The Evolution of the ‘Mother’ in Tarot

The first tarot decks, beautifully hand-painted in the courts of Northern Italy in the fifteenth century, boasted wonderful images of cherubim and angels, mysterious landscapes and many enigmatic figures wearing glorious robes of gold. At first glance, it would appear that the image of the mother was absent from these original decks. Though maternal images and themes were not explicit, I will argue that the mother has always been present in the tarot deck in some form, though admittedly a portrayal of maternity was not the foremost purpose of these cards. In the trumps, women appeared as feminine personifications of the moon and astrology, the Theological and Cardinal Virtues, as the Popess (in more recent times known as the High Priestess), and as the Empress. Further, it was usually a woman who ruled over the World trump, typically the most powerful card in the deck. It was for the game of tarot that Queens were first added to the all-masculine court of King, Knight and Jack. By examining the likely identities of the female figures illustrated in Renaissance and subsequent decks, their status in the trump hierarchy and their subsequent divinatory meanings, I will argue that over nearly five hundred years, the role of the ‘mother’ in tarot has become increasingly significant. In conclusion, I will demonstrate how the image of the mother has become explicit and integral in many New Age divinatory tarot decks, some entirely focused around the idea of the archetypal ‘mother’.

Tarot was likely invented sometime in the early fifteenth century at the court of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan, a despotic ruler with a taste for astrology and board games. This seventy-eight-card deck evolved from the regular playing card deck which was brought to Italy from Egypt, still under Mamluk rule, in the second half of the fourteenth century. The regular deck was augmented by the addition of a set of numbered trump cards and one unnumbered card, the Fool (Fou) to make the tarot deck. Tarot further distinguished itself by possessing four court cards per suit instead of three. Because of our familiarity with English and French decks, it would be easy to believe that the additional card was the Knight, but in reality the Queen was the interloper. It is only in the regular French and English decks that we find the female presence. The Queen, as consort to the king and parent to royal heirs, found a home first in the tarot court. In most of Europe, the court is still an all-male affair; for example, the courts of decks from Germany and Switzerland are populated by the König, Obermann and Untermann, all of which are male figures. In the fifteenth century, some German playing card decks did have four court cards, the regular court augmented by the Queen, but this was unknown by the sixteenth century. Some tarot decks took it even
further: the oldest extant deck, the Visconti di Modrone pack painted for the Visconti family in the mid-fifteenth century, had a court consisting of six cards, each ranked male had a female counterpart. Hence, the deck featured a King and a Queen but also a Knight and a Dame, and a Knave and Maid.

To fully recognise the significance of the symbolism displayed on the tarot trumps, it is necessary to know for what purpose tarot was created. There is no evidence to suggest that tarot was created for any esoteric purpose or contained ‘secret’ information. The deck was originally used for playing a trick-taking game similar in concept to Bridge of which it is the direct ancestor. Tarot did not fulfil a divinatory role until the end of the eighteenth century. Because we are most familiar with this use of the deck, it is difficult for us to understand why it did not serve such a function from the very beginning. The answer can be found in the Renaissance attitudes to divination and magic. It was believed that God planted clues in nature that had only to be deciphered by an astute observer in order to know the mind of God. Thus the causes of tempests, misfortune and famine could be discerned by a close examination of omens, the movements of stars or even an interpretation of the physical attributes of the human body. It simply did not occur to those early tarot players to use the deck for any purpose other than the one for which it was created. The regular playing card deck was similarly overlooked as a divinatory device. Forms of divination which required invocations, written petitions or the use of signs or sigils were deemed to be devilish and were likely to attract the unwelcome attentions of the Inquisition. Instead, tarot was considered to be a game requiring great skill akin to chess and backgammon, so was usually exempted from prohibitions against card games and gambling. In Brescia in 1488, Salo in 1489 and Bergamo in 1491 laws against games of chance specifically excluded backgammon, chess and ‘the game of triumphs’ or tarot.

