

The motives as disposed on the mitre band; they are about three to five inches apart. Center front of the mitre is between the mermaid and the centaur to the left of her. The hatched lines on the right of the second figure indicate the place where the mitre was folded and where the motives have worn away in consequence.

## SOME NOTES ON A TWELFTH-CENTURY BISHOP'S MITRE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

By

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Among the medieval textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Art there is a bishop's mitre with a brow-band and other trimming bands which are part of an unusually interesting twelfth-century group (Figs. 1-9). These bands are characterized by several striking motives woven in a complex and distinctive weave in colored silks and gold thread. Similar trimming bands, often studded with jewels, can be seen today on the carved robes of medieval statues of saints and kings.

This mitre, although certainly repaired and remade, 1 is the medieval type with two peaks, one rising at the front and one at the back, which are interpreted as indicating the Old and New Testament. The peaks are decorated with a narrow woven band (aurifrisium in titulo) which rises vertically at the front from the wider brow-band (aurifrisium in circulo). The narrow vertical band then crosses the space between the two peaks and descends to meet the brow-band at the back. Where the narrow band of the peaks joins the brow-band at the back, one can see that the brow-band has been pieced with another band of the same type but of different design which must have been introduced because the material of the main brow-band was not sufficient for the head size required (Fig. 9). At the back below the brow-band, there are two narrow strips made of similar material, which hung down at the back of the wearer. These are called the fanons and according to Rohault de Fleury represent the Spirit and the Flesh.2 The wide brow-band (8 1/2 cm. wide) which encircles the bottom of the mitre is decorated with a lion, two fantastic half human, half animal figures . . . a double-tailed mermaid and two centaurs. . . and a fourth figure who may represent Scylla or possibly Alexander the Great (Figs. 4-9). These figures, woven in green, pink (faded), white and purple silks (colors reserved in this period for ecclesiastical garments according to Rohault de Fleury), are arranged on the central part of the band which is set off, above and below, by a line of purple establishing a narrow edging at top and bottom, adorned with tiny animals and a few decorative motives in the same colors. The narrow bands which decorate the peaks of the mitre (5 1/2 cm. wide) contain geometric and animal patterns typical of the period and woven in two or more contrasting colors and gold thread. The two fanons (3 cm. wide) which hang down at the back of the mitre have a geometrically patterned gold ground set with roundels in white and pink containing a representation of the Lamb of God (Fig. 2). Borders and guard stripes are pink and purple. The end of each fanon is finished with a small piece from a different gold border with geometric patterns and with a long fringe.

There are a few other trimming bands of gold and silk threads and of comparable quality which were used to decorate medieval ecclesiastical vestments or imperial garments that have survived. Such bands have been traditionally known as Palermo bands and some are of the same distinctive type as the wide band on the Metropolitan Museum mitre. It is possible that trimming bands of similar width and superior quality were produced in Palermo workshops established by Roger II after he captured Greek weavers from the silk weaving centers of Corinth and Thebes and brought them to Sicily in order to set up court workshops that would rival the splendor of Byzantine court textiles. Existing records are sparse and not clear enough, however, to establish this supposition as fact. The full-length mosiac portrait of Roger II being crowned by Christ in the Martorana, Palermo, shows Roger wearing a long stole which must have been of similar design and workmanship.

The mitre in the Metropolitan Museum is said to have belonged to Bishop Hartmann (1140 - 1164) of Brixen, now called Bressanone. In 1930 the mitre was acquired from the convent of Neustift in Brixen and came to the Museum in 1946. Brixen is a small town on the Italian side of the Brenner Pass in Italy. The daughter of Roger II, Constance, who became the bride of Henry VI Hohenstaufen, probably passed through Brixen on her way to Germany after her marriage in Milan in 1186. When she left Sicily for her wedding she is said to have been accompanied by 150 beasts of burden laden with jewels and gorgeous robes from the treasury of the Sicilian kings. 5 Among them was probably the cape of red silk embroidered with lions and camels in gold thread and pearls which was made for the coronation of Roger II in 1152 and later worn by Constance's famous son, the Emperor Frederick II, called stupor mundi, on his coronation in 1220 and now preserved with other treasures from the Norman kings of Sicily in the Hofburg, Vienna.<sup>6</sup> Many of the garments in this treasure are decorated with woven trimming bands with designs in colored silks and gold threads. Some like Frederick's coronation mantle are lavishly embroidered in pearls, while his coronation shoes are studded with other gems as well. 7 The widest band in the group (6.3 cm.) and closest to the mitre in weave and in the arrangement of the motives of the design is the sword belt (Fig. 10).

The weave of the mitre brow-band and of some others of this type is a most ingenious and distinctive form of twill, 8 and is usually so tightly compressed that the true structure is not apparent. The ground is formed

by a warp twill made by a single warp system threaded before weaving in a regular color sequence of four colors and by a ground weft. All the warp ends bind the ground weft but only a part (one color, usually) of the ends binds a gold weft laid over the surface of the ground to form a golden background for the design. The floats of the warp ends that bind the gold surface wefts (although maintaining the basic twill structure) appear only over one gold weft each time and complete their regular course under the rest of the gold wefts and over the silk ground wefts. The short visible sections of each of these binding warps in combination with the floats of gold surface weft form a weft twill effect with diagonals in the opposite direction from the actual echelons of the warp twill. For the design, the warp of the desired color is raised and floated over a number of both ground wefts and gold surface wefts. While patterning, this warp continues to participate at intervals in the rhythm of the ground binding in a warp twill effect structurally in accord with the ground twill. In the areas of warp patterning, the gold surface weft is hidden between the floats of the patterning warp and the twill made by the ground weft and the remaining warps. The reverse of the weave is the regular weft face of the twill<sup>9</sup> (Diagram Fig. A).

The separate figures on the brow-band of this medieval mitre, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, are the two centaurs, 10 the lion, the double-tailed mermaid and another half human figure who may represent Scylla or perhaps Alexander the Great (Figs. 5-9). Of these motives the mermaid will be studied first. Mermaids have always been an alluring subject and there are many tales about them, but the double-tailed form seems to have been of particular interest for the medieval world. Like the single-tailed 11 mermaid, her double-tailed counterpart is of ancient origin but examples are most often found carved on the capitals in the medieval churches in Europe. 12

The double-tailed mermaid as seen on the mitre in the Metropolitan Museum has the head and torso of a young woman while the lower part of her body terminates in two fish tails (Fig. 5). The pose of the body is frontal 13; between the upper body and the fish tails, there is a wide scalloped girdle from which the two fish tails emerge, cross each other, then rise one at each side where the mermaid grasps them in her outstretched hands. The tails in this example are smooth like a dolphin's body and end in tri-lobed finials. In some examples, especially those that are in carved stone, the tails are scaly and end in bi-furcated fins while the junction of the human body and the fish tails is covered by a leafy girdle or belt. The frontal pose of the mermaid on the brow-band of the mitre is typical of the twelfth-century double-tailed mermaids whether carved, painted, woven or executed in some other medium (Figs. 5, 11, 13, 14, 32-38).

The distinctive features of the mermaid on the mitre in the Metropolitan Museum are the crossing of her tails and the wide scalloped apron. Both of these characteristics will be discussed in connection with the origin of the design. For the moment we note that these features do not appear in the few other examples of the double-tailed mermaid woven on similar trimming bands that have survived from the twelfth century. These other examples of the mermaid design include the bands on the coronation shoes of the Emperor Frederick II, where the double-tailed mermaid appears in a section of the band inset in the sides of the shoes and under one of the jewels set in pearls that embellishes the band that decorates the upper part of the shoes 14 (Fig. 11). The third example of a double-tailed mermaid decorates a trimming band used on a bishop's mitre now in the Abegg Stiftung at Riggisberg, and a fourth occurs in one of the roundels that form the design on a gold band used to make the fanons on a bishop's mitre in the Domschatz at Salzburg 15 (Figs. 13, 14).

