherence and aesthetic unity laid down in the *Ars poetica* were observed in the breach.[87] For the scribe of the principal set of glosses, however, Horace's poems offered an opportunity for moralizing in the rhetorical tradition of *effictio ad vituperium*. Two others scribes offered more conventional glosses commenting on grammar, vocabulary and meter. And for the reader who attacked the initial relating the rape of Ganymede, there was no question as to whether the image offended. For them, as for us, there was or is no one way to read the monstrosity of the Middle Ages. In keeping with tradition, the monster embodies all manner of contradictions and, ultimately—part of what made it so provocative and dangerous—the lability of the imagination itself.

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[84] M. Citroni, "Horace's *Ars poetica* and the Marvellous", in P. Hardie (ed.), *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 19-40. For the reality of monsters in the medieval view of Creation, see C. Kappler, *Monstres, démons et merveilles à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1980; C. Lecouteux, *Les monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne: Essai de Présentation*, Cultures et civilisations médiévales, 10, Paris, 1993; K. Steel, "Centaurs, Satyrs, and Cynocephali: Medieval Scholarly Teratology and the Question of the Human", in A. S. Mittman and P. J. Dendle (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, Farnham, 2012, pp. 257-274; and D. Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature*, Montreal/Kingston, 1996, in which, curiously, no mention whatsoever is made of Horace.

[85] This is the context in which medieval monsters were studied by Jurgis Baltrušaitis. For a recent evaluation, see O. Žukauskienė, "Orderly Ugliness, Anamorphosis and Visionary Worlds: Jurgis Baltrušaitis' Contribution to Art History", in A. Pop and M. Widrich (eds.), *Ugliness: The Non-Beautiful in Art and Theory*, International Library of Modern and Contemporary Art, 12, London, 2014, pp. 190-215. See also H.-R. Jauss (ed.), *Die Nicht mehr schönen Künste; Grenzphänomene des Ästhetischen*, Poetik und Hermaneutik, 3, Munich, 1968.

[86] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* S. Barney et al. (eds.), Cambridge/New York, 2006, p. 243 (XI.ii.28–iii.2).

[87] For a comparable reading of a motet whose text evokes the opening of the *Ars poetica*, then, by virtue of its forms, flagrantly ignores the advice it offers, see A. Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet*, Cambridge, 2015, esp. pp. 70–95, where, p. 89, the author notes of a motet by Philippe de Vitry, "There is something contradictory in the emphasis that *In virtute/Decens* places on the hybrid creature in its *triplum* text. On the one hand, the creature is abhorrent – an example of what *not* to write. On the other hand, the entire second half of the motet is engineered so as to give it prominence. And since the two halves of the motet are different enough to belong to two different genres …, the entire work can be viewed as a *pictura*—on several simultaneous levels—of a monstrous being."