The game of tarot functioned as an allegory for life in which both skill and chance played a part. The trump cards of the Visconti tarot cards formed a particular narrative of Visconti history, culminating in the glory of Milan as evidenced in the World trump. Historical events were tempered by the indiscriminate forces of Fortune, Death and possibly Love, which lay beyond human control, but also by human forces as administered by the Church and the Holy Roman Empire, and human personality as indicated by the presence of the Cardinal and Theological Virtues. Ultimately, any soul was naked before God as he or she awaited Judgment. The Tower card, representing the misfortune of the della Torre family, arch rivals of the Visconti, and corresponding success of the Viscontis, probably took its place in the
As mentioned, tarot was used to play a trick-taking game. The trump cards were ranked one to twenty-one with higher ranked trumps being more powerful in the game and able to ‘trump’ those of a lower number to take a ‘trick’. As the trump cards were unnumbered, the art of memory being so prized in the Renaissance, trying to determine an exact sequence of trumps is problematic. In addition, the trump sequence varied from region to region. Hence, only the approximate trump sequence is known, derived from sermons against card playing and from early literary sources some fifty years after the invention of the deck.

The lowest ranked trump to be considered in this discussion is the Empress, preceding the Emperor in the trump sequence. The Visconti family had been growing in status since the appointment, by Pope Urban IV (1195-1264), of Ottone Visconti as Archbishop of Milan in 1262. Control of Milan was finally wrested from their archrivals, the Della Torre family in 1277 and their position of hereditary rulers of Milan was confirmed by Wenceslas of Bavaria towards the end of the fourteenth century. The Viscontis had prevailed against the whims and fancies of successive popes and emperors. They had survived the hardships of political strife, repeated wars and other such difficulties to become the rulers of a strong and wealthy city state that few dared oppose. It is little wonder that the Pope, Emperor and Empress should be so lowly ranked in the trump order. Their power was perceived to be corrupt and ineffectual and no match for that of the Viscontis.

The presence of the imperial eagle on a shield held by the Empress belies her connection to the Habsburgs. The role of the Empire was to protect the Papacy and Papal States. As with the Queens of the tarot court, the Empress was the mother of her domain, the consort of the German Prince and mother to his heirs. Several authors have suggested that the Empress hides a pregnancy under her royal robes; certainly the high waist topping a large bulge is suggestive and modern tarot decks make the pregnancy unmistakable. Though her role is not explicit here, we can discount a military or strategic role; the Holy Roman Empire was never led by an Empress. Instead, her presence reflects a parallel between political authority structures and those embedded in the institution of the family. Thus Empress and Emperor are Mother and Father, transposed from ruling the household to ruling the Empire.

Next in the trump sequence are the Pope and the Popess. That these cards should be so closely aligned is not surprising, and is indicative of the close relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Church. The identity of the Pope as God’s representative on Earth is
self-evident, but the identity of female pope is not so obvious. Many authors have posited that the Popess merely acts to balance the Pope, an appealing hypothesis given their proximity in the sequence to the Emperor and Empress, and the pairing of the King and Queen in the tarot court. Given that the very idea of such a pairing would constitute heresy, it seems unlikely that a Popess would be added to the sequence simply to continue a pattern, especially as the pattern does not continue beyond these cards and has no significance in the actual game of tarot. There are many figures in the tarot deck that remain unpaired, for example, the Magician and Time (the Hermit).

Figure 1 The Empress from the Visconti-Sforza tarot deck, first half of the fifteenth century
Robert O'Neil posited the idea that the card represented the deity of a sect of witches that Godfrey Leland claimed existed outside of Florence, though the theory is not well argued.\textsuperscript{25} A more popular hypothesis, probably because of our relative familiarity with the legend of Pope Joan, claims that this card depicts that legend. Certainly, the story was popular at the time that these tarot decks were painted and there was even a version of the story written by Petrarch.\textsuperscript{26} The legend told of Pope John Anglicus who was pope for two years, seven months and four days.\textsuperscript{27} This pontiff was really a woman who had been led to Athens disguised as a man by her lover. Once in Athens she mastered all manner of learning before going to Rome and teaching the liberal arts.\textsuperscript{28} She eventually became pope but became pregnant by her lover. Unsure of the exact time of the upcoming birth, Pope Joan had the child while in a procession from St Peter's to the Lateran.\textsuperscript{29} She was said to be excluded from any lists of pontiffs as she was a woman and her impersonation of a pope was sordid.\textsuperscript{30} In some accounts she was bound by the feet to a horse's tail and dragged and stoned by the people for half a league, before being buried where she died.\textsuperscript{31} Though this legend had sufficient currency in the fifteenth century, there is no obvious reason why such a subject would have been depicted in the Visconti-Sforza deck.\textsuperscript{32} If my contention that the trump sequence reflects the history of the Visconti family is correct, there is no place for Pope Joan in this scheme. Further, the image on the Popess card did not resemble traditional representations of Pope Joan who was usually illustrated suckling or holding a baby.\textsuperscript{33} Furthermore, unlike the figure on the Visconti-Sforza card, Pope Joan had never been a nun.\textsuperscript{34} Though, it seems unlikely that it was the intention of the originators of tarot to depict Pope Joan, this card has become synonymous with this figure. In fact, it could be said that enthusiasts of tarot have projected the image of the mother onto this card, an anti-heroine smart enough to take her place among learned men but still contending with the biological actualities of being a woman.