Why did this curious bi-furcated mermaid carved so often on the capitals in medieval European churches become so popular, what does she signify and what was her origin? Along with the centaur with whom she is often paired, 16 the mermaid seems to have been part of the group of fantastic beasts and hybrid creatures carved on capitals and door jambs in Romanesque churches and cloisters, who are thought to represent the diabolical powers over which Christ and his disciples triumphed. 17 The exuberant carvings of real and exotic animals included among the fabulous beasts may also be ascribed to the lively curiosity about the strange animals that appeared in medieval menageries, usually as gifts to Western rulers from Eastern potentates, and to the wondrous tales of travelers to and from the East. The medieval bestiaries fed people's curiosity and spread interest in real and fantastic animals, while the Church made use of this interest to teach Christian morality. The earliest known of the bestiaries, the Physiologus, probably compiled by an Alexandrian Greek of the second century, served originally as a manual on animals and plants and was copied and expanded innumerable times in succeeding centuries. 18 In the Physiologus there is a creature, half woman, half bird, familiar to us as the Greek siren and thus described, but in a ninth-century version of the manuscript the siren is illustrated in the form of a mermaid, half woman, half fish; in the version at Bern this siren is shown with a single fish tail. 19 The two forms of the siren, half bird or half fish, are both common in the Middle Ages, and both are included in Guillaume le Clerc's bestiary of 1211 A.D. in the following lines:

"Of the siren we shall tell you,
Which has a very strange form.
From the waist upwards
She is the most beautiful thing in the world

Fashioned in the form of a woman. The other part is shaped like a fish or a bird."  $^{20}$ 

Whether as a 'bird-lady" or as a mermaid, the siren is a temptress, who, like the sirens in the Odyssey, charms the unwary with her musical and dreamy song, providing the Devil with the opportunity to pounce upon unsuspecting human beings. Again le Clerc tells us:

"The siren who sings so sweetly
And enchants folks by her song
Affords example for instructing those
Who through this world must voyage
Are deceived by such a sound
By the glamour, by the lusts
Of this world, which kill us
When we have tasted of such pleasures."

In another famous book of beasts, the  $Liber\ Monstrorum$  of the seventh or eighth century, the sirens are described as creatures of the sea (mermaids).

"Sirenae sunt marinae puellae, quae navigantes pulcherrima forma, cantus mulcedine decipiunt. Et a capite et usque umbilicum, corpore virginali et humano generi simillamae, squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent, quibus semper in gurgite latent." 21

Another passage in the same *Liber Monstrorum* is of interest and importance here because it describes a sea creature, in this case Scylla, similar to the siren, but with the foreparts of several dogs emerging from her waist or from her leafy belt. The description of the monster, Scylla, "the half maiden fury hound" who, with Charybdis, was such a threat to mariners, occurs in the *Liber* as follows:

"Scylla monstris nautis inimicissum in eo freto quod Italium et Siciliam interluit, fruisse perhibetor, capite quidem et pectore virginali sicute sirenae, sed luporum uterum et caudas delphinorum habuit . . ."<sup>22</sup>

In the *Aeneid* we find again Virgil describing Scylla as a creature whose upper body is that of a young woman and whose lower body is formed by dolphins' tails:

"prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum." 23

The use of the accusative plural form "caudas delphinorum" in the *Liber Monstrorum* and the plural "caudas delphinum" in the *Aeneid* indicates that Scylla was not single-tailed and was distinct from the siren mermaid or the nereids of Roman times. Except for the description in Homer which is entirely different, these two descriptions of Scylla's form appear to be the only literary sources giving a detailed description of her that have come down to us from such early times. It may well be that both descriptions were derived from carved or painted representations of her.

Let us see what form the representations of Scylla took in the extant examples from Greek, Etruscan and Roman art in order to discover if they had some influence upon the form of the twelfth-century double-tailed mermaid. The earliest Greek representations that have survived show Scylla in profile with a single tail, with the upper body of a young woman and the foreparts of two, sometimes three dogs protruding from a wide girdle of acanthus leaves; the one large curving fishtail rises behind her as in the Melian terracotta reliefs of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 15). Some other Greek examples of the profile Scylla which also show her with a single tail, and a dog at her waist, exist on coins and some sculptures of the fourth century B.C. More pertinent to this study, however, are examples from the Hellenistic period when the pose changes and becomes frontal or 3/4 view, with two tails, the dogs at Scylla's waist, and a stone in her raised hand, as we see her on Athena's helmet on Greek coins from Heraclea dated about 350 - 280 B.C. (Fig. 16). In a similar pose she appears on a terracotta cup in the Louvre. Here we have a double-tailed Scylla with the upper body of a young woman, almost frontal in pose, with her raised arm brandishing an oar and her double tails rising one at each side as she attacks Ulysses' ship. Her name is inscribed above her in Greek letters (Figs. 17, 18). A similar savage Scylla with double tails and brandishing an oar or a rock can be found in some other works of which the small bronze relief from Dodona, the Berlin mirror case of the fourth century B.C. or the Boscoreale bronze dish of the first century B.C. are fine examples (Figs. 19-21). In Roman art also Scylla appears as half woman, half double-tailed sea monster on coins and in sculpture (Figs. 22-24).<sup>24</sup> Among paintings there was a famous fresco of her attacking Ulysses and his companions found in 1760 in a villa at Stabia near Herculaneum<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 23). Doubtless there are other paintings that did not survive. Perhaps some of these examples were the source for the description of Scylla in the Liber Monstrorum, for Faral in his study of the fish tails of the sirens points out that the author of the Liber, whom Faral believes to have been Audelinus (639-707 A.D.), Bishop of Sherbone, made a trip to Rome from Britain and must have seen ancient works of art depicting Scylla and therefore included her in his book. 26 Certainly the Liber Monstrorum did not follow the first literary description of Scylla in Homer's Odyssey, the terrifying sea monster with six heads, twelve feet

and the yelping bark of a young puppy. Indeed Homer's description of Scylla was never adopted for representation of her in Greek, Etruscan or Roman art. It seems likely that the description of Scylla in the *Liber* and in the *Aeneid* were derived from the carved or painted representations of her.

The popularity of the subject continued into late Roman times as we know from her appearance on contorniates, struck as late as the third or fourth century (Fig. 24). She also appeared on Roman pottery and gems<sup>27</sup> and in large sculptured marble groups; one of the more recently discovered of the sculptured groups came to light at Hadrian's Villa in 1952-54<sup>28</sup>. In most of these examples the body of Scylla is frontal or in three-quarters view with the tails spreading out beneath an acanthus apron and then rising to the sides, while the head is sometimes in profile with the arms raised to hurl a rock or wield an oar at the sailors of Aeneas' ship.

Whereas the frontality and double tails of the foregoing Scyllas suggest a possible source of the design of the double-tailed mermaid, it is, however, among Etruscan funerary monuments, grave stele, cinerary urns and sarcophagi that the closest comparisons with the double-tailed mermaid are to be found. Like the mermaids of medieval times, the Etruscan Scyllas are uniformly frontal, with the tails spread out and sometimes rising to each side (Figs. 25, 26). The specific attributes of Scylla on the cinerary urns, the rock or the oar in her hands and the dogs emerging from the leafy belt constitute the chief differences from the medieval double-tailed mermaid. The tails in Etruscan Scyllas are usually smooth dolphin tails, and this type is also found in the twelfth-century mermaid, although, in many carved examples, the medieval double-tailed mermaid has a scaly fish tail (Figs. 32, 35). Crossed tails as on the mermaid of the Metropolitan Museum mitre also occur in some Etruscan examples (Figs. 27, 28).

There is a particular group of Etruscan funerary objects, chiefly cinerary urns with a marine figure, often winged, who is part woman, part fish, but who lacks Scylla's militant characteristics. Here the facial expression is mild, the dogs at the waist are lacking, the hands may be raised and hold an anchor or they may hold up the tails or rest relaxed on the tails (Figs. 30, 31). Before discussing this figure's obvious relation to the medieval double-tailed mermaid in pose and specific details, we must mention that the identity of this Etruscan figure is unknown; she may represent a funerary deity or demon, perhaps symbolizing both the terrors of the seafaring life as Scylla did, and the passage to the Underworld which the souls of the dead had to traverse (Figs. 25-30). Or the figure may represent another version of Scylla's story or even another type of Scylla. Ovid, for example, describes Scylla as a beautiful sea nymph,

beloved of the sea gods, particularly Glaucus, whom Circe in a fit of jealousy turned into a sea monster, and then Scylla in revenge robbed Ulysses of his companions<sup>29</sup>. Whatever the Etruscan Scyllas may have symbolized, it seems reasonable to assume that some cinerary urns on which the figure of Scylla appeared must have been known in twelfth-century Italy and provided a model for the double-tailed mermaid of medieval times.

The relationship between these Etruscan Scyllas and the twelfthcentury double-tailed mermaid with her frontal pose with the tails spread out or rising on each side is obvious 30. The connection is strengthened by the scalloped apron of the mermaid on the mitre from Brixen which is a rude descendant of the leafy acanthus one found on Etruscan and most Greek and Roman representations of Scylla. The apron, however, is not so common in medieval examples of the double-tailed mermaid and is usually replaced by a fringed belt or even a simple waistband (Figs. 33-35). In the early representations of Scylla, the leafy acanthus apron was probably introduced to mask the emergence of the dogs from Scylla's body (Figs. 19-21). The leafy apron persists in Etruscan cinerary urns in examples of the mild "Ovid type" of Scylla (Fig. 30). There are some early Etruscan Scyllas without any leafy apron (Figs. 27, 28), and also the tails of the twelfth-century mermaid sometimes emerge from her torso without any apron or belt (Fig. 34). In the Monreale cloister the tails of the mermaid merge to replace the absent apron, thus emphasizing the fantastic nature of the figure (Fig. 35).

The hands in examples of the "Ovid type" Scylla may rest idle and empty on the tails or they may hold up anchors or oars (Figs. 29, 30). The pose of the Scylla who has her hands raised to hold an anchor is close to that of the double-tailed mermaid who lifts her hands to grasp and hold her tails (Figs. 26, 28, 32-35). Some examples of the "Ovid type" and of the aggressive Scyllas have wings spreading from their backs. Among them we find the handsome mirror case in Berlin, the Dodona relief, the cinerary urns from Palermo and Chiusi (Figs. 19, 20, 25, 26, 29, 30). All of these have usually been dated in the third century B.C. According to Waser, the wings do not occur in the Hellenistic-Roman type and arise from some foreign influence 30-A.

An interesting point is the occurrence of the crossed tails in both Etruscan and the medieval examples. Crossed tails not only characterize the Brixen mitre mermaid, but they may also be seen on the little mermaid who decorates the borders of the panels of the bronze doors at Monreale Cathedral (Fig. 36). The tails also appear in some other examples from the medieval period, for instance, on a crossed-tailed figure carved on a capital in the Cuxa Cloister, The Cloisters, New York, and on the leafy-

tailed mermaid carved on a capital in the atrium at Sant'Ambrogio, Milan (Fig. 37). Such examples indicate that crossed double tails were not unknown in the twelfth century and that their inspiration probably came from among Etruscan examples, such as the carved stele with Scylla at Bologna or from other examples of Etruscan art (Figs. 27, 28).

The association with Scylla, whether the savage creature of the Odyssey or the mild "Ovid" figure on Etruscan cinerary urns, is further strengthened by the writings of the Church Fathers and of the early medieval clergy. They not only preserved the classical literary heritage during the long period of turmoil and uncertainty that followed the fall of Rome, but they made use of the classics to teach Christian morality. Perhaps Virgil's poems inspired them with the concept of Scylla as the embodiment of carnal passion when in an allegory of the sea she is portrayed as a symbol of 'lustfulness and love's incontinence, '... 'who excelling all women in beauty, in avarice, made havoc of her eager lovers," and after daring to challenge Venus, "she of a sudden became fenced about with fell fishes and dogs."31 In the writings of the Fathers of the Church she is conceived as an example of the indulgence of unbridled bodily appetites. Like the centaur with whom in her form as a double-tailed mermaid she is often paired in medieval churches, the Fathers described her as the embodiment of lust, calumny and other forms of sin. Among St. Jerome's letters there is a passage that exemplifies the evil peril they saw in her: 'on one side the strait of Charybdis of self-indulgence engulfs our salvation; on the other, the Scylla of lust, with a smile on her girlish cheek lures us to make shipwrecks of our chastity."32 St. Chrysostom in his homilies on First Corinthians gives a vivid description of Scylla as Sin: "and should a painter draw her picture, he would not, one thinks, err in fashioning her after this sort; a woman with the form of a beast, savage, breathing flames, hideous, black, such as the heathen poets depict their Scyllas. For with her ten thousand hands she lays hold of our thoughts and comes on unexpected, tears everything to pieces, like those dogs that bite slyly."<sup>33</sup> Sidonius uses Scylla as a symbol of envy: "such fame as I have," he writes, "should be to me an anchor cast in the haven of safe repute. I ought to be content with it after the envious snarls of all the Scyllas which my ship has passed."34

Such literary references indicate what a perfect model the story of Scylla and the form given her in classical art and Etruscan tomb monuments made in teaching Christian morals - the allure and grace of her upper body combined with her snarling dogs and monstrous fish tails vividly expresses the dire aftermath of indulgence prompted by uncontrolled, bestial instincts. The medieval poet perpetuated this lesson taught by the Christian Fathers as we see again in the bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc:

"Wantoness and bodily ease, And gluttony and drunkeness, Slothfulness and riches, Palfreys, white horses, The splendor of rich draperies. Always we incline that way, Of the future we are slow to think. So great is our delight in them That perforce we fall asleep. Whereupon the syren kills us. It is the Evil One who uses us so ill, Who makes us plunge into vice so much That he entangles us in his snares. Then he attacks us, then he falls upon us, Then he kills us. then he does us to death Just as the syrens do To the mariners who sail the sea."35

The lesson of the wages of sin that the clergy sought to instill in men's minds was graphically expressed in the medieval representations of the double-tailed mermaid by the frontal pose. Here the shock of the grotesque combination of the young feminine torso with human legs replaced by uplifted fish tails, crossed or uncrossed, must have stunned the innocent viewers. The frontal pose of this mermaid was common in other Romanesque sculptures and has been ascribed by some writers to the exigencies of design and by others to Oriental influence. In the case of the double-tailed mermaid the inspiration was ready to hand among Etruscan grave monuments representing Scylla and also in certain Greek and Roman works. Frontality in design has, to be sure, a very old history in the art of the Near East where it was used so much, 38

Not all examples of the creature called Scylla dating from classical times actually represent her, as Waser has pointed out in his monograph on Scylla and Charybdis.<sup>39</sup> There are various existing sculptures of goddesses or nymphs with fish tails from classical times, in addition to those already described from certain Etruscan cinerary urns (such as the "Ovid" type), which lack Scylla's specific attributes and which surely represent other mythical creatures (Figs. 37-39). <sup>40</sup> The most important and the best known is Artagatis, the Syrian goddess known to the Greeks as Derketo and often confused with Astarte, although their cults are distinct. According to Lucian, who was a Syrian himself, Derketo was represented in images which he saw as half woman, half fish, although at Hieropolis she is represented as all woman.<sup>41</sup> The worship of Artagatis or Derketo was extensive; her cult was also known in Italy and was introduced into Sicily, and even to the northern limits of the Roman Empire.

Incidentally, in Gravina's description of the lesser bronze door of the Cathedral of Monreale, he suggests that the graceful double-tailed mermaid (whose tails are not held up by her hands but cross in front of her and then rise to each side) might be a representation of Derketo<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 36).