It seems likely that the inventors of tarot intended the card to represent Sister Manfreda di Pirovano, a relative of the Visconti family, who belonged to the Gugliemites, a heretical sect founded by Guglielma of Bohemia.\textsuperscript{35} Guglielma arrived in Milan with her son around 1260, choosing to live as a pinzochera — a religious woman who lived independently in her own home.\textsuperscript{36} It was not entirely clear where she arrived from, though it was rumoured that she was the child of the King of Bohemia.\textsuperscript{37} She practised good works and preached piety, going about her work without special austerity.\textsuperscript{38} She died in 1281, leaving behind a devoted famiglia.\textsuperscript{39} Its membership included that of a layman that she called 'her firstborn son’, Andrea Saramita, Sister Manfreda da Pirovano of the Umiliate order and
nearly forty upper-class citizens of Milan. The *famiglia*, in accordance with a prediction by Joachim of Fiore, believed that Gugliema was the Holy Spirit incarnate, in spite of her own vehement denials. Her devotees preached that Gugliema had come as the Holy Spirit to found a new church replacing the old corrupt establishment, and that Jews, pagans, and Saracens would be saved. After Gugliema’s resurrection and ascension, the new Church would be led by Sister Manfreda, who would be the new Pope or more correctly, *papessa*. Many honoured Sister Manfreda as the popey by kissing her hands and feet and addressing her as ‘Lord Vicar’ or ‘Lady by the grace of God’. An altarpiece at the convent showed the Trinity with Gugliema as the third person in an allusion to the Harrowing of Hell, with Jews and Saracens to be saved by the Holy Spirit. Naturally, these activities were considered heretical by the Church and the actions of Saramita and Sister Manfreda attracted the attentions of the Inquisition. In 1284, the Dominican tribunal had symbolically punished them after they had repudiated their errors. In 1300 both were sentenced to death as relapsed heretics and burnt at the stake.

Bianca Maria Visconti, wife of Francesco Sforza and daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti was an ardent admirer of both Gugliema and Sister Manfreda, her interest encouraged by Maddalena Albrizzi who entered the nunnery of San Andrea in Brunate in 1420. The nunnery was generously patronised by the duchess. It subsequently became a church and, in 1826, workmen uncovered a painting of Gugliema which had been one of a narrative cycle depicting her life. It seems that about 150 years after the deaths of both Saramita and Sister Manfreda, a painting had been commissioned of Gugliema and her most ardent followers. This painting is interesting because it showed Sister Manfreda in a nun’s habit resembling that depicted on the Visconti-Sforza Popess card. Also, this identification seems logical given the Visconti pride in their pious though heretical relative. It also seems likely that the Popess card was not a part of the earlier Visconti decks and was probably included in the later deck because of Bianca’s special affection for Sister Manfreda. There was also some similarity between the Popess card and Giotto’s *Fides* (*Faith*) painted in 1306. The artist of the Visconti-Sforza deck probably referenced the earlier painting as a means of highlighting Sister Manfreda’s piety.

Sister Manfreda was known as a kindly and gentle, almost saintly bride of Christ. Though she was not a mother *per se*, she was mother of her flock of supporters and mother to the poor of Milan, for whom she tended and cared. Again, this card doesn’t overtly speak of the mother but immortalises those qualities often associated with
motherhood though, admittedly, this was not the primary message of this card.

Figure 2 The Popess from the Visconti-Sforza tarot deck, first half of the fifteenth century

Another very subtle reference to the mother, more specifically the idealised mother as the Virgin Mary is made in the Moon card. A woman holds a crescent moon in her right hand, just above her head.
She is dressed in a red dress with blue sleeves that is gathered in by a rope at the waist. This time, the woman has bare feet. It seems likely that this figure is a composite of two ideas. I think she is a personification of astrology but she exists in combination with some of the iconographical features of the Virgin Mary. Mary is often associated with the Moon and her humility is frequently made explicit by her bare feet. In some traditions, the moon was also linked with the Old Testament.

Other women in the deck include the allegories of the Cardinal Virtues of Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. Among other early decks, the Theological Virtues were also included. These were Faith, Hope and most conspicuously for our purposes, Charity. Charity is depicted as a woman, richly draped in gold fabric. In one arm she holds a vase in which a small flame burns. In her other, she holds a naked child, suckling from her left breast, over her heart. This is the only place in early tarot where the image of the mother is overt and unequivocal, though this speaks more about motherhood as a symbol of Christian self-sacrifice rather than about motherhood itself.

The game of tarot spread quickly throughout Europe, and the order and subjects of the trump cards quickly became established in a regular pattern. It wasn’t until the end of the eighteenth century, during the French occult revival, that tarot was used for anything other than a game. Between 1773 and 1782 Antoine Court de Gebelin, published his nine-volume opus entitled *Le Monde Primitif Analyisé et Comparé avec le Monde Moderne*, of which the eighth volume was in part devoted to the origins of tarot. Here Court de Gebelin reported that some time in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, he had come across some ladies playing the game of tarot. In Paris these cards were unusual, and he had not seen them since he was a boy. He was interested in the Hermetic mysteries of ancient Egypt, and it occurred to him that he was seeing a sacred Egyptian book, the remnants of the lost *Book of Thoth*. The trump cards he regarded as a disguised assemblage of ancient Egyptian religious doctrines. He identified the Popess, for example, as ‘the High Priestess’, the Chariot as ‘Osiris Triumphant’, and the Star as ‘Sirius’ or ‘the Dog Star’. This *Book of Thoth*, he supposed, must have been brought to Europe by the gypsies, who had been safeguarding it since it had been entrusted to them by Egyptian priests millennia ago. He deduced that the safest way to preserve their ancient wisdom was to encode it as a game, and to trust that some day an adept would be able to decipher it. This honour he claimed for himself.
With Court de Gebelin’s discovery and interpretation, tarot for the first time was viewed as having an esoteric and divinatory purpose. Quickly, occultists lined up the twenty-two trumps with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, thus linking tarot with the Jewish
(and later Christian) mystical tradition of Kabalah. They also linked it to the signs of the zodiac and the four elements. The trump order became associated, not with playing a game but with the correspondences with the Hebrew alphabet. A low ranking trump was no longer indicative of a lack of power or importance.

American-born mystic and occultist Arthur Edward Waite conceived the deck with which most of us are familiar in 1909. As a member of the secret society, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, he was also a prolific scholar of Christian mysticism, Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry, the Grail legends and ritual magic. With Pamela Colman Smith, he created the deck which has become the most popular of all time, the Rider-Waite deck (now called the Colman-Waite deck after its creators rather than its publishers). Waite combined the elements of the traditional tarot deck with Celtic folklore which he associated with Christian mysticism and legends of the Holy Grail and Egyptian motifs. Also, for the first time, Waite fully illustrated the minor arcana as a means of facilitating their interpretation.

In Waite’s deck, the Female Pope underwent a transformation into the High Priestess. As such, she is associated with the Egyptian goddess Isis and the Moon. The modest figure dressed in a nun’s habit is transformed into a mysterious, Middle-Eastern princess with a lunar crescent at her feet and a diadem on her head. A scroll on her lap bears the inscription ‘Tora’ to indicate her association with the Secret Law. Waite described her as the Supernal Mother, the mother of the Heavens. This mother is distant and frightening; guardian of the mysteries and secrets of the Universe. She is the mother of the spirit rather than of the physical body. The card is indicative of intuition, arcane wisdom and the triumph of spirit which are often identified as feminine attributes.

In contrast to the Priestess, the next card in the trump sequence is the mother of the physical. The Empress is no longer just the consort of the Emperor; she takes on some of the qualities of mother earth, an idea that became enormously popular in the nineteenth century. Waite has designed the card with the Empress having a series of stars crowing her head. It is worth noting that the Virgin Mary was often depicted this way in the art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. A field of corn ripens in front of her and there is a waterfall behind. In some decks she is overtly pregnant. Waite describes the Empress as the refugium peccatorum, literally the ‘refuge of sinners’ but also the fruitful mother of thousands. In a divinatory context, she is associated with emotional power, but also fertility, abundance and the reenergising force of nature. She represents the triumph of instinct and emotion over reason and material concerns. At last we find an overtly maternal figure celebrated in the tarot trump
sequence. No longer is she merely the consort of the Emperor, but she has a meaning and purpose all her own and that purpose is motherhood with the fertility and abundance that it brings.