Among other possibilities we find that Pausanias when describing Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus, says that he heard from the Phigalians that her statue, which he did not see, was a woman down to the waist and a fish below. There is also the beloved of Glaucus, whom Ovid called Scylla, but who is not the savage Scylla of the Odyssey, and to whom we have referred in connection with certain cinerary urns from Chiusi and Palermo (Figs. 29, 30). Sometimes confused with Scylla is the monster, Echidne, who dwelt in the Nether World and raised a brood of monsters; according to Hyginus, she was even the mother of the vengeful Scylla, but Echidne was half woman, half serpent. 44

There are also some creatures from Roman times with the same frontal pose as the Etruscan representations of Scylla, but the fish tails are replaced by foliate plant stems which they lift up and hold in their hands (Figs. 31, 39). Surprisingly enough this foliate type monster is also found in the twelfth century carved on European church capitals, as for example, the charming figures which decorate a capital at St. Julien at Brioude or the one at Sant' Ambrogio, Milan (Figs. 37, 38).

To return to representations of Scylla, it seems natural that the ancient peoples who lived along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and for whom the sea provided food and livelihood would have developed some symbols in their literature and in their art to represent the perils of sea life. Scylla's association with the power and dangers of the ocean is clear enough in classical art. Her association with Etruscan art was chiefly with the passage to the Underworld that all men had to traverse, as her appearance on the cinerary urns and other funerary monuments indicates. The figure common on cinerary urns was connected with death and possibly with the transmigration of souls across the waters. In Virgil, Scylla biformes is one of the figures at the gates of the Underworld; Virgil may even have taken her from Etruscan sources. 45

In the medieval Christian period, however, she is no longer Scylla, but as a double-tailed mermaid becomes a symbol of lust and of the dangers that beset the Christian soul trying to achieve the goal of chastity, physically and morally. If we are correct in believing that the early representations of her, especially in Etruscan art, were the inspiration for the medieval double-tailed mermaid, it is certain that she enjoyed a long life, for she lived on in the Renaissance. In Venice, for instance, she appears in the same frontal pose as the symbol of the sea on embroidered banners,

heraldic devices, carvings and lace of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Germany she graces the Marktbrünnen (public wells in the market square) of Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, Frankfurt-am-Main and other towns. In heraldry, such as in the arms of the Nuremberg patrician family, Riether von Kornburg, she is the usual form. Her role grows increasingly into a purely decorative one as she becomes in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a frequent motive in Italian needlepoint laces, Greek Island embroideries, and occasionally one of the decorative elements in European tapestries. 46

(A sequel concerning the other motives on the mitre band will be published in a subsequent issue. - - Ed.)

Note on the Author

Mrs. Howard Sachs was Assistant Curator in the Textile Study Room at the Metropolitan Museum of Art under Frances Morris. She is coauthor with Nancy Andrews Reath of *Persian Textiles* (Yale University Press, 1937).

## NOTES

- 1. 46.156.3 Bishop's mitre of yellow silk with decorative bands of silk and gold threads; lappets with circular medallions on fretted gold ground. From the convent of Neustift, near Brixen, Italy. Said to have belonged to Bishop Hartmann (1140-1164). J. Braun describes the mitre as it was in 1909 (ZEITSCHRIFT FUR CHRISTLICHE KUNST, vol. 4, 1909, pp. 111-116 and fig. 1). He describes some parts of the mitre which did not belong to it originally and which have been removed since that time.
- 2. Rohault de Fleury, C., LA MESSE, Paris, 1889, vol. VIII, pp. 25, 127.
- Among the medieval ecclesiastical vestments with elaborately designed bands of the same distinctive twill weave may be listed the following: (1) chasuble, Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, near Bern; the bands on this chasuble have geometric patterns studded with gems like the shoes of Frederick II in the Hofburg; (2) chasuble, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. (see Townsend, G., "A 12th Century Chasuble," BULLETIN OF THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, vol. XXXIII, 1935, pp. 5-16); (3) chasuble of St. Wolfgang, church of St. Emmeram, Regensburg (see Müller-Christensen, S., SAKRALE GEW-ANDER DES MITTELALTERS, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, 1955, no. 16, Abb. 9; also Cahier, C. et Martin, A., MELANGES D'ARCHEOLOGIE..., Paris, 1847-56, vol. II, pl. 16 and pp. 245-246); (4) alb of St. Bernulph, Oud Katholick Museum, Utrecht (drawings of some of the individual motives appear in Von Falke, O., KUNST-GESCHICHTE DER SEIDENWEBEREI, Berlin, 1913, vol. II, Abb. 194, 196); (5) chasuble of St. Edmé (d. 1241) at St. Quiriace, Provins (see LES TRESORS DES EGLISES DE FRANCE, Musée des arts décoratifs. Paris, 1965, no. 113).
- 4. Monneret de Villard, U., MISCELL. GIOVANNI MERCATI 3, Citta del Vaticano, 1946, Studi e testi 123, p. 8; Jamison, E., "Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century," JOURNAL OF THE WARBURG AND COURTAULD INSTITUTES, vol. VI, 1943, pp. 20-32; the author mentions silk manufacture and quotes Hugo Falcandus who wrote of "patterns made in many colored silks shot with gold and interwoven with gems and pearls" (from EPISTOLA AD PETRUM PANORMITANE ECCLESIE THESAURARIUM, ed. G. B. Siragusa, Rome, 1897, pp. 178-180). Kahle, P., "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, Neue Folge, 1935, pp. 350-351, who mentions Sicilian borders (SUQQA SIGALIJA).
- 5. Chalandon, F., LA DOMINATION NORMANDE EN ITALIE ET SICILIE, Paris, 1907, vol. II, p. 387.

- 6. Fillitz, H., DIE INSIGNIEN UND KLEINODIEN DES HEILIGEN ROMISCHEN REICHES, Vienna, 1954. For the coronation robe see Abb. 24; for the alb, Abb. 28; for the dalmatic, Abb. 30; for the gloves, shoes and stockings, Abb. 31, 32, 34; for the sword belt, Abb. 33 and p. 60. The frontispiece in this book is a reproduction of Albrecht Dürer's drawing of Frederick II in his coronation robes.
- For a discussion of the shoes, see Gall, G., "Die Krönungsschühe der Deutschen Kaiser," ZEITSCHRIFT DER GESELLSCHAFT FUR HIS-TORISCHE WAFFEN-UND KOSTUMKUNDE, Dresden, 1973, Band 15, Heft 1, pp. 1-21.
- 8. Reath, N. A. and Sachs, E. B., PERSIAN TEXTILES AND THEIR TECHNIQUE, New Haven, 1937, pp. 53-55 and figs. 6-8, 10; Emery, L, THE PRIMARY STRUCTURES OF FABRICS, Washington, 1966, pp. 91-107, figs. 173 and 174; Guicherd, F., COURS DE THEORIE DE TISSAGE, Lyon, 1946, p. 166-171.
- 9. This description of the weave has been worked out in collaboration with Miss Jean Mailey, Curator, Textile Study Room, Met politan Museum of Art. It is based on an analysis of the weave made by Mr. Gabriel Vial, Secrétaire Général Technique, Centre International d'Étude des Textiles Anciens, Lyons, France.
- 10. The second centaur, facing in the opposite direction from the first centaur, can be seen at the middle of the back of the mitre; only the front part of him is visible for the fabric was cut at this point at some time and a small piece from another band has been inserted to make the head size large enough (Fig. 3).
- 11. In some examples of the single-tailed mermaid, she holds a fish in one hand, said to symbolize regeneration through baptism (for instance, a capital at Cunault, France); in some later examples this mermaid holds a mirror in one hand. At Santa Lucia, Gaeta, there is a twelfth-century double-tailed mermaid carved with panels holding the symbols of the Four Evangelists; she also holds a fish in her hand, but the pose here is 3/4 view. Among the tiny enamel plaques on the coronation gloves of the Emperor Frederick II in the Hofburg, Vienna, is an oval enamel with a single-tailed mermaid holding up her tail in her left hand (Deér, J., DER KAISERORNAT FRIEDRICHS II, Bern, 1952, Pl. XXVII).
- 12. Among the writers who have discussed mermaids may be mentioned the following:
  - Adhémar, J., INFLUENCES ANTIQUES DANS L'ART DU MOYEN AGE FRANÇAIS, Warburg Institute, London, 1939, p. 182.
  - Baltrusaitis, J., REVEILS ET PRODIGES, Paris, 1960, p. 104; LE STYLISTIQUE ORNAMENTALE DANS LA SCULPTURE ROMANE, Paris, 1931, pp. 103-113 for examples of double-tailed mermaids in medieval churches.