![Figure 4 The High Priestess from the Colman-Waite tarot deck, 1919](image)

The image of the Mother does appear in another place in the Rider Waite deck. On the Six of Swords, a mother and child are seen being rowed away with six swords sitting in the boat. The divinatory meaning of the card symbolises a journey by water or an envoy, and is not really associated with anything particularly maternal, except that women are often depicted as being associated with water, I am assuming because of the uterine fluids of pregnancy. With his inclusion of the mother and child in the minor arcana, Waite acknowledged the existence of the mother in society. Her role is celebrated in the card of the Empress in contrast to the shadowy and ambiguous references in the early Italian decks.
Though Waite and Colman Smith's deck remains the most popular for divinatory purposes even today, the advent of the New Age has seen the creation of thousands of beautiful and diverse tarot decks. The New Age is associated with the amalgamation of differing spiritual currents, drawn together into an eclectic collection of beliefs broadly termed New Age spirituality. Here we see feminist ideologies sitting alongside Native American philosophy, astrology, Eastern meditation and a myriad other belief forms. Tarot also reflects this ideology, the traditional tarot trumps being reinterpreted and redrafted in the light of any of the New Age currents. What began as the criticism of male-dominated mainstream religions, evolved into an intense spiritual exploration; rediscovering and reinventing women's roles in spiritual endeavour and evolving a spirituality responsive to the needs of women. In this manner, feminist images and, consequently, depictions of the mother have become overt in several decks. The Goddess appears, represented on varying numbers of cards in numerous decks as a replacement or adaptation of male figures. Male characters give way to their female
counterparts, the new trump sometimes given a new name while retaining the essence of its divinatory meaning.

Perhaps the best known of the new women's decks is *Motherpeace*; created by Karen Vogel and Vicki Nobel. The distinctive round cards suggest a different approach to life; through wholeness and community rather than through hard-edged patriarchal thinking. The cards boast artwork that is primitive but the symbolism is evocative. Created from a Goddess perspective; the symbolism is very Earth-based and woman-oriented. For example, trump IX which is traditionally the Hermit is replaced by the Crone. The four of Wands depicts a ritual to mark a girl's first menstruation and initiation into the mysteries of motherhood and fecundity. The court has undergone a transformation being populated by the Daughter, Son, Priestess and Shaman, which is male or female. The intent of the creators is made overt by the title of the book accompanying the deck: *Motherpeace: A Way to the Goddess through Myth, Art and Tarot*.

Yet another feminist deck is the oversized, also round *Daughters of the Moon* deck designed by Ffiona Morgan but executed by a number of artists. The deck, originally described as a 'Matriarchal Tarot', was designed to change 'ingrained basic beliefs' and 'retrain' women's 'minds and 'psyches'. The entire structure of the deck has been altered to feature five Arcana, one for each element with 'Aether' representing the tarot trumps. The trump cards are not numbered and depict different subjects to the traditional tarot decks. Two lovers cards are provided so one can choose one's sexual preferences. But again it is in the court cards that we see the elaboration of the mother image. Minor Arcana suits are Flames, Blades, Pentacles, and Cups.
but, as befits a feminist deck, the three court cards represent the
three phases of the goddess: maiden, mother, and crone.  

Figure 7 Some cards from the Daughters of the Moon Tarot

There are many other decks that elaborate this theme of the sacred femininity and the mother. The Barbara Walker Tarot features a court with Goddesses and Gods with figures from the Grail cycle. The deck is heavily reliant upon mythology and history, though admittedly a particularly one-sided history. The New Amazon Tarot, comprised of art from no less than twenty artists, also includes an altered court of Child, Amazon, Companion and Queen. Interestingly it features no images of men. A Poet’s Tarot, the Medicine Woman Tarot, the Shining Woman Tarot and the Transparent Tarot also echo this theme.