- Cahier et Martin, OP. CIT., vol. II, p. 172.
- Debidour, V. H., LE BESTIAIRE SCULPTE DU MOYEN AGE EN FRANCE, Arthaud, 1961, p. 397 for lists of examples.
- de Rachewiltz, S. W., SIRENEN IN SUDTIROL, Landwirtschaftliches Museum Brunnenburg Schriften 2 (Dorf Tirol, 1973).
- Durand-Lefebvre, M., ART GALLO-ROMAIN ET SCULPTURE RO-MANE, Paris, 1937, pp. 146-154.
- Evans, E. P., ANIMAL SYMBOLISM IN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE, London, 1896.
- Faral, E., "La queue de sirènes," ROMANIA, t. LXXIV, 1955, p. 433 ff. discussion concerns manuscript texts.
- Fermesci, Rosella, SCYLLA, Ph. D. thesis, University of Florence (n.d.).
- Jalabert, D., "Les sirènes," BULLETIN MONUMENTAL, no. 95, 1936, p. 433 ff.
- Mâles E., ART RELIGIEUX DU XIIe SIECLE EN FRANCE, Paris, 1924, p. 336.
- Crichton, G. H., ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN ITALY, London, 1954.
- Réau, L., ICONOGRAPHIE DE L'ART CHRETIEN, Paris, 1955-59, t. I, pp. 121-123; lists churches in France where carved mermaids are found; section on doubling, pp. 295-296.
- Shepard, K., THE FISH TAILED MONSTER IN GREEK AND ETRUSCAN ART, NEW YORK, 1940.
- Venturi, A., STORIA DELL'ARTE ITALIANA, Milan, 1901-40, vol. III, p. 123.
- Waser, O., SKYLLA UND CHARYBDIS IN DER LITERATUR UND KUNST DER GRIECHEN UND ROMER, MYTHOLOGISCH-ARCH-AOLOGISCHE MONOGRAPHIE, Zurich, 1894, p. 43.
- 13. The colors for the mermaid are varied in such a way that the hair is in yellow green, the face and tails in gold, the body in purple; the apron has a row of salmon pink followed by a row of yellow green, while the fins, hands and finials of the tails are in salmon pink. The salmon is probably faded. The outlining threads are in contrasting colors so that the body, apron, fins, hands and finials are outlined in purple; the other parts are outlined in salmon pink.
  - In the upper body, arms and hands of the mermaid, the body of the lion, the animal parts of the centaurs, and the torso of the figure with raised hands, the gold from the surface weft is probably partially obscured by a special binding for these areas, or it may be missing.
- 14. See note 7.
- 15. The three examples cited are narrower than the mitre band but the differences in width are not great; the Metropolitan mitre band is

10.5 cm. wide, the Abegg band, 8 cm., Frederick II shoes, 7 cm., and the fanons 3 cm. The widest examples of the group of XII century woven gold bands contain no mermaids, but since they are exceptionally handsome examples, they are worth mentioning: one is the widest of the various bands on the chasuble from St. Peter's Church, Salzburg, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, width 13.5 cm. (see Townsend, OP. CIT., pp. 5-17); another occurs on a chasuble of St. Wolfgang in St. Emmeran, Regensburg, width 11.5 cm. (see Müller-Christensen, OP. CIT., no. 16, Abb. 9); a drawing of the design on the shoulder bands of the Regensburg chasuble is illustrated in Cahier et Martin, OP. CIT., vol. II, pl. XVI; most of the bands on this chasuble are badly worn and the shoulder bands are the best preserved. See also note 4.

- 16. For the pairing of the mermaid and the centaur in medieval art see section on the Centaur, to appear in a subsequent issue.
- 17. Baltrusaitis, REVEILS ET PRODIGES, p. 104 ff.
- 18. Carmody, F. J., PHYSIOLOGUS LATINUS VERSIO Y., University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Berkeley, 1933-44, vol. XII, p. 95; Carmody cites over 250 manuscripts in Latin, Romance and German languages copied between 1100 and 1400 A.D.
- 19. Woodruff, H., "Physiologus of Bern," ART BULLETIN, 1930, p. 236, fig. 22.
- 20. Druce, G. C. (translator), BESTIARY OF GUILLAUME LE CLERC, Invidio Press, 1936, pp. 36-37, 1053 ff. For dating see Réau, OP. CIT., t. 1, p. 121, n. 3. In a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Arsenal Library, Paris, an illustration shows the "bird-lady" siren accompanied by two mermaid sirens, whose fishy tails are submerged in the water so that it is impossible to know whether the tails are single or double. See Jalabert, OP. CIT., p. 433, or fig. 1, and Cahier et Martin, OP. CIT., t. II, p. 172.
- 21. Berger de Xivrey, J., TRADITIONS TERATOLOGIQUES, DE MONSTRIS, cap. VIII, "Sirenae."
- 22. Berger de Xivrey, OP. CIT., cap. XV, "De Scylla;" cap. XVII, "Iterum de Scylla."
- 23. Virgil, AENEID, book III, p. 426, Loeb Classical Library.
- 24. Poole, R. S., CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, vol. 23, "Italy," London, 1873, p. 232, no. 52. Commemorative coins with the figure of Scylla attacking Ulysses' ship exist from the time of Hadrian, and also from the time of the Emperors Commodus (A.D. 161-192) and Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211) and even as late as the reign of the Emperor Theodosius (A.D. 356-394). On all of these contorniates, the design is the same but in the late ones there

are errors made when the worn molds were reworked (Fig. 24). See Alföldi, A., DIE KONTORNIATEN, Leipzig, 1943, Taf. LXVI, 5, 6, 7, 8; Taf. LXVII, 5, 6; Sabatier, J., DESCRIPTION GENERALE DES MEDAILLONS CONTORNIATES, Paris, 1860, p. 86 ff, Tav. XII, 11, 12, 13. These errors suggest that the pictorial tradition of the Homeric story was no longer so well known, although the literary tradition was still familiar to the learned, as references in the writings of St. Jerome and others testify.

- 25. Waser, O., SKYLLA UND CHARYBDIS IN DER LITERATUR UND KUNST DER GRIECHEN UND ROMER, MYTHOLOGISCH-ARCHAO-LOGISCHE MONOGRAPHIE, Zurich, 1894, p. 111, says the tails here are "scaly with foliate stylization." According to Vinet (MONUMENTI INEDITI, Rome, 1943, vol. 15, p. 199) the figure of Scylla has "deux queues de poisson couvertes d'écailles" which is in opposition to the drawing in the volume of plates (MONUMENTI INEDITI, Rome, 1839-43, vol. III, Tav. LIII, 3) where acanthus-like tails are shown. It has not been possible to see this fresco, and it may be that it has faded so badly that no positive statement about the tails could now be made.
- 26. See Faral, "La queue de sirènes," OP. CIT., pp. 461-478 for his discussion of the dating and ascription of authorship to Audelinus (Aldhelm), Bishop of Sherborne, 639-707 A.D.
- 27. There are examples of Roman red glaze pottery found in England and in France which show figures of Scylla, see Walters, H. B., CATALOGUE OF THE ROMAN POTTERY.., British Museum, London, 1908, M1130, M1280, M1322, M1343, M1408, M1409, M1410, M1412, M2276 and also Stanfield, J., CENTRAL GAULISH POTTERS, London, 1958, Butio 60, no. 675; Avitus and Vegetus 63, no. 9814; Donnaucus Style 45, no. 525; Moxsius 152, no. 1. A fine gem showing Scylla exists in the Correr Museum, Venice. There are also two in the British Museum, see Walters, H. B. CATALOGUE OF THE ENGRAVED GEMS AND CAMEOS. . . , British Museum, London, 1926, no. 1302, no. 3110.
- 28. For the group (in fragments) found at Hadrian's villa, see Aurigemma, BOLL. D'ARTE, XLI,1956, p. 57, figs. 3, 4, etc. Another group identified as Scylla and Ulysses' companions was found at Sperlonga in 1957 (see LONDON ILLUSTRATED NEWS, Oct. 26, 1957, and Dec. 28, 1957; and Jacobi, G., "I Ritrovamenti dell'Antro considetto 'Di Tiberio' a Sperlonga," ORME DI ROMA DEL MONDO, IX, 1958). Among Roman Scylla groups there is also the marble table base in the National Museum, Naples, no. 6672 (see MONUMENTI INEDITI, III, Tav. LII, 3; the marble statue, National Museum, Athens, from the Stoa of Attalos, II century A.D. (see Lawrence, A. W., LATER GREEK SCULPTURE, New York, 1927, p. 117). An attractive small group in

marble, also fragmentary, is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (see Roscher, IV, col. 10582, fig. 21). One of the most graceful examples of a Scylla group is the relief carving on the architrave of the Mausoleum of the Julii at St. Remy (ancient Glanum) erected in 10 A.D. (see Pobé, M., et Roubier, J., ART OF ROMAN GAUL, London, 1961, p. 148, pl. 76). Probably connected with Scyllae associated with the dead. See Michels, A. K., AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, LXV, 1944, pp. 137-138.

- 29. Ovid, METAM. XIII, 900; XIV, 1-74.
- 30. In a unique example by a follower of the sculptor Willigelmo, now in the Museum of the Duomo, Modena, the mermaid's feet protrude from the ends of her uplifted tails. Humor as well as fantasy must have inspired the sculptor of this distinguished carving (see Quintavalle, A. C., 'Willigelmo,' I DIAMANTE DELL' ARTE 28, Firenze, p. 70).
- 30A. Waser, OP. CIT., p. 43.
- 31. Virgil, CIRIS, Loeb Classical Library, lines 65-88, p. 411.
- 32. SELECT LETTERS OF ST. JEROME, translated by F. A. Wright, Loeb Classical Library, XIV, p. 39; CXX, p. 401.
- 33. St. Chrysostom, Homily IX, OXFORD LIBRARY OF THE FATHERS, 1839, vol. IV, p. 121.
- SIDONIUS, LETTERS OF, translated by C. M. Dalton, Oxford, 1915, Book I, Ep. I.
- 35. See note 20.
- 36. It was against the graphic carving and worldly character of medieval church sculpture that St. Bernard railed in his famous letter. See Panofsky, E., ABBOT SUGER, Princeton, 1946, p. 25.
- 37. Baltrusaitis, J., LE STYLISTIQUE ORNAMENTALE DANS LA SCULPTURE ROMANE; Réau, OP. CIT., vol. I, pp. 293-295.
- 38. Among the small bronzes from Luristan there is a unique piece, formerly in the Van der Heydt collection, and now in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, representing a double-tailed mermaid similar in pose to the medieval European type. No other example of a double-tailed mermaid from Luristan is known. The tails of this creature have the diagonal incisions or hatchings which suggest the feathers of

winged beings seen on many Luristan bronzes. Nevertheless, it is possible to doubt the Luristan origin of the mermaid from the Rietberg collection, as it seems doubtful that the Lurs who lived in a mountainous area of Iran would have developed a water goddess, a deity usually associated with seafaring people; see Goldman, B., "Luristan Water Goddess," ANTIKE KUNST, 1960, heft 2, p. 53 ff.

- 39. Waser, OP. CIT., p. 43.
- 40. Others among them who may be cited are the carved double-tailed Roman nereids which decorate two marble bases in the Borghese Gallery, Rome (see Robert, K., MYTHOLOGISCHEN CYKLEN, vol. II, Deutsches archäologisches Institut, [Berlin, 1890-], p. 1; Rumpf, A., DIE MEERWESEN AUF DEN ANTIKEN SARKOPHAGRELIEFS, vol. V, OP. CIT., Abb. I and Tafel I). Also the figures from Lycosura (second century B.C.) in the National Archeological Museum, Athens, whose scaly double tails rise to the back while their hands hold up a lintel above them (see Pausanias, DESCRIPTION OF GREECE, translated by J. G. Frazer, London, 1898, vol. IV, Bk. VIII, p. 377).
- 41. Lucian, DEA SYRIA, 14; DIODORUS OF SICILY, Bk. II, 4.2-4; on p. 359 of the Oldfather translation of Diodorus (1933) the story of Derketo, taken from Ctesias, is repeated. Fontenrose, "White Goddess and Syrian Goddess," SEMITIC AND ORIENTAL STUDIES, ed. W. J. Fischel, University of California, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 125-148.
- 42. Gravina, D. B. IL DUOMO DI MONREALE, Palermo, 1939, p. 137 and Tav. 5B. A similar pair of doors at Trani are by the same artist and contain the same designs in the borders.
- 43. Pausanias, OP. CIT., Bk. VIII, cap. XLI, 6.
- 44. Grant, M., THE MYTHS OF HYGINUS, University of Kansas, Humanistic Studies, no. 34, 1960, p. 123. Fulgentius, writing in the sixth century A.D., suggests the same parentage for Scylla, and he may have taken this idea from Hyginus (MYTHOGRAPHI LATINI, ed. T. Munckerus, 1681, p. 151). The double forms and multiple extremities of Echidne's brood have suggested a non-Greek origin of the myth.
- 45. Waser, OP. CIT., p. 89.
- 46. There is a large red silk banner decorated with an embroidered double-tailed mermaid of the late Renaissance period in the Correr Museum, Venice, while little double-tailed mermaids or mermen are carved on capitals in the courtyard of the Ducal Palace and on other Venetian Renaissance buildings of the water-bound city.

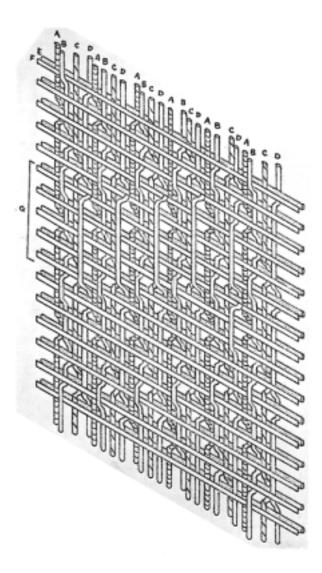


Diagram Figure A. This diagram shows the warp ends A, B, C, D (representing the colors green, pink, white, purple) as they bind the main weft E in a 4-1 warp twill. The warp B also binds the gold surface weft F while maintaining its regular course in warp twill with the main weft E. The warp D is shown midway in the Diagram (area G) as it floats over the gold surface wefts for patterning. The floats of the warp twill made by all the warp ends and the ground weft may be seen descending from upper left to lower right, while the diagonals of the binding points of the weft twill effect made by the warp B and the gold surface weft may be seen descending in the opposite direction from upper right to lower left. Drawing by Barbara Teague.