Men have also embraced the idea of the feminine, seeing it as a necessary component of wholeness. German artist, Hermann Haindl, has incorporated maternal images into his Haindl Tarot Deck. He consulted Aleister Crowley’s writings, juxtaposing Hebrew letters with runes and astrological symbols over his major arcana artwork. The court becomes a family with the cards renamed Son, Daughter, Mother, and Father, and are associated with a different direction and ethnic group: Native Americans (Pentacles and north), Eastern Indians (Wands, east), Northern Celts (Cups/north), and Egyptians (Swords/south). The Star adopts the image of Gaea, the ancient
mother, bending down to wash her hair and this card poignantly expresses the hope of the creator of this deck; that the Earth will wash herself clean of hate and destruction to choose life.99

Though images of the mother were present in the early Italian hand painted decks used for game-playing, they were ambiguous and without an obvious role in the trump sequence. With the exception of the personification of Charity in the Visconti di Modrone deck, the maternal qualities of these women were not highlighted. The Empress was the wholly dependent consort of the Emperor; the Popess was paired with the Pope and was the representative of God on Earth. Tarot changed in function to an esoteric and fortune-telling device towards the end of the eighteenth century, with the most popular deck to be created for this purpose being the Colman-Waite deck. Here there is an evolution of the status of mother in the deck, claiming an existence beyond the needs of her consort. The High Priestess (equivalent to the Popess) and the Empress express and celebrate maternal qualities such as wisdom, fertility and abundance. This evolution is yet more evident in some of the New Age decks which reflect the diversity of currents that comprise the New Age. In decks such as the *Motherpeace Tarot* and the *Daughters of the Moon Tarot*, images of the mother are central, displacing the traditional male roles depicted in most packs, and completing the transformation of the mother image in tarot from implicit to explicit.

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**Notes**


3 The ‘regular’ playing card deck is the one we are all familiar with, consisting of fifty-two cards distributed through four suits. Each suit contains cards numbered 1 (Ace) to 10 with three court cards.


5 Though it took some fifty years for the trump sequence to become firmly established, the following cards were usually present in this approximate order: The Magician, the Popess, the Empress, the Emperor, the Pope, the Lovers, the Chariot, Strength, Time, the Wheel of Fortune, Justice, the Hanged Man, Death, Temperance, the Devil, the Tower, the Star, the Moon, the Sun, the World, and Judgment.

7 Ibid.
12 Christina Olsen, ‘Carte Da Trionfi: The Development of Tarot in Fifteenth Century Italy’ (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 103.
13 Represented by the Emperor, Empress and Pope trumps.
14 The Cardinal Virtues were Strength, Justice, Prudence and Temperance.
15 The Theological Virtues were Faith, Hope and Charity.
16 The Tower and the Devil cards were absent from the three incomplete Visconti-Sforza decks.
17 For a full examination of the significance of the *ars memoria* or art of memory in Renaissance Europe see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966).

23 Little, Hermitage.


32 The Visconti-Sforza deck was the most complete early tarot deck missing only the trumps of the Devil and the Tower. It is the deck from which most subsequent decks are derived.

33 For example, see Kelly, Pope Joan ([Oxford Dictionary of Popes] accessed 21 March 2006).


35 The English version of this name is Wilhelmina.


40 Joachim of Fiore predicted the advent of the Third Age or status of the Holy Spirit, superseding the ages of God the Father (Old Testament era) and God the Son (New Testament era). See, Newman ‘The Heretic Saint,’ 7–8; Gabriele


45 Newman, 17.


47 Mandel, 9; Pardoe and Pardoe, *The Female Pope*, 93–94.

48 Mandel, 27.

49 Mandel, 30.

50 Mandel, 30–32.

51 Mandel, 32.

52 Mandel, 3, 5–6.

53 See Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 17.

54 The papal triple tiara was not introduced until 1315 and so was absent from this painting. O’Neill, *Tarot Symbolism*, 62; Ferguson, *Christian Art*, 97.


57 Meiss, ‘Madonna,’ 435.


59 The Theological Virtues were found in the Visconti di Modrone tarot deck which is believed to be the oldest extant tarot.


64 Moakley, The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo, 30; Olsen, ‘Carte De Trionfi’, 267; Court De Gébelin, Monde Primitif: Analyse et Comparé avec le Monde Moderne, Considéré Dans L'histoire Naturelle de la Parole; Ou Grammaire Universelle et Comparatives, 9 vols., Archives de la Linguistique Française; No.95 (Paris: 1774).


68 Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, 79.


71 Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, 81.


73 Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, 80.

74 Ibid.

75 Waite, The Rider Tarot Deck Instructions, 13; Bellenghi, Cartomancy, 63.


77 Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, 242–43.


80 Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, 81.


86

Auger, *Tarot and Other Meditation Decks*, 41–42.


Pollack, 112.


Pollack, 119.

Ibid. For a fuller examination of the imagery of this deck see, Pollack, *New Tarot*, 118–21.


Pollack, 117.

Pollack, 118.


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