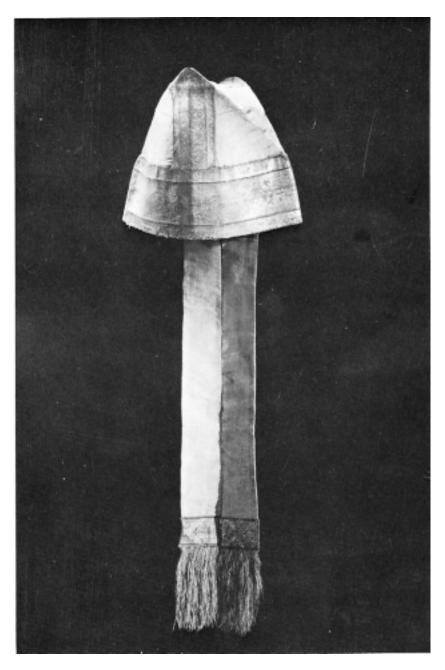


Figure 1. Front of the bishop's mitre; from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen, XII century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

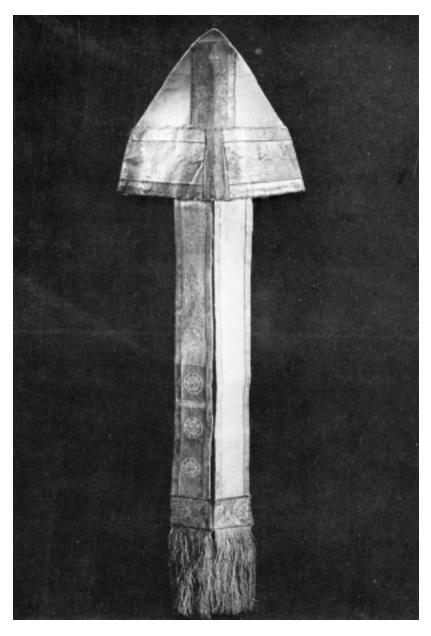


Figure 2. Back of the bishop's mitre from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen, XII century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photograph shows the design of the band that makes the streamers.

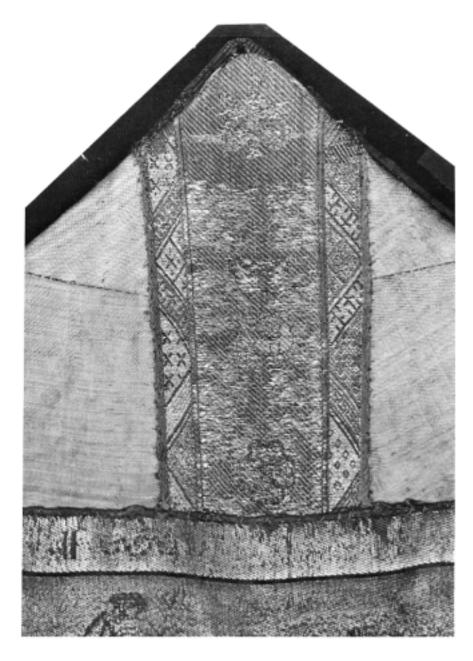


Figure 3. Detail of the bishop's mitre showing the gold band which rises to the peak of the mitre at the front. Below it, one sees the upper part of the brow-band showing the upper part of the centaur. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

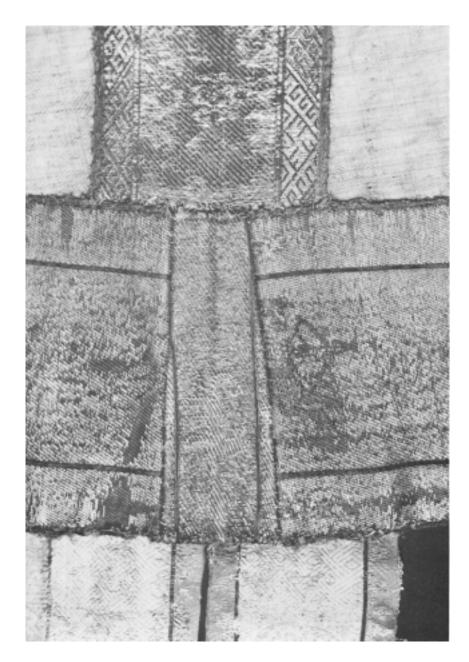


Figure 4. Part of a centaur at the middle of the back of the mitre. The fabric is cut at this point and a piece from another gold band was inserted to enlarge the head size. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

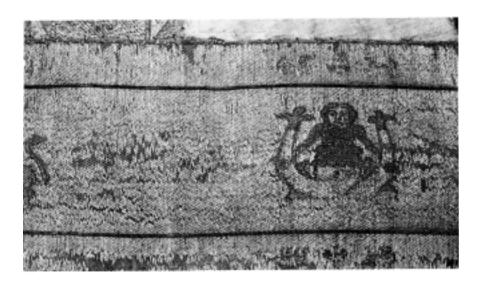


Figure 5. Double-tailed mermaid from the brow-band of the XII century mitre from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen. Height of the mermaid is 3.5 centimeters, height of the band is 8.8 centimeters. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

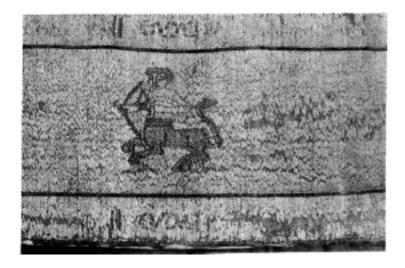


Figure 6. Centaur from the brow-band of the mitre from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen (Bressanone), Italy, XII century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 7. Figure from the brow-band of the mitre from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen (Bressanone), Italy, XII century. Height of the figure 3.8 centimeters. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

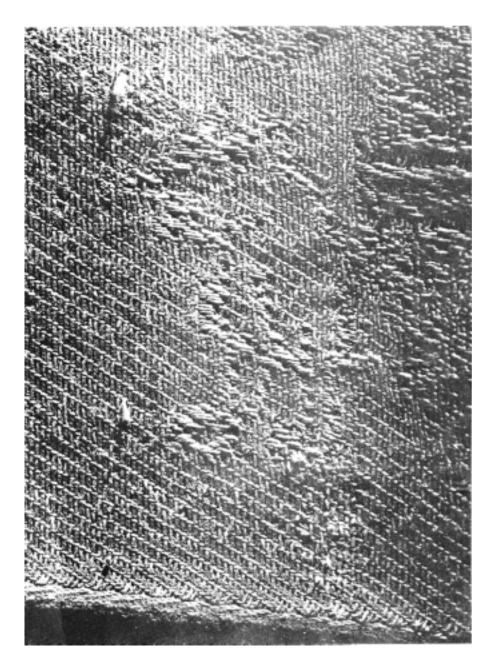


Figure 8. Enlarged photograph showing profile of heads, and front legs of two animals on left of the "Alexander" motive on the bishop's mitre from Brixen (Bressanone). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (See also Fig. 7).

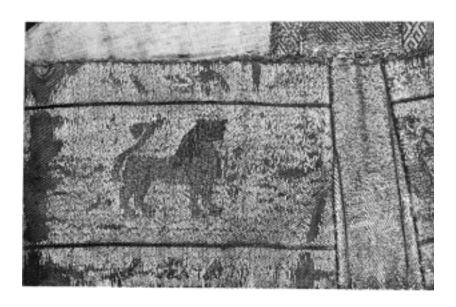
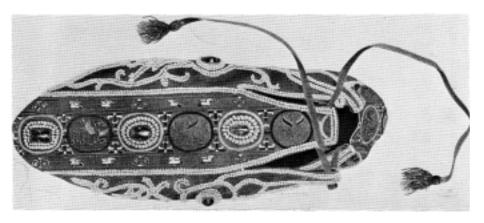


Figure 9. Lion at the back of the brow-band of the XII century mitre from the Convent of Neustift, Brixen (Bressanone), Italy. This photograph also shows the piece let in at the back to enlarge the head size of the mitre. Height of the lion 3.8 centimeters. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 10. Detail of St. Mauritius belt, Schatzkammer, Hofburg, Vienna. Design in red, purple, green and white on a gold ground. XII century.





Figures 11 & 12. The coronation shoes of the Emperor Frederick II. From F. Bock, DIE KLEINODIEN DES HEILIGEN ROMISCHEN REICHES, Taf. IV, Fig. 6.

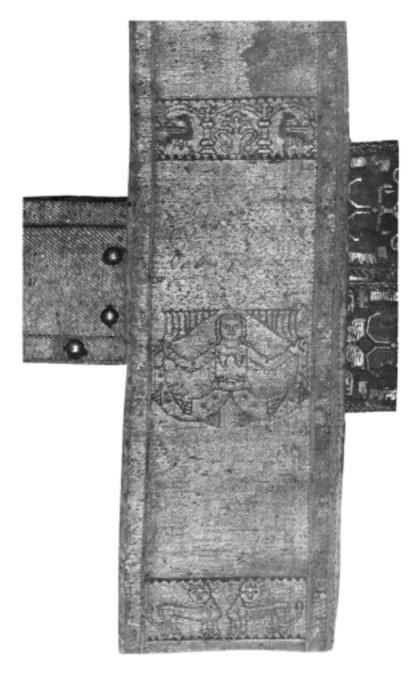


Figure 13. Detail from the brow-band of a XII century bishop's mitre, Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, near Bern, Switzerland.

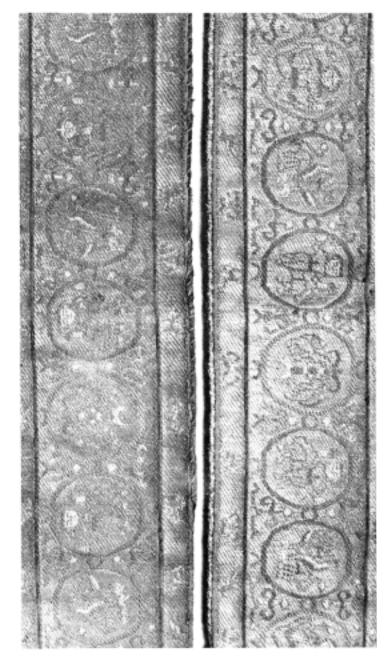


Figure 14. Detail from the lappets of a XII century bishop's mitre, Domschatz, Salzburg, Austria.

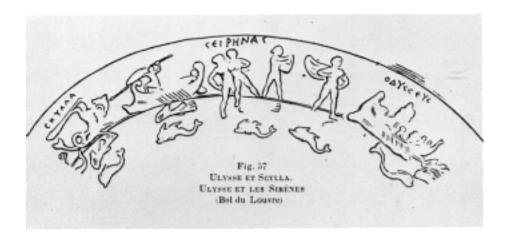


Figure 15. Scylla, Melian relief, British Museum, London.



Figure 16. Silver coin from Heraclea, IV-III century B.C. American Numismatic Society, New York. Shows Athena wearing a helmet decorated with figure of Scylla across the front.





Figures 17 & 18. Cup showing Scylla about to strike Ulysses' ship with an oar; her name inscribed above. The Louvre, Paris. Photo Chuzeville. Drawing of the cup from Courby, F., LES VASES GRECS A RELIEFS, Paris, 1922, Fig. 57, p. 30.



Figure 19. Dodona Relief, National Museum, Athens, III century B. C.



Figure 20. Bronze mirror case. Staatliches Museum, Berlin, IV century B. C.  $\,$ 



Figure 21. Boscoreale Plate, British Museum, London.



Figure 22. Silver denarius of Sextus Pompey, 38-36 B. C. American Numismatic Society, New York.



Figure 23. Fresco from Stabia, Naples Museum, Italy. From MONUMEN-TI INEDITI, Vol. III, PUBLICATI DALL' INSTITUTO DI CORRESPOND-ENZA ARCHEOLOGICA (Rome, 1843), Pl. LIII, 3.



Figure 24. Roman contorniates of Theodosius (A.D. 356-394) with misunderstood concept of Scylla. One tail has become a huge fish (right hand example) and in another, a tail has become a tree (left hand example). From Sabatier, DESCRIPTION GENERALE DES MEDAILLONS CONTORNIATES, Pl. XII, 11, 12, 13. An example of the middle coin above exists in the American Numismatic Society, New York.



Figure 25. Etruscan cinerary urn, III-II century B.C. Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, the Vatican, Rome.



Figure 26. Etruscan cinerary urn with Scylla and the companions of Ulysses, II century, B.C. National Museum, Palermo. Photo Superintendent of Antiquities, Palermo.



Figure 27. Back of grave stele showing Scylla at the top. Civic Museum, Bologna, Italy, V-IV century, B.C. Reproduced from Zannoni, GLI SCAVI DELLA CERTOSA DI BOLOGNA, Vol. II, Tav. XXXXVI, 2.



Figure 28. Etruscan grave stele with scenes from the Odyssey with Scylla on bottom panel. Reproduced from Elderkin, G. W., "Scenes from the Odyssey on an Etruscan Grave Stele at Bologna," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol. XXI, 1917, p. 400. Civic Museum, Bologna, V century, B. C.



Figure 29. Etruscan cinerary urn, National Museum, Palermo. III-II century, B. C.  $\,$ 



Figure 30. Etruscan cinerary urn,  $\Pi I$  century, B.C., from Chiusi. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.



Figure 31. Detail showing footstool with "mermaid" under the marble chair of Potamon, I century, A. D. Mitylene Museum, Mitylene, Lesbos.



Figure 32. Double-tailed mermaid and centaur, XII century. On a capital, St. Caprais, Agen, France.



Figure 33. Capital on a window column of the church of San Martin of Fuentidueña, XII century. On loan from Spain to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at The Cloisters.



Figure 34. Double-tailed mermaid on a pier in the nave of the Cathedral, Parma, Italy.  $\,$  XII century.



Figure 35. Capital, Cloister, Monreale Cathedral, Photograph Fogg Art Museum, coll. A. K. Porter.



Figure 36. Detail of lesser door of Monreale Cathedral, Sicily, showing panel of roundels with Hercules and the Lion, a crossed-tail mermaid, and a centaur, XII century. Photo Alinari-Art Reference Bureau, Ancram, New York.

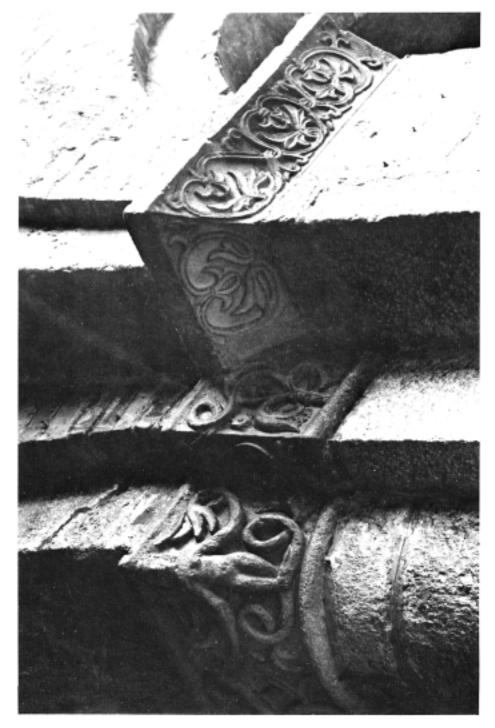


Figure 37. Foliate "mermaid" on capital in atrium, Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, XII century. Photo Mario Perotti, Milan.



Figure 38. Foliate "mermaid" on Capital, Church of St. Julien, Brioude, France, XII century.



Figure 39. Tympanum from Hadrian's Temple, Ephesus, II century, A.D. Photo E. Standen.

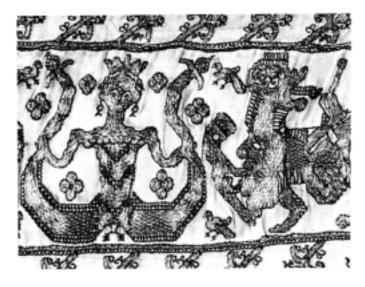


Figure 40. Detail of Italian embroidery, XVI century. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.